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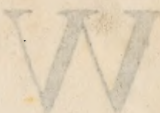


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WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God,
 King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and
 Ireland, Defenders of the Faith &c. To all Our
 loving Subjects, of what Degree, Condition and
 Quality so ever, within our Kingdoms and Domi-
 nions greeting. Whereas our Trusty and Well-beloved John
 Dawson, Clerk and Secretary of Law, hath presented unto Us
 That he is Printing an English Translation out of French, of the
 Bible of Newes; in Four Volumes; and that in regard of the great
 Costs and Charges it hath already been and will be to him, he hath
 humbly besought Us to grant him Our Royal Licence for the sole
 Printing and Publishing thereof; We are graciously pleased to gra-
 unt him therein, and accordingly we do therefore hereby grant
 unto him the said John Dawson, Our Royal Licence for the sole
 Printing and Publishing of the said Book for the Term of Four-
 teen Years from the Date hereof; fully charging, prohibiting
 and forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint the said Book in whole
 or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or distribute any Co-
 pies or Exemplars of the same or any part thereof, Reprinted
 beyond the seas, within the said Term, without the Consent and
 Approbation of him the said John Dawson his Executors, Admini-
 strators or Assigns first had and obtained, as they and every of
 them offending herein will answer the contrary at their peril;
 whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers of
 Our City of London, the Commissioners and Officers of Our Cu-
 stoms, and all other Our Officers and Ministers within any con-
 tains, are to take Notice, that due Obedience may be given to
 Our pleasure herein signified.

Given at our Court at White-Hall, the sixth day of June 1693.
 in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD

MARIE R.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects, of what Degree, Condition and Quality soever, within our Kingdoms and Dominions, Greeting. Whereas our Trusty and Well-beloved *John Dunton*, Citizen and Stationer of *London*, hath represented unto Us, That he is Printing an English Translation out of *French*, of the *Edict of Nanter*, in Four Volumes; and that, in regard of the great Costs and Charges it hath already been and will be to him, he hath humbly besought Us to grant him Our **Royal License** for the sole Printing and Publishing thereof; We are graciously pleased to gratifie him therein, and accordingly we do therefore hereby grant unto him the said, *John Dunton*, Our **Royal License** for the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Book for the Term of Fourteen Years from the Date hereof; strictly charging, prohibiting and forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint the said Book in whole or in part, or to imprint, buy, vend, utter or distribute any Copies or Exemplaries of the same, or any part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the said Term, without the Consent and Approbation of him the said *John Dunton* his Executors, Administrators or Assigns first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending herein will answer the contrary at their Peril; whereof the Master, Wardens and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commissioners and Officers of Our Customs, and all other Our Officers and Ministers whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience may be given to Our pleasure herein signified.

*Given at our Court at White-Hall, the 30th. day of June 1693.
in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.*

By Her MAJESTIES Command.

J. TRENCHARD.

The SECOND VOLUME
OF THE *Sam^l. Miller.*
HISTORY
Of the Famous

1822.

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Edict of Nantes :
CONTAINING AN
ACCOUNT
OF ALL THE
PERSECUTIONS,
That have been in
FRANCE

During the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII.

Ele^m. Benoit
Faithfully Extracted from all the Publick and Private Memoirs,
that could possibly be procured.

Printed first in *French*, by the Authority of the States of *Holland*
and *West-Friezland*. And now Translated into English.

With Her Majesties Royal Priviledge.

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Poultry. MDCXCIV.

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188

Handwritten signature

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN

REPUBLIC

FROM

THE

EARLY PERIOD

TO THE PRESENT

DATE

THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
Second Part.

WE left the Reform'd at the end of our First Part in a tolerable condition, and in a tranquility which settled it self by degrees, under the Protection of their King. After the hardships of War, Infidelities, and Massacres, they began to relish the sweets of Peace with assurance, by the love of a Prince who had not forgot their Services : They thought themselves secure against the Malice of their Enemies, and were under no apprehensions for their Consciences or Lives. If they retain'd the least doubts or suspicions they only proceeded from a Prudence which consider'd the future, and consequently oblig'd them under a King who was favourable towards them, to take measures

C. 111.

against the designs of another, who might perhaps not enter in the same Kindness for them. This was the aim of their Assemblies, both General and Particular, of their Councils, of their Synods, of their Associations, Petitions and Demands: All this was lawful. They had had so many dismal proofs of the Maxims of the Church of Rome, in respect to those that are declar'd Hereticks by them, that they had no reason to confide too much on the appearances of the Peace that Church had granted them. They were not ignorant that the Popes had only consented to it, because the Catholick Religion did lose considerably by the War; and that the Court of Rome, finds its account much better in the intrigues of the Cabinet, and in the artifices of a fraudulent Policy, than in Military Expeditions, which they do not understand. So that the Reform'd, who had learn'd to be wise by an experience of fourscore years, could not, without relapsing into that ancient simplicity which had done their Fore-fathers so much harm, and which their very Enemies had often upbraided them with in an insulting manner, neglect to take precautions, to secure themselves against the secret snares which the Church of Rome can set, with so much Art, and prepare at such a Distance. Tho' the King sometimes gave them causes of distrust, yet he was not averse to their Pretensions; and had he lived as long as his Constitution and Vigor, seem'd to promise, he might have put them in a condition which would
have

have oblig'd the Catholicks to cultivate a Peace, which they could not have broken without exposing themselves to sustain at least part of the damages of such a Breach. It is true that he was stop't sometimes by a political consideration, when the Jesuits and the Catholicks of their Party had fill'd his Head with the dread of a Cabal, ever ready to break out; ever dispos'd to receive malecontents, and to assist them; ever Mistress of the Government, by reason, that by the number of the places of surety, and by the credit of the Lords who enter'd into that Union, it was strong enough whenever Factions should be form'd in the Kingdom, to incline the Ballance to that Party they should side with. Moreover they told that Prince that it did not consist with his interest to suffer a Confederacy of part of his Subjects amongst themselves, for their own preservation, as if it had been against his Authority, and that it had form'd a state within his Kingdom, having Cities of their own, Laws, Interests, and Politicks contrary to the common good of the Kingdom. The King who was haughty, passionate and jealous of his Grandeur, easily suffer'd himself to be deluded by those shadows; and at those times let fall words which gave cause to believe that he thought the Reform'd too great, & too formidable already to grant them any new favours. But then those little heats were as soon allaid, as they were assum'd. His resentments were only lightnings, the matter whereof was as soon consum'd as it had taken Fire: there neither

ther remain'd the least track of the heat or smoak of it. All his anger was evaporated by a Frown and a threatening Word. He thought himself sufficiently reveng'd when he had express'd that it was in his Power to take his revenge when ever he pleas'd.

Those who are well acquainted with the Character of that Prince, know that this was his real temper; which cannot be look'd upon as a Weakness; since the principle of it was Noble and worthy of a true Hero. He lov'd his Subjects, and Domestick quiet. His love of quiet made him angry, when ever he was possess'd with the thoughts that any body design'd to disturb it: But his love to his Subjects extinguish'd that Fire, as soon as he reflect'd on the necessity that oblig'd the Reformed to provide for their safety. Those that have collected the words which his anger inspir'd him with, while his Mind was possess'd with some suspicion, ought at the same time to have observ'd that those little flashes were the effect of his Temper, the heat of which often dictat'd words to him, which he should have been very sorry any body should have drawn Consequences from. His Menial Servants were never surpriz'd at them, because they daily found that he was easily appear'd again, without being courted to it; and that he often made the first steps of reconciliation towards those that had given him a pretence of anger, particularly when they were Friends he had a good opinion of. His temper was very different towards the Enemies of the State: Without exclaiming against them in words, tho he was
sometimes

Sometimes guilty of it, even when Prudence requir'd the contrary, he persisted in the desire and design of bringing them to Reason. This shows that he was not naturally inclin'd to refuse the Reform'd such lawful means as were necessary for their safety. Only he did not design to leave the Cities of surety perpetually in their Power: Neither had they any thoughts of keeping them for ever. Perhaps some Lords might have particular designs upon that Subject; but the Reform'd in general only insisted upon the keeping of them, upon the account that the King being mortal as well as other men, he might chance to Dye at a time when the Minority of his Successor might create great Troubles to them. So that if they could have kept them untill the Danger of a Minority had been past, they would more easily have been inclin'd to restore them to the King, since they would have been no longer necessary to them. But the very Word of Minority was sufficient to frighten them: and their fear was not so ill grounded as to be esteem'd unworthy of Persons of Wit and Courage. The weakness of Francis the II. and the Minority of Charles the IX. had been so fatal to them by the Authority Catherin de Medicis had thereby Usurp'd to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood, which she exercis'd in a very odious manner, That they had a great deal of Reason to dread falling again into the same misfortunes, under the Regency of a Princes of the same Name, and

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during the Minority or Weakness of a New King, whose Capacity was not known.

Thus it is apparent that the Reform'd, that fear being excepted, saw themselves in a state of Peace and Prosperity, the perfect settlement of which was the only thing they could desire in order to be happy: and had the King liv'd but twelve years longer, That time would have been sufficient to remove part of their scruples. They would have seen a Dauphin of twenty years of Age, capable to Reign himself, bred up to all the Maxims and Designs of the King his Father. accusom'd to see two Religions among the French. They would have seen the *Edict* confirm'd by Possession, civil and intestine Peace foster'd by custom between those of different Religions; the Catholicks dispos'd by degrees to see them enjoy certain liberties; in a word the prejudices that had excited so many animosities and Wars against the Reform'd, dissipated by habit and repose, which would have allay'd the Passions and heart-burnings on all sides. But all was alter'd of a sudden, by the Kings unexpected Death, and that fatal Catastrophe hapning at a time when the ancient Disfidencies and Jealousies were not absolutely stifled, added new ones. So that we shall now behold the Reform'd entering under that new Reign, in a doubtful condition, which having held them long in Cruel agitations and incertainties, threw them at last into a deplorable Ruin: Partly, as when a Ship toss'd by the Winds and Billows, which drive

it against the Rocks, hazing nothing but the courage and skill of her Mariners to defend her against that violence, finally sinks on a sudden, notwithstanding their resistance and industry, by the redoubling of the Storm. Therefore we may consider them in this part of the History, as well as in the first, in three different conditions. The first was a preparative to their approaching ruin, which all the circumstances of Affairs gave them presages of. The History relates the reasons they had to be afraid; the divisions of the State and Court, and the secret machinations by which their Oppression was contriving by degrees. The second was an open declaration of a design to destroy them, which proceeded already from the project to the Execution, by the speediest, tho' the most odious means, Fraud and Violence. The History shews us in this point their Disunion, Weakness and Decay. The third was a state of Constraint and Servitude, in which the Oppress'd durst not complain; and found themselves reduc'd by their Weakness to look upon it as a favour, That they were only cavill'd with, instead of being totally exirpated by Fire and Sword. The History also acquaints us how that from the time of their being disarm'd and reduc'd to the mercy of their Enemies, if any stop was put to their final destruction, it was only in regard that the then state of Affairs both at home and abroad did not permit them to reduce so many thousands of People to the utmost extremity; who were able to defend their

Lives. Thus the Reform'd return'd by degrees into the same condition, in which their Fathers had been formerly, when they were expos'd to Racks, and other Outrages. In the first Part of this Work we behold them passing from Oppression to War, and from War to Quiet and Prosperity : In the second Part we find the Scene alter'd again, they fall a new from Prosperity into the Miseries of War ; and finally, from War into an Oppression, which Policy only binder'd their Enemies from pushing to extremity.

Their Enemies have not been wanting to accuse them of having abus'd that degree of Happiness and Power, in which they were at the King's Death, and of having occasion'd their own Ruin by Factions, and continual Enterprises. But nothing can be grosser, or more unjust than that Imposture. It is true that they endeavour'd to secure themselves when they beheld their good Prince in the Grave. The jealousies they had entertain'd before that fatal accident, which had been combated by the kindness he often express'd to them, reviv'd a new, when the reason they had to lay them aside was remov'd by his Death : and they found themselves reduc'd at that time to that doubtful floating condition, which they had endeavour'd to prevent, while they could rely on the favour of an equitable Prince. Those things seem'd to them more considerable and pressing when they appear'd nearer at hand : and they found themselves still
lyable

lyable to be attack'd on so many sides that they judg'd it absolutely necessary to provide for their safety by speedy and effectual means. Therefore the wisest and most moderate among them, who were us'd on all other occasions to recommend Peace and Obedience above all things, joy'n'd in that design. And indeed the thing spoke of it self, and that so low'd that the dullest and most stupid might apprehend it. A Minority, an Italian Regent, old Members of the Leagues, or Jesuits that were absolu'e in the Council; a revengeful Queen, who thought herself offended, and was govern'd by foreigners, for whom the Reform'd had no great consideration; a great number of Factionous, either old ones, the seeds of which were not yet stifled; or new ones that daily form'd themselves; an invincible ascendant which the Court of Spain, that aim'd at nothing but the renewing of the Wars about Religion, had gain'd over France; and several other reasons obliged that Party, which had been so often deceiv'd, to stand upon their Guard; and to take proper measures to secure themselves, at least untill time had dissipated those allarms. To pretend that it was a Crime for the Reform'd, that had suffer'd so much, and were assaulted by a thousand lawfull terrors, to renew their Union, to hold assemblies, and to present Petitions, is undoubtly a tyrannick absurdity: As if a Wretch should be impeach'd as a Criminal against the State, for having cry'd out for help, seeing himself in danger of falling into a Precipice

Precipice, or for having taken hold of the first thing he could light on, to break the violence of his fall. And if it be alledged that at least after having taken measures with the Court for their safety, they ought to have laid aside their fears; troubling themselves with nothing but to serve God according to their Conscience, and to obey the King according to their Duty: I answer that it would have been very reasonable and perhaps very easie so to do, had not the Court, in the very instant they granted them any favours, taken away more from them with one hand, than they gave with the other. They were comforted with words, while they were tormented by Effects. The Clergy granted nothing to the King without a consideration. The first Article of their demands always contain'd something in favour of the Catholick Religion; which never fail'd of being interpreted against the Reform'd Religion, as if the one could not have been preserv'd without the ruin of the other. The Court and Clergy persisted in this way of proceeding, untill the Civil Wars broke out: and the success of the Artifices that were us'd to amuse the Reform'd having encourag'd their Enemies, they proceeded so far as to laugh at them publickly, and to Violate the most solemn Promises without shame. This may be seen at large in that part of the History that relates the disgrace of the Duke of Sulli, the Illusions practis'd at the Assembly of Saurmur, the Divisions sown among the Reform'd, the
Resolutions

Resolutions of the States, the Marriage accomplish'd between France and Spain, and all the other Transactions that justly create Jealousies. So that the same Law of Nature which teaches Man to secure himself behind Walls and Ramparts, when he suspects an Enemy, against whom he only designs to stand upon the Defensive; that Law, I say, without doubt Authoriz'd the Reform'd, to whom the faithfulness of their Enemies was so well known, to secure themselves against the suspicious proceedings of a Court that had sworn their Ruin. I do not speak, in this place, of their Union with the Prince of Conde: because that War was of a different nature from the Rest. Religion had little or nothing to do in it; Interests of State were the true Motives of it. The Reform'd cannot be tax'd with it, but the accusation must fall with more violence upon the Catholicks. The last occasion'd it; the first only joyn'd with them, but too late, if we consult prudent Policy only: by reason that it was no longer time to prevent the Marriages, which was the pretence us'd for taking Arms. But that delay only proceeded from that most of the Provinces and Churches did not think themselves concern'd in that Business: So that it was not properly an affair of the whole Party; but of some Lords, who were follow'd by their Creatures.

Therefore

Therefore there is nothing in this first degree of the fall of the Reform'd, which they can be justly upbraided for : But they seem to be less excusable in the second, in which they are seen actually in Arms against their Prince. We are to resolve two questions, the better to understand the matter. The first is general, and relates to Right, viz. Whether there are occasions on which Subjects may lawfully take Arms against a Sovereign. The second is Particular, and relates to the act, viz. Whether allowing that there may be such occasions, the case of the Reform'd was of that nature, and they had sufficient Reasons so Arm. The General Question is of too great a discusion, to be examin'd in a Preface, in which I do not design to inlarge. Therefore I shall only make eight or nine Observations, which may give some light to that matter.

I. I will observe that the thing which imbroils the said Question, is that it is perhaps never handled without Passion, or Interest. Those that have given a large extent to the Rights of the People, have often been animated by an Interest of Party : And those that have put no bounds to the Power of Kings are to be suspected either of having been paid for so doing, or of having had particular reasons which oblig'd them to flatter Princes, in order to obtain some Favours from them. When ever there have been divers Parties in a State, it has been observable that the Weakest was ever the most fawning ; and that in order to get the Prince

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on their side, they extended the Rights of *Sovereign Power* as much as in them lay. This mischief began in the first Ages of Christianity. The Emperors were so severe against the poor Christians, who were represented as *Enemies to the State*, that those poor Persecuted Wretches were reduc'd to strain the Point, to persuade them that their Religion was not opposite to *Sovereign Power*. Passages of Scripture, Testimonys and Examples of the Old and New Testament were promiscuously employ'd with all the Art of interested Eloquence, which transferr'd the Rights of the Judaic Kings to all the Princes of the World, without the least consideration. After Constantine had rais'd Christianity up to the Empire by his Conversion, the Clergy out of interest retain'd the Maxims, which they had maintain'd till then out of necessity: And whereas they laid a great stress through Ambition and Avarice, on those Passages which direct Princes to be Fathers and Benefactors to the Church, he was oblig'd to continue to them, as it were, by way of retaliation for the temporal advantages he extorted from them, the authority wherewith he had invested their Predecessors. Thus those ancient Prelates who thereby acquir'd such Treasures to the Church, according to the common Phrase, laid the Foundation of their Successors Policy; who in order to obtain great Privileges, high Dignities, rich Gifts, and great Revenues have always been ready to confirm to them, as it were in exchange for their Favour, the Right of Oppressing the

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People

People, and to trample upon the most lawful Privileges of Liberty. Those who are any wise conversant with History must needs know that for several Ages complaisance towards the Prelates, and munificence towards the Church were sufficient to sanctifie all the Actions of Sovereigns, and even of Persons of an inferior Rank when they were Rich and Potent.

2. The Policy of the Popes has also contributed considerably towards the Oppression of the People. They have given Princes a helping hand to ruin their Subjects, whenever Sovereigns have condescended to submit to the Authority of the Roman See. This is the way by which that See has indemnified Princes for the independence it has extorted from them. By sacrificing the interest of the people to them, they have recompenc'd them for what they have usurp'd over Crowned Heads. This is the Reason that those that are the greatest assertors of Sovereign Power in relation to Subjects, are those that are most zealous to maintain that the Popes are the only Judges of the Differences that happen between the State and the Prince; that they only can make it lawful for Subjects to take Arms, and free mankind from all the Bonds of subjection. Therefore the Catholicks who were engaged in the Holy League would never condemn it, nor treat with Henry the IV. as Rebels who sued for Pardon. The Popes had Authoriz'd their Fatal Conspiracy against their lawful King; whom they had declar'd a relaps'd Excommunicated

municated Heretick: From whence we may conclude that to judge of the Liberties of Subjects we must never consult Popes nor their Adherents, who in order to make Kings their Subjects, assist Kings to make their Subjects Slaves.

3. Should the Suffrages of all those that have spoken of this matter be told, I do not doubt but the people would lose their Cause by the Plurality of Voices: but if we weigh opinions, and allow the recusation of partial Judges, the number of the Votaries for Arbitrary Power, will diminish more than one half. If we retrench the decisive Voice of Ambitious, self interested Writers, and Pensioners: of those that flatter by profession, or out of policy: of those that have been forced to allow all to Sovereigns, to gain their favour by the sacrifice of publick Liberty, and of all those that have had other reasons for what they have said upon that Subject, besides those that are drawn from the nature of things: there will not perhaps remain so many Votaries of Arbitrary Power as people commonly imagin. And if the rights of the people find as few adherants, it is not to be wondred at. There is nothing to be got by asserting that cause: and the danger is eminent. Pensions and Favours are not dispos'd of by the people: and the services of that kind are often attended with a miserable Life, or a shameful Death. To love liberty in a state where it begins to decay; To assert it when it is tumbling; To speak for it when it is

Priviledges are violated by the strongest; is call'd Sedition and disturbing of the publick Peace, and judg'd worthy of the severest torments. Therefore it is no wonder that liberty seldom meets Protectors, since those that love it, and would preserve their Rights are accounted Criminal.

4. *We may conclude from thence that this question is neither to be decided by any consideration of number, nor yet by the quality of Assertors, among which there are few that are free from the marks of a lawful recusation. The best way to decide it were to consult Nature, and the things themselves: and to see what natural Right, of which the Principles are common to all the World, allows to be to each party. In following this maxim it will be soon discovered that the Original of Societies, and States is very different, and that it is impossible to imagine a source of that Civil Union, applicable to all the Empires that have been form'd in the World. But in the diversity of the motives that have induc'd men to erect those Societies, or of the forms they have given them, we will observe three things, the truth of which is undeniable. The first is that mutual preservation was the end of those Unions; and that none of them were ever made with an intention to give any one a power of destroying, and abusing the rest at pleasure and with out cause. If any would except from this Rule the States that have been form'd by the violence of the strongest, which has constrain'd the*

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the weakest to obey, it is evident that the said power of commanding others is a usurpation, which gives no right to him that assumes it; and of which the effect ceases with the cause. I mean that as soon as the Oppressor loses the force which he abuses, or the oppress'd recover their former vigor, Liberty resumes its former rights, and Usurpation loses its Conquests. That Right is so certain, that it is the foundation of that which annuls all forc'd contracts, and allows us to break them, as soon as we are free of the constraint that forc'd us to accept them. It is vain to reply that God presides at the Birth and Preservation of States; and that when he has allow'd them to be establish'd by Force, those that are involv'd in them must respect their Slavery as a Divine Ordinance, the yoke of which they ought to bear with patience. I answer, that God indeed is the Author of Order and Equity, and that consequently those forms of Government in which we find Order and Equity are undoubtedly the Work of his Providence: but that he has never reveal'd that he approv'd Disorder and Injustice; and that consequently we cannot look upon a Government, that is founded on Fury and Rapine, as ordain'd and instituted by God. Thus the mutual preservation, Order and Welfare of Societies ought to be account'd the first end of those that have form'd them, and even of God by whom they are authoriz'd.

The second, which is also an undeniable Truth, is
that

that publick Faith ought to be the Soul of all Governments, and that as there must of necessity be a bond to unite the parts that compose a Body of what nature soever, Phisical or Moral, nothing but Publick Faith can make the Bond of those Societies. It is presupos'd, by all those that unite their interests for their common defence. Each Member using his particular endeavours expects that the others should concur with him for the Common Good. So that nothing can be more contrary to or more pernicious in Societies, than the violation of Publick Faith. It breaks the most sacred ties of Civil Bodies; and, as it were takes away, their very Being. Therefore every individual compris'd in one of those Bodies, has a right to require of the other Members to keep their promise, and to contribute on their part without Fraud and Treachery, what they owe towards their mutual preservation.

The Third, which is likewise evident, is, that in all the relations that are among Men, there must be something reciprocal of Course. There are none in which the Obligations can be proved all on one side. Therefore we must look on those that are observ'd between the Head and the Members, as on all others. The Head must owe something to the Members, as well as the Members to the Head. The Duty of these is very different, according as the precautions people have taken in submitting themselves to a certain Power, are more or less favourable for liberty. But
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there are two certain and invariable Characters in all the Forms a State can take. The one is, that even in those, in which Liberty has the greatest privileges, the Duty of Subjects is of a great extent, and obliges them to submit to whatever may be advantageous for the Common Good: Nay, even in cases in which particular losses are recompenced by the advantages of the general. The other is that even in those in which Liberty has the narrowest bounds, Subjection can never extend so far as to oblige men to suffer themselves to be destroy'd out of Duty or Conscience. Those must needs have a strange depravation of mind who can conceive that when people did submit to one, or many, it could be on condition that their Rulers should be allowed to destroy them right or wrong, meerly by Vertue of Sovereign Power. Even those who surrender on Discretion, do it only in hopes of being preserv'd by the clemency of the Conqueror, or at least to purchase the Redemption of the whole Body at the cost of some few unfortunate Members. The Duty of Sovereigns receives the same variation as that of their Subjects, according to the limitations that were given to both at the first formation of the State. But it has two Characters which answer those of the submission of the People. The one is that how narrow soever the Bounds of Supreme Power may be, yet still it is of a vast extent, and might be stild in some respect Infinite, in relation to the publick good, to which it must always have a relation: The other is, that

that even in those States in which it is most extended, it never dispences the Sovereign from watching for the preservation of his Subjects ; nor from sincerely applying to that end the power he is intrusted with. It is contrary to nature to think that destruction without a cause, upon the bare account of a Power given to the Sovereign, can be the Right of Supreme Authority. God who might do it, if he thought fit, claims no such right over mankind. He never destroys without a just Cause ; and only to show his Sovereign Power. Therefore there is no reason to believe that he authorizes men to exert a right over others which he is not willing to assume himself.

5. It follows from those Truths that when a Prince endeavours, without a lawful cause to destroy his people whom he is oblig'd to preserve ; when he publicly violates his Faith, which is the Seal of the mutual obligations of his people towards him, and of his towards his people ; when he makes use even of their Patience and Submission, to ruin them the more easily ; when he pursues them with open Force, and that disdain-
ing to observe the very formalities of Justice, to destroy them with some shadow of Reason, he makes use of Fire and Sword in all places, to reduce all his Subjects to his Will and Discretion: It follows, I say, that granting those conditions, the resistance of Subjects is not Criminal. They never have a right to attack: But after having us'd all the Submissions and Remon-
strances

stances requir'd in such Cases, after all that Prudence can advise, to avoid falling into the utmost extremities, there are neither Divine Laws, nor Humane Reasons, to take away from them the Right of defending themselves. It is a Right that is born with all Men, which nothing can ever deprive them of.

6. Example being of a decisive force in Political Questions, it is most Certain that there is no Subject upon which so many can be alledg'd, as that of the Resistance of Subjects to their Sovereign, when he visibly endeavours to oppress them. We meet a world of them both in Ancient and Modern History. It is the source of divers Revolutions, which have from time to time chang'd the face of the World. And even in those States in which Princes have pretended to the highest degree of Power, the People being oppress'd have often put a stop to the said oppressions by Vigorous oppositions, which otherwise would have been carried farther; and this Maxim, that Publick preservation is a lawful reason for People to defend themselves, is so certain and so well known, that even in Seditions and Civil Wars in which the Ring Leaders have other ends, they never fail to place Publick Good at the Head of their Motives; to persuade the World by that specious Title that their Cause is Innocent, and to engage such into their Party as would be averse to it otherwise out of the scruples of a tender Conscience.

7. *If any should alledge that it is impossible to decide to whom it belongs to judge in what degree of oppression it is lawful to lay a side Patience ; and that whatever we fix upon in that case, we must needs expose our selves, as well as all the Authors that have Written about it, to inexplicable difficulties : I answer that the Reason why those Writers are at such a loss, is that they endeavour to find out subtle study'd solutions to an absurd Objection. No man can judge so well, as he whose Life's in Jeopardy, whether he be in danger of losing it, by suffering the Aggressor to have his Will. It would be a cruel absurdity, to say that a Man being set upon on the Highway by a Company of Arm'd Men, who have drawn him into that Peril under a fair pretence, may not lawfully resist them, without having first consulted an able Lawyer, or obtain'd leave of my Lord Chief Justice. On such occasions Nature pleads her self, and supplies the want of a Doctor, or a Magistrate. So likewise supposing the case of an evident Oppression, in which every one beholds the Chains that are preparing for him ; in which not only the Estates and Priviledges of some particular Persons are concern'd, without minding other Rights of less Consequence ; but in which the whole State suffers, or at least a considerable part thereof, which is not to be dispis'd ; in which the most natural and most precious part of Liberty, is at stake ; in which there is reason to fear that the Pa-*
tience

tience of the Oppress'd may authorise the progress of Oppression : In such a case, I say, no body can judge better of the necessity of making a defence, than those who see and feel the progress of the slavery that is impos'd upon them.

8. *If any body exclaims against these and the preceding Maxims, as being attended with pernicious Consequences; as favouring Rebellion, as containing pretences and excuses which the Factions and Disturbers of the Publick Peace may make an ill use of; I answer, first, that it is a misfortune annex'd to several Truths; that they are lyable to great inconveniencies: but yet that they are not thereby deprived of the Right of Truth, by reason that those inconveniencies do not proceed from the Nature of those Truths, but from the Corruption of the Heart of Man, which extracts a Poyson out of the most profitable things. Thus the very Weapons of the Law are made use of to create disputes, tho made to suppress them: which abuse does not hinder those Laws from being Just and Necessary. Thus Casuists daily discover things in Theory, which tho very True are nevertheless attended with ill Consequences in the Practice: which I mean of the most rigid, as well as of those that are accus'd of slackness. The most indispensable Duties of Religion and Morality are so many Arguments of Despair to Weak Souls, when represented to them in their whole extent, with the absolute necessity thereof, attended*

with all their Circumstances and Consequences. Yet those inconveniencies do not deprive those Duties of their natural Justice, and do not discharge Men of the obligation they lay under, of submitting to them. To love our Neighbour is an indispensable Duty. The command of loving him as our selves receives no exceptions. It is the Epitomy of Natural Justice: It is the Summary of one half of the Divine Law. It is the Center from which, all the Precepts of Charity proceed as so many Lines, which is the greatest of all Virtues. Yet by the state to which sin has reduc'd the heart of Men, it happens very often that he who applies himself to that important Duty exposes himself to a thousand dangers. Charity is only a Law to himself; and while he observes it scrupulously, the Wicked take the advantage of it, to be the better able to annoy him. There is no greater inconvenient than to give way to the Oppression of the Innocent. That inconvenient is met with in the fundamental precept of Charity: but yet the truth thereof is not therefore the less evident; nor the Duty less necessary. This shows that the inconveniencies that attend a Doctrine do not always hinder it from being True.

Secondly, I answer, that the opposite Maxim, which abandons the Liberty of the Subject to the discretion of Sovereigns, and allows nothing to the People but Submission and Patience, is attended with as many inconveniencies as the other. I confess that it would be liable to none, if we could be certain of two things;

things ; the one always to have a good, vertuous , Prince, a True Father of his Country ; The other that having such a one, he would barken to and employ none but true Patriots, Persons without Interest, Ambition, or Disguise, by whom he might be well serv'd and counsel'd. We may indeed, and often do see the first; but the second is very rare ; or to say better, impossible. It is easie to determine the Fate of those People whose Fortune, Life, and Liberty pass through the hands of those who cannot be great without oppressing them, or Enrich themselves without their Ruin.

I say in the third place, that both sides being attended with inconveniencies ; those are evidently less considerable which attend the maxim which allows people when they are oppress'd, to resist oppression, than those that attend that which makes it a Crime for them to oppose their own destruction. The reason of it is that the People are commonly very ill serv'd, very easily divided, tyr'd, and blinded ; whereas Princes have all the advantage on their side : That the people never perceive the evil untill it is committed, when it is too late to remedy it ; whereas Princes aim at a great distance, and take their measures, before their Subjects are aware of them : That the People often betray each other, and sacrifice Publick Interest to particular advantages : Whereas Princes raise Soldiers among those very People, to attack them, and money to corrupt them. So that it often comes to pass that the Maxim which authorises them

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them to defend their Lives and Liberties becomes for them a truth in speculation only. It also happens often that finding the Prince ready in all points, and provided beforehand with all things necessary for his Enterprize, the People forfeit the remainder of their Liberty, when they bethink themselves of taking Arms to defend it. In those cases their Resistance is called Rebellion: and the Yoke that is impos'd upon them, is stil'd a Just punishment for their Revolt. Moreover the Resistance of Subjects ought never to extend to the Life of the Sovereign. No Circumstances, nor Authority tho from the Pope can justify an attempt of that Nature. It is the Prerogative of Supreme Power, to fix something that is Sacred in those in whom it resides, which ought to secure their Lives against all enterprises. Whatever Power People reserve to themselves, to hinder the person they acknowledge for their Sovereign from encroaching upon their Priviledges, they can preserve no Right of Life and Death over him. They are so many Tribuns of the People whose person is inviolable, and even their faults, when they commit any, do not deface that character of Majesty which sets them above all others, and exempts them from Corporal Punishment. Resistance therefore can go no farther on the People's side, than to reduce them to those Bounds to which their Authority is limited by the Laws; or at most to deprive them of a Power which they apply to wrong and unlawful use; when instead of imploy-
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ing it for the Protection of their Subjects, they employ it to their ruin. Finally the maxim which Authorises the Resistance of Subjects against the unjust violences of their Sovereign being only allowable in this one case, the Consequences thereof are not so dangerous as they seem to be : by reason that Subjects very seldom form designs against the Authority of Princes, unless Princes abuse it to the utmost extremity. We commonly find, that whatever precautions have been us'd at the founding of a Monarchy, yet he who is invested with the Regal Authority will by degrees usurp some part of the Liberty the People have reserv'd to themselves : but there are few examples of Peoples incroaching upon the Prerogatives of their Sovereigns. The Prince and People may be compar'd to the man, and the Horse of the Fable which was invented to explain this matter in a popular manner. As the Horse can never pretend to free himself of the Bitt and Saddle, having once submitted to it ; the people are oblig'd forever to wear the Yoak, they have freely impos'd upon themselves : But whereas man by degrees extends the power he has receiv'd from the Horse, beyond the ends for which it was given him, and applies it wholly to his own advantage, forcing him not only to Hunt, and to serve him in the Wars, but also to carry burthens for his service ; to draw the Plough, and to turn divers machines : So the Prince

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insensibly and as it were undesignedly extends the bounds of his power, in so much that by degrees the protection he owes his people, which is the source of his Power, ceases to be the principal end thereof, and becomes an inlet of Slavery. Let all the States of Europe be examin'd, and you will not find one in which the Authority of the Sovereign is lessen'd from what it was at the beginning: but you will find many in which the liberty of the people is very much decay'd. It is the Fate of Monarchies: the longer they last, the more the Prince incroaches upon his Subjects. Tho his policy should hinder him from doing it; Time would do it for him, especially in Hereditary States. The long Chain of Succession creates a greater veneration for the Royal Family, and accustoms Subjects to suffer their small Usurpations without murmuring. History affords us sufficient proofs of this Truth, almost in all the States of the World. From whence it follows that Subjects freely leaving their Rights in suspense, and never endeavouring to defend them untill they are violated in the most essential parts, the maxim which authorizes their resistance against the Enterprises of their Sovereigns is not of so pernicious a consequence as some imagin. Subjects do so seldom put it in practice, to the prejudice of a lawful authority, that no body ought to be frighted at it: And it is so easie for Princes to hinder it from being prejudicial to them, that they can blame none but themselves

selves, when it produces an ill effect. 'Tis but to be proud of commanding free People; who obey out of Gratitude and Love; to keep their Promises; to maintain the Laws, and to enrich their Subjects: To Govern their State with Equity, instead of endeavouring to enlarge their Frontiers, or their Authority by unjust means. It is not impossible to meet with Princes of that Character. France has produc'd some Kings who have signaliz'd themselves by that admirable Policy. Such may be found elsewhere, and if example could prevail with all Sovereigns to Reign thus; I could easily name some who might serve them for a Model.

9. *The passages of Scripture which some oppose to this maxim are manifestly wrested; and cannot serve for the use they are applyed to, without being taken in a difficint sence from that which is natural to them. All the Arguments that are groundd upon those principles are differrent in one of these three cases; either they compare things that ought not to be compar'd; or they make Laws for Societies, of that which only contains Moral Rules among private persons; or else they contain precepts which presuppose that those among whom there are Relations of Command and Obedience, do remain, at least prety near, within the mutual bounds of their Duty. It is not to be imagin'd that God design'd by his word to destroy the Rights of natural Justice, which are only groundd upon his own Justice*

stice: His Will admits of no Contradiction. Therefore as there is a Natural Right which authorises Men to defend their Lives, when assail'd, at least to ward the Blows design'd by the Destroyer; and to disarm him of the Weapon he abuses: It is not to be believ'd that the precepts of Patience, Resignation, and Charity, that are so frequent throughout the Holy Scriptures, can receive an explication that annihilates a Right so Just and so Universally acknowledged. Truths never contradict themselves. So that when they seem anywise to contradict each o'her, they must be understood in such a sence as may reconcile them. Neither would it be difficult to find the medium in which they agree, if it did not happen as I have already said, that by reason of the dispositions of the minds and hearts of Men, those things which are speculatively Innocent and True, become pernicious, or impossible in the Practice.

From all these considerations, which the briefness of a Preface does not allow me to enlarge any farther upon, we may inferr this conclusion, that tho it were always to be wish'd that people might never take up Arms, and that it is even often necessary to exceed in Patience and Submission, yet nevertheless, there may be occasions in which oppression is so evident; in which the good of the State is so openly assail'd, in which the most Holy Rights of Justice and Liberty are violated with so little Caution, that the defence of the Oppress'd cannot

cannot be look'd upon as unlawful; nor can they be justly blamed for taking Arms for their Preservation. Nothing but Sophistry and Clamour can be oppos'd to the Truth of this maxim: and I am verily perswaded that those who oppose it, would be the first to put it in practice if being assailed, they could have hopes to preserve themselves by resistance. Profit, Ambition, Hope, may induce men to speak otherwise than Nature, when there is nothing present, or sensible to give their words the Lye: But Nature resumes her Rights, and silences Interest, and Passion, when an urgent occasion obliges man to remember the first of his privileges, which is Self-Preservation. If it could be said that the Soul is naturally Christian; by reason that notwithstanding her being prejudic'd by the Opinion of the Plurality of Gods, which was inspir'd into her by Education, and is become familiar to her by example and custom, yet as soon as the danger presses; and brings man to himself again, she only remembers one God; we may also say that she is naturally instructed with the Right of repelling Violence and Injustice; since that notwithstanding the Clouds wherewith divers Interests obstruct the lights she has receiv'd from Nature upon that Subject, yet one pressing danger is sufficient to make her forget all the foreign considerations she had been prejudic'd by, and to bring her back again to the use of the right she herself thought to have abandon'd.

It now remains to know, whether the Reform'd were in that condition which authorises the taking up of Arms. But that is a case that will plainly appear by the reading of this History. It will discover an open Conspiracy against them, which after many ill effects for the space of about Forty Years, to reckon from the Reign of Francis the 2d had been rather deferr'd by the kindness of Henry the 4th, than stifled by the Authority of his Edicts. You will see it renew'd as soon as that Prince was put in his Grave; prosecuted during the space of Ten Years by thousand secret Artifices of the Court of Rome, conceal'd and covered by all the Veils of a profound dissimulation, which however could not hinder them from discovering some glimpses of the means that were put in practice, in order to their Ruin. You will see the King attacking, while his Subjects send Deputies to obtain his favour; Threatning while they Intreat; Arming while they Implore his Mercy, amidst a thousand Terrors, by submissions and intreaties; executing while they hesitate and are deliberating; taking of Places the keeping of which is still allow'd them for some years; turning out their Governours, violating his own Briefs; while they to avoid the reproach of taking Arms with too much precipitation, differ to put themselves in a posture of Defence; which in a word ruins them half before the War is declar'd against them. If to all this you add a world of infidelities committed by the Council of that Prince; the constant practice of the Roman Church

Church, in what relates to Treaties made with Hereticks; Henry the 3d's Declaration, the Maxims of which had been inspir'd to that King by the Jesuits who had had the care of his Education: that surprising Declaration by which Henry the 3d. had acquainted the World that the Reform'd ought never to trust to his Word, when ever he made a Peace with them, because he would never do it, unless it were in order to take his time better, and to renew the War again with advantage: If, I say, we add all this, and several other considerations that may be drawn out of History, it will appear clearly that the Reform'd were more than convinc'd that their Enemies design'd to exterminate them: That they kept barely upon the defensive; That they were forc'd to take Arms, but too late for their preservation; That they tarry'd untill the Catholicks proceeded from craft to threatnings, and from threatnings to effects, before they lost their patience; That a Peace was only granted to deceive them; That they did not break it, neither the first, or second time, whatever their Enemies say: and in a word that they only defended themselves weakly, and as it were in going back, against a manifest Aggression. Their King had at that time, evidently renounced the Title of common Father of his Country, as well as Henry the 3d. and by endeavouring to destroy a numerous and very potent part of his Subjects, he had given them a just occasion to defend themselves. The Catholicks would never have had so much Patience, had they foreseen at as great

a distancethat a Prince design'd, I will not say to destroy their Religion, and their main Privileges ; but only to retrench one of their most useless Ceremonies, and, as I may say, to extinguish one of the Tapers of their Alters.

I will not insist on the secret design of the Court of France to deprive the People in General and without distinction of Religion, of the remainder of their Liberty ; The Potent Cities of their Revenues, Privileges, Exemptions and Franchises ; The Nobility of their Lustre and Credit ; The Parliaments of their Power and Majesty. This design was cover'd with the pretence of Religion, while the Reform'd had Citys in their Power. However the Court express'd it self so clearly about the Case of Rochel, that no body could pretend to be Ignorant of the reasons they had to declare a War. That City was under Subjection without being a Slave. It was in France partly what the Imperial City's are in Germany. The King Commanded in it ; but the Authority of that command was limited by Laws. The King had been perswaded not to content himself with that limited Power. What they desir'd of the Rochilois was only to renounce acquir'd advantages, which had been confirm'd, and as it were consecrated, by Treaties, by Services, by Edicts, by all that is most holy and most inviolable in humane Right. Therefore that City was ruin'd, only because they were unwilling to submit to slavery. So that the War that was wag'd against it, tho useful according

to a certain Policy which allows every thing just that succeeds, was nevertheless at the bottom the most manifest oppression that ever was heard of, as well as that of the Principality of Bearn. But I should be too Precipitous if I should urge all that could be said to prove that the resistance of that Place, and of all the Reform'd was not unlawful.

As for the third degree in which this History represents the Reform'd, I have no long remarks to make upon it. The Decay of their Religion appears in it in a thousand ways. Their Enemies begin to quarrel with them upon the least Trifles. Annexes, Synods, Books, Projects of reunion, the Rights of Temples, and several other Articles become continual occasions of Debates and Disputes. Offices, and Trades, the exemption of Ministers, the Rights of professing their Religion, the Liberty of abiding in all parts of the Kingdom, become the subject of a thousand Contestations. The Respect due to the mysteries of the Roman Religion, according to their pretensions expose the Reform'd to a thousand Troubles: To all the enterprises of the Clergy, to the violence of their Harangues, and of their Petitions, and to the progress of their designs against them, whereby it is easy to judge that their Ruin was sworn. The Death of the Cardinal, soon after follow'd by the King, by a Minority; by a weak and wavering Regency; by reason of the Ministry of a Stranger, not well settled yet, prov'd the true reason of their being allow'd some years Respite.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Edict of Nantes.

VOL. II.

BOOK I.

A Summary of the Contents of the First Book.

The Court is surpris'd at the Death of the King. Precautions us'd to prevent Disorder. The Regency is given to the Queen. The condition of the Reform'd ; who are dreading and are afraid themselves. False measures taken by the Duke of Sully. He is advis'd to look to himself. He is kindly entertain'd at Court. The Marshal Duke of Bouillon serves the Queen. The Edicts confirm'd by a Declaration. Remarkable Expressions. The free Exercise of Religion confirm'd at Charenton. The

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
Reform'd deceiv'd by those Artifices, think themselves secure. New reasons of Dissidence which awaken them. The Vengeance of the King's Death is neglected. Impudence of Aubigni, and Cotton the Jesuits. The Court avoids penetrating into the Causes of the King's Death. Prisoners releas'd. Suspicions of the most speculative. The double Alliance with Spain is resolv'd upon. The Marshal of Bouillon endeavours to gain the Prince of Conde to side with the Reform'd again; but in vain. * Cahiers answer'd. Disgrace of the Duke of Sully, who is remov'd from the Treasury and from the Government of the Bastille. He writes to the Queen. A General Assembly allow'd for Chatelleraud, but put off to Saumur, by a new Brief. The Marshal de Bouillon gain'd by the Queen. Instructions for Provincial Assemblies. Excuse of the demands that seem'd to be new. Farther Instructions. The Assembly of Saumur, and the quality of their Deputies. In what manner those of Bearn assisted at it. Defective Deputations tollerated. The Marshal of Bouillons inconstancy. about the Presidentship, of which the reasons are unknown. Du Plessis is Elected President, and excuses himself in vain. Discontent of the Marshall Duke, who reconciles himself in outward appearance with the Duke of Sully, and takes the part of Senevieres : the Assembly does the same. The Court dissembles, and the Marshal slackens. An Oath of Union : another Oath against underhand dealings, both ill kept. The Duke of Sully's case is examined ; who makes a long discourse to explain it. The Assembly is of opinion that their Religion is concern'd in that Affair. An Anonymous answer to the Dukes discourse. The like writings in vogue during the Session of that Assembly. A satirical Letter ; which divides the Reform'd into three Orders ; Malicious, Zealous and Judicious. Qualifications of the Queen. True Characters of the Reform'd. From whence the reports that the Assembly design'd to make a War did proceed. Artifices of the ancient Enemies of the Reform'd. Several Catholick Cities Arm themselves. A Sedition at Orleans. Du Plessis reinforces the Garrison of Saumur, with the Kings leave. Commissioners

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ners of the King at the Assembly, who draw the general * Ca-
 hier. The Commissioners declare that they have no Power to
 Treat. The Assembly sends Deputies to the Court, and draw
 Five Cahiers. The Court will have the Principality of Bearn
 to Treat seperately. Union in appearance in the Assembly;
 where discord breaks out at last. The Power of the Deputies
 who carry the Cahier, is limited. The Deputies are well re-
 ceiv'd at Court, where they are flatter'd at first, and deceiv'd
 afterwards; Finally, the Court proceeds even to threats, and
 they are commanded to retire. Letters are sent by them.
 The Assembly expects the return of the King's Commissioners;
 and excuse themselves from nominating six Deputies, in
 which they persist after having heard Bullion. Artifices to destroy
 the steadiness of the Assembly; of which some Members suf-
 fer themselves to be corrupted. Dangerous Councils imputed
 to the Marshal of Bouillon. Bellujon is censur'd by the As-
 sembly. A Letter from the Court authorizing the inferior
 Number against the Plurality of Voices. Bullion seems to ac-
 cept a medium; but retracts all of a sudden, by a strange
 advice of the Marshal Duke, Wise advice of Du Plellis
 who wards the blow. The Assembly nominates Commissioners.
 Vexations of the Marshal about the success of his enterprise.
 Nomination of the Deputies General.

THE whole Kingdom was fencibly afflicted at 1610.
 the Kings Death: at least all those who were
 solicitous for the welfare of France, and
 were not as yet infected with the Maxims
 imputed to the Jesuits, were wounded with
 the same Stab that sent him out of the World. Even those
 that had been desirous of his Death, and that have been
 suspected of having occasion'd it, or at least of having been
 accomplices in it, were at first astonish'd as well as the rest,
 and found them selves Invovl'd in Troubles they had not
 foreseen, or for the preventing of which they had not as
 yet taken sufficient measures. Altho the Tragical end of
 that Prince had been long a hatching, yet they had not pro-

The Court
 is surpris-
 ed at the
 death of
 the King.

1610.  vided against all the inconveniencies that were likely to attend a Death so sudden. Their thoughts being wholly bent on the success of their Enterprize, they had not consider'd the Consequences. Passion commonly occasions those Rash inconsiderate Attempts. It hinders men from perceiving the effects of the satisfaction it has in view, while it imploies them wholly in the pursuit of it. And it is no sooner obtain'd, but the pleasure of the injoyment thereof is interrupted by the sight of the inconveniencies that had not been consider'd: And the mind astonish'd at the difficulties which Passion had conceal'd from it, discovers too late the insufficiency of the Precautions it had taken to prevent them. So that those who expected the greatest advantage by the King's Death, found themselves at first at a loss about the Seditions his Death was likely to excite in the Kingdom. The late King's Party was great and Formidable: and had it been influenc'd by some Chief of consideration, it would not have been difficult to punish the Enemies of that Prince, for the joy they receiv'd by his Death. Moreover there were still Seeds remaining of the former Factions; which had they been reviv'd by the present occasion, might have reduc'd the Court to great extreams, and perhaps to have been the Victim of those Disorders. Therefore they were oblig'd to use a great deal of Caution, and to endeavour by all manner of suppleeness to oblige those who were capable to cause a disturbance to remain inquiet.

Precautions us'd to prevent disorder.

The Court met with very favourable dispositions to that end. There was no Union among the great ones. Jealousie would not permit them to chuse a Chief to command over them. The Prince of *Conde* who could best pretend to it, was then at *Milan*; and before he could come back from a Place so distant, and resolve upon what Party he had best to take, it was very likely that all things would be settled and fix'd. Moreover, there are always too many Persons who only follow Kings because they are the fountain of Favours and Rewards: And consequently who easily turn their inclinations and services on another side, when Providence places the distribu-

tribution of Gifts into other Hands. The Court made an advantageous use of this disposition of minds. They deceiv'd the most formidable, by seeming to place a great Confidence in them; and imploy'd them to hinder the Commotions of the People, which perhaps would have gone far had any body undertaken to make an ill use of the general agitation. They engag'd, all those whose Fortune was not settled, and who were desirous to ingratiate themselves with those that could advance them, to their Party by hopes of reward.

After those things had been taken care of which were most urgent, the Court proceeded to the Affair of the Regency. The Queen obtain'd it with so much ease, That no body oppos'd it; All the Orders or Degrees of the State striving to outdo each other to express most devotion and respect towards her. The next task was to secure the *Reform'd*, whom they look'd upon to be the most difficult to be manag'd. They had lost all in losing the King: with whom we may say, that they had seen two Qualities expire, without which they could not expect that any would maintain them. The one was the affection he certainly had for them, by reason of the Service he had receiv'd from them in his greatest Exigency, and because he look'd upon them as Friends that were worthy of his Confidence, and necessary towards the success of his enterprises. The other was Publick Faith and sincerity, which he valued himself upon, beyond all other Princes, which made him so exact an observer of his Word, that People commonly found more favour in the performance, than he had made them hope for by his Promise. Instead of that they found themselves at the mercy of a Council that was ill affected towards them, in which their ancient Enemies were the strongest, and in which a Cabal Reign'd, of which all the designs tended to the ruin of the Protestants. Moreover they were sensible that *Italian Policy*, which is chiefly grounded on Fraud and Treachery, would soon get the upper hand of the Court, and that Promises would only serve as a mask to surprise the credulity of the People. Therefore the Court looked upon the *Reform'd*, as those that were

1610.

The Regency given to the Queen.

The Condition of the *Reform'd*.

who are dreaded and yet are afraid.

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1610. able to do a great deal of harm in those places where they were the strongest, in case they would make use of their advantages. But those who liv'd in places where the smallness of their number expos'd them to be insulted upon, took measures which put the Court to a greater loss yet; because they might persuade those who lived in distant Provinces, that the *Reform'd* could expect no good from the Government. Inasmuch that many of those who found themselves too weak to make a defence, retir'd in divers places where they expected to find their safety: as if there had been cause to fear a second *St. Bartholomew* at the first Sedition.

False Measures taken by the Duke of Sully.

This Terror not only disturb'd the minds of the People: it also turn'd the Duke of *Sully's* brains, who made a false step, which serv'd for a specious pretence to ruin him. As he was a going to the *Louvre* upon the news of the King's Death; meeting with some Lords by the way, whom he invited to serve the young King and the Queen faithfully, they answering him that it was a thing they were resolv'd to make others promise, he immediately went back, and shut himself up in the *Bastille*. Then took up all the Bread he could meet with at the Bakers, and caus'd it to be carried into the Castle, as if he had been afraid of being starved there; and was resolv'd to take in Provisions to sustain a Siege. It is evident that grief and surprise depriv'd him of his usual Prudence and Courage: but at the same time it is most certain that any other Man would have been as much at a loss, had he been in his place. He had reason to fear not only that his places were in danger of being taken from him, but also of being called to an account for what he had got during the time of his being in Favour, which was considerable enough to create a jealousy: So much the rather too because he had kept all the Kings favours to himself, and had imparted his good Fortune to nobody. Whatever side, he turn'd himself on, he beheld none but Enemies, the *Reform'd* accused him of Coldness and Neglect. The Bigots beheld his Credit with Trouble, because he was an *Heretic*. He had displeased all the Courtiers by his abrupt uncivil behaviour

Book I. *Edict of Nantes.*



haviour. The Queen hated him, because he had often taken the late Kings part against her, and that the *Italians* that were in her service had egg'd her on against him. All these reflections crouding at once into his mind, it is not to be wondered at if he found himself astonished : especially because he had not a Genius to take proper Resolutions and expedients of a sudden : he requir'd retirement and a little meditation to think, after which he commonly chose pretty well.

1610.

His Terrors were also increas'd, by some secret advices he received to look to himself. As it had been in his power to buy Spies, while he had the direction of the Treasury, he was informed that as soon as the King's Death was known at Court, the Queen and her Confidants let fall some words, which threatened him Personally. He was also informed that a secret Council had been held at the Nuncios, in which he had been mentioned ; and that it behoved him to think of his safety. A Princess whom he had engaged in his interest by causing her Pensions to be paid with ease, sent him the same advice. All this being considered, a little Terror was excusable, and another perhaps would have been guilty of the same weakness. But he did not maintain the first step he had made : he went to Court the very next day upon some words of Civility that were brought to him from the Queen, where that Princess received him very well ; and the King who was too young, and of too easie a disposition, not to follow his Mothers instructions in all things, looked kindly upon him. Those Civilities blinded him, and whereas he had formerly given the Queen, and those she lov'd great causes of discontent, which he had a mind to retrieve, he fell into another extream, and offered his Services to them in terms which favoured a little of lowness. He had soon after cause enough given him to repent it, and to discover that they only entertained him kindly at first to laugh at him. Some have been of opinion that he was obliged for the good treatment he received at first to the ready Money he had in the *Bastille*, which they had a mind to get out of his hands :

He is advised to look to himself.

He is well received at Court.

for

1610. for fear that in case they should have disoblig'd him, he might have us'd it to his own advantage, and perhaps to Arm the *Reform'd* in his behalf.

The Marshal *de Bonillon*, who made himself fear'd by his Credit, was the soonest gain'd of any. He did not so much as tarry till he was courted to it, he offer'd himself; and made advances to the Queens Favourites, which many people thought below him. But there was also a necessity of satisfying the *Reform'd*: and as it behov'd the Queen, in order to maintain her Authority, not to take possession of the Regency by broils, she apply'd herself earnestly about it, after she was once certain of it. She met no great difficulty in it. The *Reform'd* ever possess'd with the same genius, desired nothing but their *Bellys full of Preaching*: and the only way to obtain every thing from them, was but to promise them the observation of the Edicts. Therefore upon the very first propositions made by their Deputies General, the Court granted them a confirmation of the *Edict of Nantes*, in all the Points and Articles of it, together with that of all the other Articles, Regulations, and Decrees, granted and given upon the interpretation or upon the execution of that solemn Law. The Declaration thereof was expedited on the 29th of May, and verified within a few days after. They would not have made so much haste about it, but that they were afraid of giving those People that were allarm'd a specious pretence of taking measures together for their defence. Moreover the said Declaration, was couch'd in terms fit to remove the jealousies and suspicions of the most Disident, insomuch, that if expressions had not a very different sence in the Edicts of Kings, from the Common acceptation, it was sufficient to perswade the *Reform'd*, that they should have at least as much quiet under the Government of the Son, as under the Protection of the Father. But they soon discover'd that those Magnificent promises were only agreeable Illusions.

A Declaration
which confirms the
Edict.

We may judge of the stile of the Declaration by four principal things that were set out in it. The first was, that all the King's Subjects, both Catholicks and those of the P. R. Religion endeavour'd by a laudable emulation to out do one another in expressing their Obedience, and in Actions and Deportments which might testify their Fidelity. This praise perhaps was a little too great for an Obedience of a Fortnight's standing: but the Commonality is often taken that way. They are engag'd to give what is requir'd of them by supposing it to be given already. People are engag'd in honour, and are dispos'd to render themselves worthy of the Praise which flatters them, by giving it to them before they have deserv'd it. The second was that experience had taught *Lewis* the 13th's Predecessors that Fury and the Violence of Arms had not only been ineffectual, to bring those back to the *Roman* Church that had quitted it; but that it had rather prov'd disadvantageous to them: which had oblig'd them to apply themselves to mildness, by granting the free exercise of the P. R. Religion. The third was that the Edict of *Nantes* had establish'd a firm Peace among the Subjects of both Religions, which had never been interrupted since. The fourth was that the Edict of *Nantes* being Perpetual and Irrevocable, had no need of being confirm'd by any Declaration. It was natural to judge by this Clause that this last Edict was only given to explain the sence and force of the words, *Perpetual and Irrevocable*, and that it determin'd the signification of it in the most natural and plainest sence that could be given in the Common dialect.

We easily believe what we wish; besides, it is natural to believe that others look upon those things as truths which appear to us certain, and undeniable. Therefore as the *Reform'd* look'd upon those four Points as evident truths and did passionately desire that every body might look upon them as such, they easily believ'd that the Court had the same thoughts. The major part of them suffer'd themselves to be blinded by it, and imagin'd that a King who did declare

1610.
 Remarkable Expressions.

1610.

The free exercise of Religion confirm'd at Charenton.

The Re-form'd being deceiv'd by those Artifices fall into a false Opinion of safety.

New Reasons of dissidence which awaken them.

so plainly that his hands were tyed by the Edict, of which he became Garantie and Executor in the King his Father's room, would never do any thing against those irrevocable and perpetual dispositions. Moreover, the Court in order the better to heighten the sincerity which they design'd to make a show of, publish'd a Brief that same day which confirm'd the favour the *Reform'd* had receiv'd four years before from the late King, by permitting them to perform the exercise of their Religion in the Town of *Charenton*. And to omit nothing that might contribute to deceive the simple, Persons were appointed to insinuate among the People that nothing was so proper and so necessary in order to revenge the King's Death which the pullick Voice imputed plainly to foreign Intreagues, as a good understanding and Peace between the Catholicks and the *Reform'd*. Persons of that Character were not wanting to intrude among the Curious and Idle sort of People, who met together to discourse about publick Affairs: and they never fail'd to say that it were better to perish than to leave that cruel death unpunish'd. Those words mov'd the *Reform'd* to the very bottom of their Hearts; because they imagin'd that all those that were oblig'd to revenge it, were induc'd to it by the Principles of Affection which mov'd them. By those Artifices those People were brought back again, who fled at first out of fear; and all the rest were deluded into an assurance of safety, and never perceived their Error till it was too late to remedy it.

The Clergy harrangu'd the King and Queen that year; but they only mention'd their own affairs. At least it did not appear that they ask'd any thing against the *Reform'd*, whose jealousies they were unwilling to renew. Nevertheless they perceiv'd through all those affectations, that evil designs were hatching against them, and that it behov'd them to seek out better Sureties than the bare promises of the Court. They were soon inform'd that a private Council was held there, in which none but *Italians*, or Jesuits, or old Leaguers, or Biggots were admitted; that

that nothing was talk'd of there but the Marriage of the King, and of his eldest Sister, with the Infanta, and Infant of *Spain*: The breaking of ancient Alliances; the removing of the *Reform'd* from all affairs of State: The Annihilation of Edicts: all which things were suppos'd to be link'd together, the one leading of necessity to the other. Notice was taken of the abusive answer of *Villeroy* to *Sully*, in a Council at which the Queen was present, and in which they were treating about Expedients for the safety of the State. The last oppos'd the putting of a Garrison in *Lyons*, where it was no longer necessary, by reason that by the Conquest of *Bresse*, the said City was no longer a Frontier; to which *Villeroy* reply'd that it was nevertheless necessary to keep Forces there because it was in the Neighbourhood of *Lesdiguières* and of the *Huguenots*, who were as much to be fear'd as the *Spaniards*. The *Reform'd* also observed with grief that all the Kings designs were buried with him; and that the Council hardly minded the affairs of *Cleve* and of *Juliers* for Honour and for form sake. The whole project of that War was alter'd, and the third part of the Forces the King had design'd for it, were not sent thither. The Command of the said Army was given to the Marshal *de la Chatre*, tho it had been promis'd to the Marshal *de Bonillon*: which alteration was made at the solicitation of the Pope's Nuncio, who was affraid the said War might prove advantageous to the Protestants; and that the *Reform'd* being Commanded by a General of their own Religion, would be too severe towards the Catholicks. For the same Reason, most of the Forces that were rais'd by *Lesdiguières* in *Dauphine* in order to be joyn'd with the Duke of *Savoy*, were disbanded. All the hopes that had been conceiv'd of seeing the Kings Death reveng'd vanished in a short time: Since that far from going about it with that Vigour that was expected, it was observ'd that even those who were oblig'd in duty to prosecute it, took care to stifle what ever might be capable to discover the mystery of that Parricide.

1610.

There were so many Instances of the coldness the Court had express'd to revenge the Death of that Prince, that it almost form'd a demonstration of a desire to the contrary. There seem'd to be a great deal of constraint and study in their Mourning; and whereas they affected the contrary of all the Maxims of the late King, people presum'd that they were not much concern'd at the Death of a Prince who had put so long a constraint upon their inclinations. It was daily observ'd by some words that fell from those who should have been most concern'd at that loss, that they did not look upon that accident as a great misfortune: and the remembrance of the domestick vexations the King had been so much troubled with in his latter years, gave great cause to suspect that those who had occasion'd them, had but little regret at his Death. The speculative added to this, that after the fatal Blow, so little care was taken to secure the Murtherer, that he might have made his escape during the Tumult, had he but dropt his Knife: but they were in some measure forc'd to seize him, because he held the fatal Instrument of his Crime in his hand. Some Persons a Horseback appearing at that moment, only to cry out that the villain ought to be kill'd, they were suffer'd to escape without examining whether they went, from whence they came; tho it was easie to Judge that their advice only tended by his Death to remove the means to penetrate into the secret of the Enterprize: as it happen'd by the Imprudence of those that slew the Murtherer of *Henry* the 3^d upon the Spot. After the Murtherer was seiz'd, he was so ill guarded, that it look'd as if they desir'd to favour his Escape. All people were allow'd to speak to him; and notwithstanding the Horror his Crime ought to have inspir'd in every body, he was discours'd with by Persons who express'd no great Astonishment. Even in Prison he was allowed to speak with suspected People; neither was any care taken to oblige a Fryar to explain himself, who after a long and free conversation with him, had the boldness to exhort him, at his

his going not to accuse persons of Worth. The Jesuit *Aubigni* being nam'd by the Criminal as a Person to whom he had confess'd himself, came of with barely saying to *Servin* Advocate General, that God had given him the Grace to forget whatever was reveal'd to him in confession. Those of his Order have had the Impudence to say, after the Death of that great Man, that *Aubigni* had never made that Answer, and that it was invented by *Servin* who was a declar'd Enemy to their Society, to cast a suspicion upon them of having contributed to the Death of the King. And indeed they could not avoid that just suspicion, which went farther yet in the minds of those who had a little penetration : And more credit was given to the Testimony of a Magistrate of known probity than to the Apology of that Cabal of Villains, whose darling virtue is Imposture. Moreover what *Servin* reported against *Aubigni*, was confirm'd by the Common Doctrine of the Society upon the subject of Confession, and by the usual excuse of the Confessors who follow their Maxims. *Cotton* the Jesuit and several others, brag'd of the same Gift, to forget what was reveal'd to them in Confession by their Penitents : and the same Jesuit had had the confidence to make very remarkable answers to the late King upon that subject. The King had been warn'd of that horrible Maxim of the Jesuits, that tho' it were about the Kings Death, yet the Person to whom it were reveal'd in Confession, ought to conceal it with an inviolable secrecie. *Cotton* being question'd by the King himself about this Doctrine, maintain'd it to be good and truly Christian ; and after having refused the objections that were made upon the Consequences of those Maxims, by divers illusive Precautions, he made a shift to evade the most Terrible, by a wretched excuse. The King ask'd him how he would behave himself in case any body should reveal to him a Conspiracy against his Life, finding no possibility to dissuade the Wretch from doing it by his Exhortations, or advice ? he answer'd, that he would interpose his Body between the King and the blow, to save him at the expense

1610.
Impudence
of the Jesuit
Aubigni.

And of Cotton.

of

1610. of his own Life. But such strokes depending on certain moments, which offer themselves without being foreseen, and in which it may happen that the Confessor neither ought or can be near his Prince, It is easie to judge that this ridiculous good will of the Jesuit, could never secure the Kings Life against the enterprizes of a Murtherer. However the King was forc'd to receive this false appearance of Fidelity, because there was none more solid to be hop'd for ; besides that the King not daring to offend that perfidious Society, for fear of proving the experience of those dangerous Maxims on himself, was reduc'd to seem satisf'd with those vain excuses.

*They avoid
peretrating
into the
Causes of
the Kings
Death.*

They added to all the Reflections I have already allעד'd, that during the course of the Information, the Commissioners refus'd to receive such Evidences as might have serv'd to discover the bottom of that Mystery of Iniquity. A certain Woman who had serv'd the Marchioness *de Verneuil*, and who reveal'd strange things, was silenc'd, altho' Queen *Marguerite*, who did not want Judgment, look'd upon her deposition as not being despicable. Even afterwards when the said business was brought into question again, the Testimony of the said Woman was reject'd anew, by charging her with a thousand reproaches ; and lest a time might come in which she would be more favourably hearkend unto, she was Condemn'd as a Calumniator to end her days between four Walls. The whole care of those before whom the Paricide was examin'd, was to make him pass for an Hypochondriack ; and to make him tell such motives of his enterprize, as might persuade the World that he had undertaken it of his own accord. For Instance, that it was because the King had not reduc'd the *Reform'd* to Embrace the Catholick Religion, as he might have done. Secondly, because he was perswaded that the *Reform'd* had design'd a Masacre against all the Catholicks the preceeding year, on *Christmas-Day*. Thirdly, that he had done it on the account of the great Crimes his Conscience was burthen'd with, for which he could hope no Pardon, unless it were by some

some great Action that might prove advantageous to the Catholick Religion. Altho he pretended that these thoughts were altogether his own, it was not hard to see that they were more likely to proceed from the Inspiration of others; and the very proofs of the weakness of his mind, his Visions, his disquiets, seem'd to many a strong argument, that he had only lent his hand to the Designs of Persons who had better heads than he. These thoughts enter'd chiefly into the minds of those who had heard of that horrid Chamber of Meditation, of which strange things were reported, and in which 'tis said that the Jesuits instructed their Penitents in a very extraordinary manner; but yet very fit to make strong Impressions upon weak minds. From whence it was concluded that such a Man as this Paricide, had been a fit subject to suffer himself to be guided by such Illusions.

The Country of the Criminal was another Source of conjectures: and all the others were corroborated by the Reflections that might be made upon the releasing of several Persons who were Prisoners at the time of the Kings Death, and who had been taken up upon the appearances of a Conspiracy that was on foot, after the finding, at *La Fleche*, the Book I have mention'd else where. None but two or three unfortunate *Poitevins* were Executed, and perhaps not so much upon the account of their being the most Guilty, or that their Enterprize was the most Important, as because it was necessary to persuade the vulgar, that the others would have been punished also, had they been found Guilty as well as these. Perhaps also the better to stifle the remembrance of a Conspiracy in which none but Catholicks were concern'd, they thought fit to Execute those Wretches, because there was a Protestant among them; In order to persuade the World that this Conspiracy to the prosecution of which a stop was put, and of which the King's Death might be the sequel, was not a work of the Catholicks. But nothing confirm'd these thoughts more than the reports of the King's Death, which for some time had been spread through *Europe*. The News of that ve-

1610. ry Murther was reported the same day on which it was committed, in places so distant from *Paris*, and with such circumstances, as were impossible to be known without Divine Revelation, or without having known the thing Originally. It was very natural from thence to conclude, that there were places in which the King's Death was spoken of, as a thing that was expected; and consequently that there was a Conspiracy by which that Death was prepar'd: and that those that were concern'd in it, endeavour'd to conceal the secret of it, by making him pass for the Author of the Enterprize, who had only been the Executioner.

*Suspensions
of the most
Speculative* In a word, It was thought, that those who Govern'd, design'd to conceal the true Motives of that Death from the People, and not to dive too far into the secret of it, for fear of discovering Persons of so high a Rank, and who were so nearly related to the King, that it would be dangerous to attack them; especially in a State where the least pretence might have fill'd all with Factions and Disturbances. Nevertheless, these considerations did not secure those Persons from being expos'd to the secret Judgments of those who had a diffident disposition; and the misery that has attended their latter years, has been look'd upon by some, as a punishment for their neglect of discovering the Authors of a Crime which a thousand reasons oblig'd them to Revenge. However the *Reform'd* were sensibly griev'd to see nothing but the Blood of so unworthy a Victim spilt upon the Ashes of that Hero. This difference indeed has been observ'd between the Death of *Henry* the 4th and that of his Predecessor, that this was absolutely forgotten: whereas *Henry* the 4th's occasion'd Civil Wars, and that it was not the fault of his good Subjects if it was not more exactly inquir'd into. It was particularly the passionate desire of the *Reform'd*; who seeing how much the memory of their Protector was neglected, concluded that the Court had as little inclination to maintain what he had done as to Revenge his Person.

All this convinc'd them that they had more reason than ever to dread surprizes and violences : and their Terrors increas'd when they heard that the double Alliance with *Spain*, which they had been so much afraid of, was finally resolv'd upon. In the mean time the Marshal *de Bouillon* being desirous to deserve the Queen's favour, and to improve the times, and the alterations that were happen'd in affairs, stoopt even to please her Confidants ; and condescended to sell his Place of first Gentleman of the King's Chamber to *Conchini*, who was afterwards Marqués and Marshal *d'Ancre* : a Man unworthy of that Rank, whether we consider his Birth, Personal Qualifications, or his Services. The Marshal obtain'd great advantages by it, as to his Interest ; but his Credit prov'd never the greater for it ; and *Conchini* was not of a Nature to be ingag'd out of Gratitude. The Queen behav'd herself kindly towards him, in order to use him as a Tool to ruin the *Reform'd* ; and the complaisance he had for her, contributed considerably towards the Ruin of their Affairs. But whereas that Lord had commonly more than one prospect, he did not absolutely confide on those appearances. Therefore he endeavour'd to strengthen himself and his Party by a considerable Conquest. The Prince of *Conde* who had nothing more to fear at Court after the King's Death, had been recall'd there. At his first arrival he consulted the most considerable of the *Reform'd* : and particularly, before he would appear there, he resolv'd to confer with the Duke of *Sully*, as if he had design'd to regulate himself according to his advice. It appear'd by the sequel that he had not relish'd it : and he express'd but little regard for him on divers occasions. But the Marshal *de Bouillon* who had a better Genius, and greater designs than the Duke of *Sully*, fancy'd that it might be possible to persuade the Prince to return to the Communion of the *Reform'd* Religion ; that having been bred among them in his tenderest years, and having before his Eyes the example of his Father, and of his Grand-Father, whose Names had been made so

1610.

The double
Alliance
with Spain
resolv'd
upon.

The Mar-
shal de
Bouillon
endeavours
to gain the
Prince of
C. nde.

1610. famous by the Wars of Religion, it would be easie to recal him to their Union. He urg'd very powerful Reasons to him upon that Subject. He represented to him what might prove the Consequences of a Minority, which was a Source of Civil Wars. He describ'd to him the Power of the *Reform'd*, which having a Prince at their Head was sufficient to dispose of the Regency. He alledg'd the Example of the two last Princes of *Conde*; and endeavour'd to shew him that Reformation ought to be Hereditary to their Family, and that it was in some measure inseperable from their Glory. He represented to him that in a Conjunction of Affairs when the Government was weak, the Court at odds, and the remainder of the Kingdom divided, he might be strong enough with the *Reform'd* to obtain the first Authority himself. He seem'd moreover to give him a glimpse that Time might occasion such a turn of Affairs, as would allow him to think on greater things. But whether the Prince did not think affairs dispos'd to so easie a success; or whether his Education had inspir'd him with Irresolution and Timorousness; or whether those who had been intrusted with the Government of his Youth had given him an aversion for a Religion which had contributed so much towards the Glory of his House; or finally, whether he thought it more suitable with his designs to remain a Catholick, because he did not think it impossible to secure the *Reform'd* on his side without embracing their Doctrine, and to ingage them to joyn with the Malecontented Catholicks under him, he did not relish those propositions, and he took other measures to advance himself.

The Deputy's General obtain'd some favourable Answers to * the *Cahiers* they presented: particularly upon the Subject of the Sufficiency or Power of the Chamber of *Grenoble*; and upon some disputes of the Chamber of Accounts of *Provence* against the *Reform'd*, to hinder them from removing their Causes to that † Party-Chamber. Moreover they obtain'd Decrees and Commissions upon that

* Petitions
Answer'd.
† Chambre
Mipartie,
in which
the Judges
were part
Catholicks
and part
Protestants

that Subject in the Month of *February* of the following 1610 Year. The King also promis'd to write to the Duke of *Savoy*, to oblige him to grant to the *Reform'd* of the Marquisat of *Saluces*, who had been constrain'd to remove from thence upon the account of Religion, leave to go and come, there to receive the fruits of the Estates they had left behind them, or to dispose of them as they should think fit. And whereas the *Reform'd* complain'd, that the Estates of *Dauphine* made them contribute towards the Gifts they made to Monks and Nuns, either by way of Pension, or to Build, or repair their Convents, or Churches: and that they refus'd even to receive or Register the oppositions of the *Reform'd*: the King setting aside what was past, forbid the Estates to Comprehend the *Reform'd* for the future in the like Impositions; and to make them amends for not ordering the Restitution of the Sums they had been oblig'd to pay till then, he granted 1800 Livres which should be rais'd upon such Lands of the said Country as were Lyable to Contributions towards the charges of the Journey the Deputys of that Province had sent to Court to solicit that affair.

But the most Important Affair of the Year was the disgrace of the Duke of *Sully*, who lost his Super Intendency of the Finances, and the Government of the *Bastille*. Never did people argue more upon the Causes of an Event, than they did upon this fall: and the *Reform'd* themselves look'd upon it as a specimen of the Evil that was design'd to them. The Court of *Rome* had murmur'd so long to see the Finances in the Power of a Protestant, that it is very likely that Religion had a share in the reasons for which they were taken from them. But on the other hand it was as clear as Day that the ancient discontents of the Queen, of *Conchini*, of his Wife, and of some others were the principal Motives of it. His Zeal for reducing the House of *Austria* had made him Odious to all Passionate Catholics, or to those that enter'd into the Intreagues of *Spain*. His unfociable humour had created him Enemys among

*Disgrace of
the Duke of
Sully.*

1610. degrees of People : and even during the time of his Favour, a letter had been written to him without a Name, but yet pretty well Pen'd, to exhort him to be more Complaisant and more Liberal. The Count of *Soissons* hated him for the ill Services he had often done him by taking the King's part against him. The Prince of *Conde* was disgusted by him ; and upon that account had followed the advice of the Marshal de *Bouillon* his Enemy. *Sillery* *Villeroy*, and *Jeannin*, who were the three Heads of the Council that govern'd all the rest, had conceiv'd of old a hatred of Ambition against him ; because he had a greater share than all of them, both in Affairs, and in the Kings favour. Moreover he depriv'd them of the Pleasure to which Men of their Quality are most sensible, not allowing them the least Authority in the management of the Finances, which he had the Sole disposal of without imparting it to any body : so that they could neither enrich themselves nor their Creatures. Being thus assail'd on all sides, and seconded by none, it was impossible for him to defend himself against the Revenge, Ambition, and Avidity of so many Enemies. Nothing spoke in favour of him at Court but his Fidelity, his Labours and Long Services : but those are but little regarded there, unless one has better Recommendations ; and that Merit be seconded with Flattery, and Complaisance.

Who is removed from the Exchequer and from the Government of the Bastille.

Therefore after having maintain'd himself in his Places for the space of six Months, he receiv'd an order from the Queen to resign the Finances, and the Government of the *Bastille*. But that which prov'd most offensive to him, was that they were taken from him in an insulting manner ; persuading him that he had desir'd to be discharg'd of them, and to receive a Recompence instead thereof. The Pretence on which the Court gave this Turn to his Disgrace, was that when he offer'd his Services to the Queen, he at the same time offer'd his Person and Places to her in terms that were very positive and full of exaggeration. But tho it was only meant as a Compliment, the Queen took it in the Verbal Sense, and seem'd to have understood that in Earnest, which

Sully

Sully had only said to express his Devotion the better to that Princess. So that the Command he receiv'd to resign his Places, was pend in such a manner, that it seem'd to be a favour he had desir'd; the remainder of his Employments were confirm'd to him; and he was allow'd a recompence of 300000 Livres for those that were taken from him. This was accompanied with Expressions and Testimonies of his Majesties being very well satisfied with his Services. The Queen writ every where to give an Account of this Removal, and of the Reasons that had induc'd her to it: so that the prepossess'd peoples minds, which so bold an attempt, at the beginning of a Regency, might have been capable to shake, had *Sully* spoken first.

The Duke seeing himself depriv'd of the high Credit he had possess'd at Court during the Life of his good Master; and dreading perhaps that this first stroke was but a specimen of what they design'd against him, resolv'd no longer to appear in a Place where he had so many Enemies, and in which he could make but a very melancholly Figure for the future. Therefore he remov'd to *Sully* within a Weeks time, and from thence, in order to be reveng'd of those that had injur'd him, Persons who little valued that Vengeance, or rather to acquaint all *Europe* with the injustice that had been done to him, he writ an Apology in the form of a Letter, to the Queen. It was very strong and bold. He disown'd the pretences that were us'd to divest him; and constantly refus'd the profer'd Recompences. He declar'd that he would have been less offended, if the morosiness and untractableness of his Humour had been alledg'd as the cause of his disgrace, instead of a pretence which turn'd him into Ridicule; and which under the appearance of an Approbation of his Services, depriv'd him of his Employments, as if he had been unworthy, or incapable of them. He express'd his Services in it, in Terms that look'd somewhat like a Reproach: and demonstrated that he had sav'd upwards of two Millions by his management. It is certain at least that he had acquitted the King's debts, clear'd his

Demesne,

1611.

*He writes to
the Queen.*

1611. *Demefne*, and Revenues, and put his Exchequer in a better condition than ever it had been. So that he might speak the more boldly, because he had no Enemys that could be so impudent as to deny it. Some Replys were dispers'd against him; but at the bottom those who had thrown him down thought they might content themselves with his fall, and so left him the Consolation of not disputing with him about the truth of his Services.

General
Assembly
allowed for
Chastelleraud.

Nevertheless that affair was canvas'd again in a General Assembly which the *Reform'd* held that year at *Saumur*; and had not their Divisions hindred them from taking good Resolutions, or from putting those in Execution which they had taken, the Court would have been very much at a loss. The Deputys General had followed the King to *Rheims*, where he was gone to be Crown'd, and had obtain'd a Brief of the 10th of *October* of the preceding year, which allow'd the holding an Assembly at *Chastelleraud* on the 15th of *May* following. But the said Brief oblig'd the Deputies only to Treat about the Nomination of those that were to succeed *Mirande*, and *Villarnoul*, and forbad them to meddle with any thing else. To say the truth that prohibition was a mere illusion: since that the Nomination of new Deputies implying of course, as *Henry* the IVth had explain'd it at the Synod of *Rochel*, in 1607, the care of receiving the account of the Deputation of those that had preceeded them; and that of Writing new Instructions for those that did succeed, and to prescribe them those things which they were to solicit at Court, it was allowable under that Pretence to speak of all the Complaints that were to be incerted in the * *Cahiers* of the Provinces; and of all such things as the Deputies might be order'd to ask of the King for the Common safety. Therefore all things relating to Religion had all along been debated in Assemblies of that Nature; and they us'd to draw *Cahiers* there to which that Assembly received an answer before their breaking up.

* *Petitions*
or *Addresses*.

When

When the Breef was granted for *Chatelleraud*, the Duke of 1611.
Sully still enjoy'd his employments: but when the Time for
 the meeting of the Assembly drew at hand, the Court be-
 gan to fear that the said exasperated Lord would render
 himself Master of the Assembly, in case they were allow'd to
 sit in a Town of his Government, and therefore they thought
 fit to remove it to another place. Therefore the King or-
 dered the Deputies by a new Breef of the 2d of May to re-
 pair to *Saumur*, as a Place more agreeable and more conven-
 nient. This alteration made all of a sudden, without so
 much as harkning to the Remonstrances of the Deputies
 General, seem'd very strange to the Deputies; and so much the
 rather, because it proved the consequence of the Marshal *de*
Bouillon's arrival at Court. In effect this new order was
 given soon after his having spoken with the Queen. This Prin-
 cess who was desirous to make use of him to divide the Re-
 form'd, dazzl'd him by the marks of her Confidence; and
 ask'd his advice in things she had resolv'd before hand; as
 if she tarry'd for his opinion to determine her self. It prov'd
 no hard task to make him consent to the transferring of the
 Assembly, by reason that he being at odds with the Duke
 of *Sully*, dreaded a concurrence in a place where the said
 Duke was the strongest. His proceedings in the sequel made
 some believe that he himself had inspir'd the thoughts of
 that Alteration.

Remov'd to
Saumur
by a new
Brief.

Nevertheless, he had express'd very good intentions at
 first: And when the Assembly was resolv'd upon, he had
 oblig'd *du Plessis* to draw Instructions to be sent into the Pro-
 vinces, to serve as an overture to form the * *Cabiers* of the Pro-
 vincial Assemblies. The Marshal *de Lesdiguières* was of the
 opinion of Marshal *de Bouillon*; and both employ'd *Bellajon*,
 to incline *du Plessis* to it. He consented, and having com-
 municated the *Mémoires* he had drawn to them, he found
 them of his opinion: So that most of the Provinces then
 conform'd to it.

The Mar-
shal de Bo-
uillon is
gain'd by
the Queen.

* *Petitione*
or Adres-
ses.

He spoke about the Quality of those that were to be de-
 puted by every Province; and propos'd the sending of Per-
 sons

Inst. utions
for the Pro-
vincial As-
sembly.

1611. sons of Quality and Sufficiency ; That they should desire the Lords, and the Persons of most Authority to appear there ; That it would be proper to deliberate whether they could relinquish something of the last settlements in the next Assembly, by reason of the Conjunction of the times ; That the Deputies should be allow'd by their Instructions a power to acquiesce to what ever they should think useful and advantageous for the Churches, when propos'd by others ; That it should be left to their discretion to remain assembled all or part ; untill the Assembly had receiv'd satisfaction ; That the demands of the Provinces should be modest, lest they should be accus'd of taking an advantage of the Publick Calamities, to make a quarel ; That they should all be grounded as much as possible, either expressly, or by good consequences upon the Edicts and Concessions ; That the weakest Provinces should not be jealous of the strength of the others, and that they should look upon the Power of these as their security. This Article was one of the most necessary, because there were already, as I have observ'd elsewhere, Seeds of Division in the diversity of Opinions of the *Reform'd* according to the places where they did inhabit. Those who liv'd in the Provinces where they were the weakest, were afraid of offending the Court, and had commonly great complaisances for it, which they knew very well how to abuse. They imagin'd that as they were not in a condition to make a defence they would revenge upon them all the Vexations they should receive from the Provinces where the *Reform'd* were most formidable. The others on the contrary believed with reason, as experience has shew'd it since, that provided the *Reform'd* were made formidable in those places where they were the strongest, their Power would serve as a Buckler against the weakness of the others ; and that while they had good Places, and good Garrisons in the Southern Provinces, the Court would be sure not to molest those that were at their discretion in the adjacent Provinces. After this proceeding to more particular propositions, he was of opinion to desire the

the Re-establishment of the *Edict of Nantes* in all Points, such as it was agreed upon with them, and consign'd into their hands: as also that the Breef of the Places of Surety should be re-establish'd in the same manner; That the places lost upon the account of the Governor's changing their Religion, or otherwise should be restor'd; That the keeping of all the said places should be continued at least for Ten Years longer; That the sum promis'd to maintain the Garrisons there, one half of which had been retrench'd should be re-establish'd; That the Payments should be made quarterly, without Deduction, in the very Places: That Measures should be taken to prevent the Abuses that might be committed in providing for vacant Governments, to the prejudice of the Churches; That they might be allow'd to Fortifie such places as time had decay'd. He added that they should complain, that upon the pretence of those places which the *Reform'd* had in possession, they were excluded from all other Employments, and Dignities, as if they could have deserv'd nothing by their Services, beyond what they had; That they should desire that the resignations of the Governments of those places, should not be receiv'd without the approbation of the Churches; The same as to the places of Counsellors and Presidents of the Chambers; That a free liberty should be allowed for the composition, impression, Sale and distribution of all the Books that should treat about the *Reform'd* Doctrine.

He observ'd at the end of those Articles, that the Catholics would have no reason to wonder at their making new demands, since it was a thing that had been done by every body since the Kings Death; That the Catholics of *Bearn* and the Jesuits had done the same; That the *Reform'd* having lost their main Security, by the Death of a King who could protect them against Violent Councils, were excusable in taking new precautions; That nevertheless, those they desir'd were for the most part relating to the Concessions of that Prince.

*Excuses of
the de-
mands that
seemed to
be new.*

1611.

Continuation
of the
Instructions.

In the next place, he propos'd to desire, that the Places that had been allowed for the Exercise of their Religion, for certain Towns, in places that were too distant, should be remov'd nearer, to the end that they might be the better secured against the Insolence of the People, by the facility of making their application to the Magistrates ; That the Article relating to Church-Yards, which expos'd them to so many Barbarities, should be reform'd ; their Corps being often taken out of the Grave again, long after their Interment, That such Preachers and Confessors, as taught that those who hold any Communication with the *Reform'd*, serve and assist them, are Damn'd, might be punish'd as Seditious Persons, and infractors of the Edicts : That two places of Masters of Request might be given to the *Reform'd*, the first time *Gratis* ; and a Notary's Place in every Royal Tribunal, or at least in every place of Surety, paying a moderate Fine for the same ; That the Jesuits should not be allowed to reside in the places of Surety ; That some Towns might be allow'd to them at an easie rate, in such Provinces where they had none, and where there was a great number of *Reform'd* ; That they might be allow'd to hold a General Assembly every other Year ; That the Deputys General, two in number, nominated by the Assembly, might reside at Court at the King's Charge ; That the Provincial Deputies might apply themselves to the General without being oblig'd to make their application to the Governours and Lieutenants General of the Provinces.

Assembly of
Saumur
and the
Quality of
the Deputies.

The Provincial Assemblies having partly followed *du Plessis* *Memoirs* in their Instructions, the Deputies repair'd from all Parts to *Saumur*, where they met to the number of Seventy Persons, among which there were Thirty out of the Body of the Nobility, including those that had been desir'd to assist at the said Assembly without an express Deputation ; as the Dukes of *Bouillon*, of *Sully*, and several others. The Dukes of *Roan* and of *Soubise* were there as Deputies for the Province of *Brittain* ; The Count of *Panjas* and *la Force* for the lower *Guyenne* : *Chattillon* Grand-Son to the Admiral, for the lower

Lan-

Languedock : The Marquis of *Servieres* for the upper *Guyenne*. *Lesdiguieres* had sent *Bellujon* thither, to manage his Interests ; and whereas he was not as yet certain whither he could confide in the Court, he was willing to remain in the Union of the rest of the *Reform'd*. *Roche* which held the Rank of a Province, had four Deputies there ; and the Principality of *Bearn* had as many , but there was something very singular in relation to that Principality, which kept at a distance upon the account of their Priviledges. As there had been a necessity to make a particular Edict to regulate the *Reform'd* Religion there, they pretended that the Edict of *Nantes* was not made for them. For which reason they joynd with the other Provinces, rather as a Confederate Province, than as a Member of the same Body ; lest in case the Union were stricker, that which might happen to those that were regulated by the Edict of *Nantes* would extend to them, and prejudice their particular Priviledges. The Court had carefully manag'd that overture of division even in *Henry* the Fourth's time, and since his Death they look'd upon it as an occasion to begin the ruine of the Party ; because they might allege to the rest of the *Reform'd*, while they oppress'd their Brethren of *Bearn*, that whereas that Province was not a Member of their Body, and did not live under the same Laws, they had no reason to complain of the alterations that were design'd there. The sequel will show how the Court made use of that Expedient to overwhelm the *Reform'd*, who had been amus'd by the illusion of a Royal Promise. But now it will suffice to say, that the Council would not allow the Complaints of that Province to be incerted in the General * *Cabier*, and that they were oblig'd to make a particular Petition

*How those
of Bearn
assist at it.*

* *Petition or
Add ess.*

There were also 20 Ministers deputed in the said Assembly, and 16 Elders: and whereas this had a resemblance to the States General, which the *Reform'd* seem'd to imitate, by these three different orders of Deputies, that Consideration, and several others as trivial and as vain, were us'd to persuade the Queen, and particularly the King, a Prince who was

1611. jealous of his Authority, even in his tenderest Years, tho in his riper years he never had the power to preserve it, that it was a kind of Republick, and State within the State, which the Reform'd design'd to erect to maintain themselves. Moreover it was observ'd in that Assembly that the Deputies of some Provinces had sign'd their Credentials themselves, and had sign'd them alone, whither it were that fear had hindered the Heads of the Provincial Assemblies from putting their names to it; or whither Division had already produc'd that effect in the Provinces adjacent to the Court; or finally, whither not having been able, or not having dar'd to form Particular Assemblies, they had been forc'd to an unusual way of proceeding to make that Deputation. However the Assembly having heard their reasons, laid aside Forms, and acknowledged them lawful Deputies of their Provinces.

Toleration
for de-
sive De-
putations.

Incenstan-
cy of the
Marshal
de Bouil-
lon about
President-
ship.

But there happen'd a misfortune at the very Overture of the Assembly which neither time, nor the urgency of Affairs could ever repair. The Marshal *de Bouillon* had often declared to divers persons, and had told *du Pleffis* by the Dutchesse *de la Trimouille* his Sister-in-Law, That in order to avoid Discord and Jealousie, it was necessary not to give the Presidentship to a Lord of the greatest Quality. This seem'd to proceed from a very good intention; by reason that he being the most likely person to obtain that honour, upon the account of his Age, of his Experience, and of his Quality, he seem'd to renounce to an acquir'd Right for fear of creating jealousies among those who had not near his Merit, or Quality: He never seem'd to alter his sentiment, untill his first advice had been approv'd of by all those who appear'd in the Assembly. *Du Pleffis* had had time enough to communicate it to all the Deputies, because the Marshal came to *Saumur* a day after all the rest. They had so much consideration for him, that they deferr'd the Overture of the Assembly, till his arrival. Without doubt they did very well to express that respect for him, since he affected on so many occasions during the whole Session, to take offence

at

at their resolutions, that it was easie to see that he had a mind to quarrel with them; and that he would certainly have taken a pretence to do it, upon their not doing him the honour to tarry a day for him. He had said nothing till he came within two or three Leagues of *Saumur*, by which any body could judge that he had altered his mind about the Presidentship. But then he began to express that he had another prospect, and that he was so far from desiring that the great Lords should be excluded from that honour, that he pretended that it could not be given to any body but himself, without injustice. He express'd himself publickly about it at *Saumur*; and carried the thing so far, that he desir'd the Presidentship as a thing that was due to him; intimating that he would look upon a refusal as a sensible affront.

The Assembly endeavour'd to divine the reason of that alteration; but they could do it no otherwise than by uncertain conjectures: some look'd upon it as an effect of the Flattery of some Deputies, who had perswaded him that he was in some respect born President of the General Assemblies; and that he should wrong himself to suffer any other to be nominated in his Presence. Others imagin'd that the reason of his first sentiments proceeded from a design to hinder the Assembly which was then summon'd at *Chatellerand*, from honouring the Duke of *Sully*, Governour of that Province with the Presidentship; but that the orders being chang'd as to the place, by transferring of the Assembly to *Saumur*, where the Duke of *Sully* had no more interest than he, he judg'd that the said precaution was no longer necessary. Others thought that this new advice came from the Court, and that he had promised the Queen Services which he would be better able to perform being President, than having but one Vote to give, as a Member of the Assembly. *Du Pleffis* us'd his utmost endeavour to obtain that satisfaction for him, and the Election of a President was defer'd upon that very account, untill the Afternoon, tho it was usual to name him before the Sermon of the

Of which the reasons are unknown.

Over-

1611.

*Du Plessis
is elected
President.*

*He excuses
himself in
vain.*

*Discontent
of the Mar-
shal Duke.*

Overture. But neither the reasons of *du Plessis*, and the example of his Province, nor yet the threatnings of the Marshal who protested that he would retire, in case they refus'd him the Presidentship, could prevail, nor hinder Ten Provinces out of Sixteen from electing *du Plessis* President. None but six gave their Votes for the Marshal. *Chamier* Minister of *Montelimar* was nominated Associate to *du Plessis*; and *Des bordes Mercier*, Son to that *Mercier* so famous for his Learning in the *Hebrew* Tongue, was elected Secretary. The Marshal express'd his discontent by so many marks, that *du Plessis* thought himself oblig'd to make excuses not to accept the honour that was done him; and to go out of the Assembly to let them deliberate about his excuses. But he was unanimously desired to accept the Place that was given him by the Plurality of Voices. Without doubt there enter'd some jealousy in that Nomination: And whereas there were Provinces whose Deputies would not have yielded to the Marshal of *Bouillon*, it is very likely that they chose rather to give the first Rank to a Man, who could not pretend to it, unless it were by his Merit and Probity, than to the Marshal, who thought it due to his Quality. Moreover, *Sully* who look'd upon him as his Enemy, and who had great concerns to propose, undoubtedly prevail'd with his Friends not to do him the affront, to elect a Man President whom he had reason to dread every thing from.

The Marshal being highly exasperated at this slight, threatened highly to resent it, and to retire from *Saumur* the very next day. Nevertheless, the Night appear'd part of his anger; and he was perswaded out of some considerations not to make so much haste. *Du Plessis* gave him the best reasons he could think on; and protested to him, that he had never sought after the honour that was done him, either directly, or indirectly; made sincere remonstrances to him about the liberty that ought to be allow'd to the Churches on those occasions; alleviated the offence by all the Turns he could give to it, and particularly by the deference he express'd for him, during all the Session.

But

But tho the Marshal seem'd satisfied with those Civilities, he shew'd in the sequel that he had not forgot his threatnings to be reveng'd. Nevertheless, a Reconciliation was made between him and *Sully*; and after they had told one another whatever they had to say, they concluded by reciprocal Protestations of Friendship. After this the Marshals mind seem'd to be moved again by the spirit of Concord, and to aim at the Publick good, as well as the rest of the Assembly. His advices were great and bold in divers occasions: especially in the Case of the Baron de *Senevieres*, Governour of *Chatillon* upon *Indre*. That Gentleman had lately embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion: which had excited the Catholicks of the Town to the utmost fury against him. They took up Arms against him, and resolved to demolish all the fortifications of the Castle; and in order to hinder *Senevieres* from living there, to ruin all the Places in which he could have inhabited conveniently. The Marshal of *Bouillon* made an Ordinance upon that Subject, to appease the Inhabitants. But what he did to satisfy them only served to exasperate them the more: so that *Senevieres* was reduced to great extreams, had not the Assembly undertaken his defence.

1611.

Who seems
to be reconcil'd to the
Duke of
Sully.

And Inter-
resses him-
self for *Senevieres*.

And indeed it behoved them not to neglect an affair of that Consequence. It was a new place which *Senevieres* did put into the hands of the *Reform'd*: and it was their interest to maintain those that imbrac'd their Religion, to the end that such as should be inclined to do it for the future, might not be dissuaded from it out of fear of losing their Employments. Moreover, the most Important Priviledge of the Edit, was that, which declared the *Reform'd* capable of all sorts of Employments: and it was a visible derogation of that Priviledge, to consent that a Man who was in possession of an employment while he was a Catholick, should be deprived of the same for changing his Religion: Since that being either Catholick or *Reform'd* he was equally qualified for it. But besides the interest of *Senevieres*, and that of the general Cause, there was yet another which obliged the Assembly.

The Assembly do's the same.

1611. Assembly to concern themselves in that Affair. There was a report of another Governour who was hindered of declaring himself, out of fear of being turned out of his Government the next day. All this determined the Assembly to take *Senevieres* cause in hand : and by the advice of the Marshal *de Bouillon* himself, who sent one of his attendants, to inquire about the excesses committed by the Catholics, they deputed the Baron of *Senas* to the Court, with positive Instructions ; resolving not to treat about any thing with the King's Commissioners which were expected at *Saumur*, untill they had obtained satisfaction for that disorder.

*The Court
evades and
the Mar-
shal fails of*

But this Resolution produced but little effect. The Court evaded the Petitions of the Assembly by an illusory Commission, which was given to *Frere* a Master of Requests, a Man often employed in Affairs in which the simple were to be amused. This Commissioner maintained *Senevieres* in the Government, and in the Possession of the Castle, but it was upon very hard Conditions, which leaving him the Title of Governor, nevertheless deprived him of the Authority of it. Among other Clauses he oblig'd him to keep the Draw-Bridge ever down ; and to keep but five Servants about him : which expos'd him to all the enterprizes of the Catholics. The Marshal *de Bouillon* after having seen the King's Commissioners, refused to speak any further for *Senevieres* ; neither did he suffer himself to be moved by the Remonstrances of the Assembly. As for the Governour who seem'd to be dispos'd to embrace the Reformed Religion, he was exhorted to make his Declaration speedily ; and the Assembly promised to use their utmost endeavours to protect him.

*The Oath
of Union.*

The Affair of *Senevieres* was treated of on the very first day of the Assembly. The next day they renewed the Oath of Union, which had been taken on other occasions of the like nature ; and a Draught was made of it, which only contain'd two points : The one was Obedience to the King ; and the other Concor'd and no Self-
Inte-

Interest among the *Reform'd*, for their Common Preservation under the Protection of the King, and within the bounds of their Allegiance. And yet this Oath was so ill observ'd, that even during the Session of the Assembly, Discord and Interest were like to ruin all. Nevertheless all the Deputies took it without the least scruple; and the Duke of *Sully*, who had formerly oppos'd those Renovations of Union, was not one of the least diligent to enter into it; because he was sensible that the Common Cause would secure his. They took another Oath, which oblig'd all the Members not to make Brigues to obtain the Nomination of Deputies General, or to be employ'd in the Deputations that should be sent to the Court. This Oath was as ill kept as the first; and those Brigues weremade almost publickly. In the next place Commissioners were nam'd to draw the * *Cahiers* of the Com-
 ~~~~~  
 plaints and demands they should have occasion to make; and an order was made that all such as should have any secret or important Affairs to propose, should declare the same to the Moderators, before they mention'd them to the Assembly.

The Duke of *Sully's* Affair was treated of at Large: He made a long Remonstrance to the Assembly: He answer'd the Complaints of those who had found fault with his giving his Demission without having first consulted the advice of the Provinces: And he alleg'd for his Reasons, that he had been press'd too much to have time to consult them; Besides that the Queen had given notice of it her self, in causing the News of his destitution to be writen every where. That he did not dare to complain, for fear of offending the Court in saying the truth. That he had not consented to his fall out of choice, but obedience; and that he had been forc'd to do it in some measure. That nevertheless he had done nothing, as yet in relation to the recompence he might pretend; not having taken any resolution about it yet, so that it was still time enough to take advice: and he desir'd it upon four things: *First*,

F

Whether

1611.

Another  
 Oath a-  
 gainst un-  
 derhand  
 dealing  
 both ill  
 kept.

\* *Petitions*

They exa-  
 mine the  
 Affair of  
 the Duke  
 of Sully,  
 who makes  
 a long dis-  
 course to  
 explain it.

1611. Whether he should leave all things as they were? that is never more to mention a reſta bliſhment, or recompence. *Secondly*, Whether ſuppoſing that he ſhould ſpeak about it again, he ſhould deſire only to be re-eſta bliſh'd in his Places? And, *Thirdly*, Whether all hopes of being reſtor'd to them being taken away, he ſhould accept the Recompence that was offer'd to him. From thence he took occaſion to make the fourth *Queſtion*, *viz.* Whether in caſe he ſhould accept a Recompence, he ſhould receive one of Honour and Safety, or of Profit and Convenience: that is, whether he ſhould deſire a Marſhal's Staff, or a new Government; which he call'd Honour and Safety? or whether he ſhould accept the 300000 Livres; which he call'd Profit and Convenience? After this he deſir'd the Aſſembly above all things to conſider whether his affair was General, and related to the Obſervation of the Edict, or whither it was particular to himſelf. In the next place he endeavour'd to excuſe the Queen, tho ſhe was the real cauſe of his diſgrace. He alſo added a recital of the Services he had done the State; of which he alledg'd for proofs, of one ſide the ſatiſfaction the King had expreſs'd to him about it; and on the other the Compariſon of the State of Affairs, when the Adminiſtration of it was committed to his care, and when it was taken from him. His remonſtrance would have been very moving, if to all this he could have join'd ſome marks of his Services to his Religion, and to the Churches of *France*, while it was in his power to do it.

The Aſſembly is of opinion that this Affair concerns their Religion.

The Aſſembly declar'd that the Duke of *Sully's* Affair concern'd all the Churches; ſince that conſidering his great and known Services, no reaſon could be given for his fall but his Religion. They concluded that he ought to accept no other recompence for his Services but of Honour and ſafety. They promis'd to order the Deputies General to joyn with him in the proſecution of that affair. They deſir'd both him and his Son not to lay down the remainder of their Places: and they promis'd to aſſiſt him by all lawful means, in caſe he ſhould be unlawfully proſecuted;

1611.

ted; which they would insert in the Instructions of the Deputies General. This Protection was due to the Duke by the Churches, if it be true that his affection for them transported him beyond the bounds of Prudence and Respect, in the Council where *Villeroy* propos'd to put a Garrison of *Switzers* into *Lyons*, contrary to his advice, as I have heretofore related it. Things went so far between those two Lords, and *Villeroy* spoke of *Sully* and of the *Reform'd* in terms which express'd so much contempt, and inveterate aversion, that it is said, that *Sully* answer'd him that he would find a way to hinder him from sacrificing them to the Policy of *Spain*: and that he even threatned to strike him, which added a potent Reason to those which the Cabal of *Spain* had already to remove that surly superintendent out of the Treasury, and to ruin his Credit. The Remonstrance he had made to the Assembly, being design'd for the Publick, as well as for them, the Copys he dispers'd of it occasion'd the Answer of an unknown Person, Intituled *Advertisement given by an Overseer of Cha-renton to the Assembly of Saumur*.

It was properly a Satyr against the Duke, which under the Notion of remonstrating what answer ought to be made to his four Questions, turn'd him into Ridicule in a very scornful manner. The Author in the first place told them that it was not necessary to exhort the Duke to keep the Places he had left, because he was sufficiently inclin'd to do it of himself. That they should advise him to stick to his first proposition, *viz.* To leave things in the State in which they were, without endeavouring either to be restor'd, or to receive a recompence; and to egg on his Generosity in that point. That they should remonstrate to him that it would be vain to attempt the second, *viz.* To be restor'd; since his Place was taken, and in the possession of a Man as easie of Access, and as Civil, as *Sully* had been difficult and Surly: It was *Schomberg*, who was as lavish, as *Sully* had been rigorously sparing. That as to the Third, about the recompence that was offer'd him,

*Anonymous  
Answer to  
the Duke's  
discourse.*

1611. they should persuade him to submit to the King who would have him to accept it. That upon the Fourth, which related to the nature of the Reconpance, he ought to declare himself about it. That what was befallen him, ought to be look'd upon as one of those Eclipses of Fortune, which are so frequent; and which only relating to himself, did no wise concern the *Reform'd* Religion in general. That Kings were common Fathers to all their Subjects, and would use them all alike. That the Assembly would be to blame to Insist too much in that affair, and to take the Duke's part: That both the Catholicks and Protestants would find fault with it, as well as with the Oath of Union which they exacted from the Nobility: and he compar'd that Engagement, *en passant*, to the League which had been abhor'd by every body. He reflected upon the Duke, who was one of the first that sign'd the said Union, of which he had formerly condemn'd the Example in the Leaguers. He made a distinction between Places that were Hereditary and such as were properly only Commissions; and maintain'd that when ever Kings gave Places of that kind, they retain'd the liberty of disposing of them at pleasure: which was the Duke of *Sully's* case; The superintendence not being an Office, but a Commission. In order to destroy the Vanity he drew from his Services, he reflected upon the Riches he had got: and because they knew that he was in dread of his Person, he assur'd him positively that the Court had no secret design against him: but told him indirectly that they were not so much affraid of him, but that they might undertake it openly, when ever they had a mind to it. The whole concluded by a smart sensure on the Assembly for meddling with affairs of that Nature, which were out of their Province; and by an Exhortation to them, to keep within the bounds of Humility and Modesty, as well as of Duty.

The like  
Writings in  
Vogue during  
the  
Sessions of  
the Assembly.

Works of this kind were very much in Vogue during the Session of the Assembly. Several Satyrs were publish'd against the *Reform'd* Religion, and against those that had been employ'd during



during the Life of the Late King. The Catholicks seem'd inclin'd to be reveng'd on the *Catholicom*, which had discover'd the Ridicule of the Designs and Actions of the League so agreeably. Pamphlets came out daily in imitation of it; Harangues, Discourses, Pictures, Tapstry work, &c. We may place in that number a Letter publish'd under the name of a *Reform'd*, Printed with the Publishers Name to it, which spoke very ill of the Assembly of *Saumur*. The Author divided the *Reform'd* into three orders; of which he call'd one the *Malicious* the other, *Zealous*, and the Third, *Judicious*. The *Malicious* according to his Notion, were either Ambitious, or Self-Interested; and desir'd nothing but War, as the readiest way to rise or grow Rich. He ascrib'd Nine or Ten Reasons to them which they made use of, to persuade the others to be of their Sentiments. *First*, The consideration of the Minority, which embolden'd their Enemies to attempt every thing. *Secondly*, The Conspiracy of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Clergy against the *Reformation*. *Thirdly*, The hatred of several Members of the Council against them. *Fourthly*, The Queen's easie Temper, which might easily be workt upon in order to their Ruin. *Fifthly*, The dread that all these things might easily form a Party to Exterminate them, before their being in a Condition to make a defence. *Sixthly*, Their being refus'd Justice in divers Places, and upon divers Points. *Seventhly*, The Places and Governments that were taken from some of them without the least pretence. *Eighthly*, The Practices and Intreagues that were us'd to Corrupt their best Heads. *Ninthly*, The Pensions that were offer'd to some of them to betray the secrets of their Brethren. *Tenthly*, Finally, the divisions, and dissidences that were sown among them to weaken them, which they were persuaded proceeded from the Court. It is apparent by this that the Person who had written this Pamphlet was very well acquainted with their affairs, since he explain'd so openly the Reasons the *Reform'd* had to be afraid; and perhaps taught them some which they only suspected: as Practices and Pensions.

1611.

A Satyricall  
Letter  
which di-  
vides the  
Reform'd  
into three  
Orders.

Malicious.

The




1611. The *Zealous*, according to this Author, were naturally Jealous, and their Maxim was, that diffidence is the Mother of Safety. The Writer mixing Railery, with serious Reflections in this place, made them say that *Huguenot*, and Jealous, were Relatives, and were the Consequence of each other, as *Monk* and *Shav'd*. This disposition of their minds, continued he, render'd them the sport of the *Malicious*, who met in them fit Instruments ready to serve their Ambition and Avarice. The *Judicious*, according to him, were only those who look'd upon Civil War as the worst of all Evils, and who in order to avoid it, kept within the bounds of obedience. He endeavour'd after that to refute the Reasons of Fear, which he had alledg'd : But his Arguments were not strong enough to destroy them : And whereas the only remedy he propos'd against the Conspiration of the Jesuits and of the Clergy, was the sincerity and promises of the Council ; the Authority of the Parliaments, and notable Societies, and the good will of the Queen, we may say that he confirm'd those Reasons, instead of refuting them ; since the main reason that allarm'd the *Reform'd*, was that they found little Sincerity in the Council, little Justice in the Parliaments ; and waving her Intentions, little solidity in the Mind of the Regent. She was Turbulent, Revengeful, Ambitious, could not contain her self : and those who did not love her, said, that she had all the ill Qualifications of *Catherin de Medicis* ; but none of her great and Royal Inclination. She was like her in being prepossess'd in favour of Astrology ; and the advice of the best Politicians could not prevail over the Observations of *Fabroni*, who drew Figures of the State of Heaven, upon all things of Importance that related to that Princess. The Truth is, that whether accidentally, or otherwise, he succeeded in divers of his Predictions, which the event proved to be as just, as could be. That of the King's illness, which stopt him by the way, going from *Paris*, to give orders about the defence of the Coasts of his Kingdom, against the Descent threatned by the English, provid

*Zealous.*

*Judicious.*

*Character  
of the  
Queen.*

exact<sup>ly</sup>

exactly according to the Prediction of the said Astrologer : 1611.   
and that of another fit of Sickneſs which the ſaid Prince had at *Lyons* ſome years after it, prov'd no leſs exact. So that the Queen had as much Faith in his Predictions, as if they had been ſo many Oracles. This Credulity ruin'd all her affairs : and the ſame thing happen'd to her which commonly happens to all thoſe who are Govern'd by the like Maxims ; that is, ſhe could neither obtain the advantages that were promis'd to her by the Stars, nor avoid the miſfortunes ſhe was threatn'd with. At leaſt we may find by the comparing of the Lives of thoſe two Queens, that the one was much happier than the other. *Catherin* who had ſo often expos'd the State within an Inch or two of Ruin, to retain the pleaſure of Commanding, nevertheleſs maintain'd her Credit almoſt to the laſt moment of her Life : But *Mary* ſoon loſt her Authority, and received a Cruel Punishment for her Intreagues towards the latter end of her Days. The firſt found all her Council in her own head, and wanted no body to guide or direct her : The laſt was too much govern'd by her Paſſions and her Confidants. Nevertheless the Author I am ſpeaking of, enlarg'd very much upon her praiſe, and repreſented her as a Princeſs that had never had an equal. That was the Stile of thoſe daies ; and ſordid flatteries became ſo much in vogue, that even thoſe who baniſh'd her from the Government, rais'd her up to the Skies, by their Elogy's. She had wherewithal to comfort her ſelf even in her Exile, if ſhe took any delight in Panegyricks : the only good her Enemies allow'd her. The Author concluded with upbraiding the *Reform'd*, for the haughtineſs he found in their behaviour. He accus'd them of demanding favours, in the ſame tone as *Spaniards* ask for Alms ; That is with a drawn Sword, and haughty Air, as if they had requir'd the payment of a juſt debt : and he would perſuade them that they had no juſt pretence either of fear or jealousy.

3611. It would have been easie to have made a more judicious distribution of the *Reform'd*, by dividing them into three; viz. The Lords of eminent Quality, who made use of the others for their particular ends: The Persons of Integrity, who were sensible that no good could be expected from a Council govern'd by the Jesuits; and who for that reason, endeavour'd by all lawful means to secure themselves against Perfidious, Implacable Enemies: and the Timorous, who were either naturally weak and indifferent, or softened and made tractable by the Artifices of the Court. The first and last, occasion'd all the Evil: Those made use of the Zeal of the second, to make themselves considerable at Court; and these abandon'd the others as soon as the Court offer'd them a shadow of quiet.

From whence the reports proceeded that the Assembly design'd to make War.

I will observe in this place before I proceed any farther, the Cause of those Writings against the Assembly. No means were omitted to create jealousies in the Catholicks about it, as soon as the *Reform'd* had obtain'd leave to hold it. It was reported that they design'd to make excessive demands; and to take up Arms to compel the Court to grant them. The *Memoirs* sent into the Provinces, to serve as a project for the Instructions of the Deputies which the particular Assemblies did send into the General; of which the Court had an account by their Pensionaries, did not a little contribute towards the confirmation of those common reports. The demands which some of the Provincial Assemblies added to those of the said *Memoirs*, likewise contributed considerably towards it. Those who had seen the Assembly of *Milhan*, recall'd it to mind upon this. They said that of five things that had been propos'd in it, there only remain'd two unobtain'd; viz. Two Places of surety in every Province in which the *Reform'd* had none; and that the Tithes of the *Reform'd* might be employ'd for the payment of their Ministers. They magnified the Consequences of the Union the Assembly was to swear; saying that thereby, the *Reform'd* would oblige themselves to maintain each other in all the Governments; and in all the Offices the late

late King had given them ; even in all the \* Places they held, besides those that were set down in the Breef of the Places of Surety. And whereas it was not likely that the Court would comply with all those things, they concluded that the *Reform'd* were going to take measures in order to make a War. But that which is most to be wonder'd at, is that there were some among the *Reform'd* who seconded those extravagant reports. The Marshal of *Bonillon* was one of them ; and some accus'd him of having told some Catholick Citizens and others at his going from *Saumur*, the Assembly being broke up that they had a Peace at last ; but that it had been obtain'd with a great deal of pain and trouble. Nevertheless, all the rest of the Assembly protested that they had never mention'd the least thing tending to a War, during the whole Session This reproach was made to the said Lord with a great deal of sharpness by the Dukes of *Rohan* and of *Sully*, who fell out publicly with him. It is very likely that he had no other design in spreading this report, but to persuade the Queen that he had done her great Services ; and that he was of great use to her to keep the *Reform'd* within the bounds of their duty. However this made deep Impressions upon the People ; and notwithstanding the protestation of Sixty Persons, who affirm'd that the Assembly had not had the least thoughts of War, the Court at that very time alledg'd the said pretended design of a Civil War as a Crime against the *Reform'd*, and did since renew the said accusation against them, as if it had been plainly verifi'd.

The ancient Enemies of the *Reform'd* who did at that very time take all their measures in order to destroy them, seconded that report as much as in them lay, and they made People take such extraordinary Precautions in divers places against this Chimerical War, that they created real suspicions in the *Reform'd*, who could not imagine the reason of those panick fears. Whether the Court really enter'd into those fears, or whether they seem'd to credit them out of policy, in order to remove Persons from thence which

*Artifices of  
the ancient  
Enemies of  
the Re-  
form'd.*



1611. were troublesome to them, they took that pretence to send the Duke d' *Epernon* to his Governments, and the Prince of *Conde* into *Guyenne*. Moreover they cunningly caus'd it to be reported that the Prince would go through *St. John d' Angeli*, in order to bury the Prince his Father, who by reason of the Law-Suits in which his Widdow had been involv'd upon the account of his Death, had not as yet receiv'd the last Duties. That City was one of the most considerable of those that were in the hands of the *Reform'd*. The Prince was born and had been bred there by the *Reform'd*, untill the time they restor'd him to *Henry* the IV. So that his Name was still held in great veneration in the said City; and there was a great deal of reason to fear his Credit, in case he should attempt any thing there. The Governour who was the Duke of *Rohan*, and his Lieutenant *La Roche Beaucour*, were both absent at that time, being Deputed into the Assembly: so that there was no Person of Authority in the City, to oppose the Princes designs. Therefore the Assembly thought fit to send *La Roche Beaucour* thither, under pretence to receive the Prince, and to hinder him from burying his Father with the Roman Ceremonies; until he receiv'd new orders from them upon that Subject: but the true motive of it was to prevent the Prince's attempting some greater thing by the by. Thus the same pretence serv'd at once, for the one to lay the snare, and for the other to prevent it. If the Prince had any design, that diligence prevented it for that time, and sav'd the Place, but they lost *La Roche Beaucour*, who had like soon after to have deliver'd it into the Queen's Power.

Several  
Catholick  
Cities take  
up Arms.

There also appear'd marks of a great dread in other places. Some Catholick Cities in *Poitou* and in *Limousin* put themselves in a posture of defence, as if they had been afraid of a surprize: other Towns did the same upon the River *Loire*. Even *Chartres* tho at a great distance from the Assembly, and almost at the very Gates of *Paris*, took up Arms, and plac'd *Corps de Guard* at their Gates. Things pro-



proceeded farther yet at *Orleans*: An unknown Person, or one at least whom they would not suffer to be known, gave some advices there which tended to a Masacre of the *Reform'd*. He frighten'd them with the designs of the Assembly, and told them that the *Reform'd* had appear'd in Troops about the Walls of the City, with a design to make themselves Masters of it. Those Insinuations maliciously sown among the People, excited a violent Sedition. Some of the Citizens prov'd so simple as to cry out to Arms: They made Baricado's in the avenues: They us'd as many precautions as if *Orleans* had already been block'd up by the Enemy: The Magistrates search'd the Houses of the *Reform'd* for Arms, which they were inform'd had been laid up there. This exactness sav'd them from the fury of the People; by reason that they found neither Arms nor Ammunition, nor the least signs of any such enterprize among them. After the Sedition was stopt in this manner, an enquiry was made after the Authors of it, and one of the Inhabitants who first cry'd out to Arms was put in Prison. But he was transferr'd to *Paris*, where he dy'd in Prison before his Tryal in a very suspicious manner. It was reported that he dy'd out of fear, thinking that it was impossible to avoid the punishment he had deserved. But the *Reform'd* who did penetrate into the secret design of those movements, and who were sensible what their ancient Enemies the Jesuits were capable of, suspected that he was put to death, in order to remove a Witness of their secret Intreagues.

The Duke of *Sully* made a journey from *Saumur* to *Châtelleraud*, at that time which the ill-intention'd also laid hold of, and all those things gave them an occasion to call to mind the year 1562, and 1567. in which the *Reform'd* seiz'd several Places, to hinder the Court, whose designs they had notice of from surprizing them, they not being in a posture of defence. The Assembly being inform'd of these Transactions, and not thinking themselves safe, order'd *du Plessis* to raise 150 Men, to reinforce the Garrison of *Saumur*:

1611.

*Du Plessis  
Forishes  
the Garrison  
of Saumur, after  
having asked the  
King's leave  
for it.*

*mur* : and they were so unwilling to offend the King, that they writ to him to beg his leave for their raising of the said Men. All these circumstances being put together, may show that the Assembly had not the least thoughts of making War : by reason that if they had had any such design, those agitations of the Catholicks would have afforded them a plausible pretence to declare it. But had they done so, it would certainly have been said, that the discovery of their design had given the Catholicks cause to take such precautions as they did : whereas it cannot be deny'd, with the least appearance of Equity, that the *Reform'd* remaining quiet notwithstanding all these Seditions and taking up of Arms, the Catholicks were the Aggressors. Their design was to make the *Reform'd* commit some oversight, either to upbraid them with it, or to take an occasion from thence to exert more plausible Injustices against them for the future. But tho' their design did not succeed, yet they endeavour'd to represent the false reports which had serv'd as a pretence to their allarms as real truths ; and did publicly declare that the divisions which were form'd in the Assembly hinder'd them from making War : a thing which excepting the discourse of such as had a mind to please the Court, never had the least ground, besides the desire the Jesuits or their adherents had that it should prove true.

*Commissioners from  
the King to  
the Assembly.*

During these transactions, *Boissise* and *Bullion* were deputed by the Court to the Assembly : They arriv'd at *Saumur* some times after the overture ; and were at first visited by six Members of the Assembly, by whom they were sent to Compliment them as soon as they had notice of their arrival. Two days after it they came to the Assembly, and deliver'd the Letters from the King and Queen, which excepting some terms of good will, only were Credentials. After the said Letters had been read with the usual marks of Respect ; they assur'd the Assembly that his Majesty would perform what ever had been promis'd to them for the time past, and that what-

ever

ever might seem doubtful or ambiguous should be interpreted favourably; after which they exhorted them to proceed with speed to the Nomination of six Persons, out of which the King was to chuse two to reside near him, and there to perform the general Deputation. *Du Plessis* answer'd in the Name of the Assembly; return'd thanks to the Commissioners, and promis'd a perpetual Obedience. After which they pass'd from Compliments to deliberations: and during 12 or 14 Days they held Conferences with the King's Commissioners, who came sometimes to the Assembly, and sometimes receiv'd the Deputies at their Lodgings, to hear their propositions. Several of them were of great consequence, which I will give an abstract of elsewhere. But I must observe in this place, that the Assembly having declar'd at first, that they would do nothing untill they had obtain'd satisfaction about the affair of *Senevieres*, the King's Commissioners deliver'd Letters to them upon that Subject; with a Copy of the Decree of the Council, which empower'd *Frere*, Master of Requests, to take informations of the said business upon the Place, to try the Guilty, and to give a definitive Sentence, with the neighbouring President, or Court of Judicature.

The Assembly expecting a better issue of this Commission than it prov'd, were satisfied and apply'd themselves to form the General \**Cabier*, in order to communicate it to the Commissioners. They thought they had been fully empower'd to treat and to conclude with them: but they were not sent for that. Their Orders were to frustrate, and to discover the intentions of the Assembly, to improve conjunctures, and particularly to oblige the Deputies to break up as soon as possible. They perform'd their Commission punctually, and improv'd occasions like skilful Politicians. As soon as *Lusignan*, *Aubigni*, and some others had communicated the chief demands of the Assembly to them, they answer'd that the alterations made to the Edict, were inconsiderable, and that the most considerable among the *Reform'd* had given their consent to it; That

\* *Petition,*  
or *Adresse.*

during

1611. during a Minority the Queen could not reverse alterations that had been made with so much precaution; and that tho she should do it, it would be impossible to obtain the verification of it. Their answers upon the other Articles were in the same stile: and they began anew to press the nomination of the Deputies General; The preparation of the *Cabier*, which the two Deputies the King should chuse, were to be intrusted with; and the breaking up of the Assembly, which having only been allow'd of for the election of the Deputies General; and now occasioning Jealousies and dissidencies every where, ought to break up as soon as they had perform'd what they were impower'd to do.

They repeated the same things in the Assembly. They disputed upon several Articles. They offer'd moreover to confer with the Commissioners of the Assembly upon all the Articles of the *Cabier*, if they thought it fit, as if they had been impower'd to come to any agreement: and in general they did not seem to find any thing unjust or excessive in the demands of the Assembly. But however as those Contestations were contrary to their main design, *viz.* To oblige the Assembly to break up as soon as could be, they resolv'd to declare that they were not impower'd to grant their demands. Therefore coming into the Assembly the next day, they renew'd the assurances they had already given of the King and Queen's good intentions, and remonstrated that it would be more suitable to the Authority and Dignity of their Majesties; and to the particular advantage of the *Reform'd* to address themselves to the King to obtain a favourable answer; promising on their parts to testify their Obedience, and to use their endeavours to obtain what they desir'd, by reason that they were sensible that the preservation of the *Reform'd* was necessary towards the good of the State. This discourse ended by the usual conclusion of nominating six Persons to the King, and to break up the Assembly.

Their



Their design was to render all the Resolutions of the 1611. Assembly ineffectual, and to oblige them to break up without any satisfaction, as it really happen'd: and it would have been done all of a sudden, had the nomination of the Six Deputies and the *Cabier* of the demands been sent at the same time: But the Assembly only followed the advice of the King's Commissioners in part: They sent their \* *Cabier* \* *Petition*, to the Court, but they design'd to defer the nomination of the six Deputies, until they had receiv'd an answer to their Complaints and demands. The design of the Court was quite different; and they would not give their answer till the nomination had been made, in order to dissolve the Assembly by authority, in case they would not be satisfied with such answers as should be given them. So they made their *Cabier*, and divided it into five Chapters, or different *Cabiers*. The First was the General *Cabier*, which contain'd 57 Articles. The Second was a Collection of particular Demands and Complaints. The Third contain'd the particulars of the private Articles of the Demands made by the Provinces, out of which the matter of the general Articles had been taken, and particularly of that which demanded the re-establishment of the Edict in its first extent. The Fourth was a *Memoir* of the Churches, which did complain that the exercise of their Religion was settled in distant places, and desir'd to have them transferr'd in nearer and more convenient places. The Fifth only related to the Places of Surety, of which the condition was set forth at large.

*The Assembly sends Deputies to the Court.*

*And makes Five Cabiers.*

They would fain have join'd the Affairs of the Principality of *Bearn* to those of the other Provinces. But the Court prov'd inflexible upon that Subject. They would never suffer the Deputies to meddle with it: and those of *Bearn* was oblig'd to solicit their Affairs separately. The Assembly was desirous to set down one Article in their behalf in their General \* *Cabier*; by which they humbly begg'd of the King to cause the Edict of 1599 to be maintain'd in *Bearn*, and to do the Deputies of the Country Justice

*The Court will have the County of Bearn to Treat separately.*

*\* Petition.*



1611. Justice upon their Complaints. This Petition was written in the Name of the united *Churches of France and Bearn*, to the end that it might appear that tho the Kingdom and that Principality had different Rights, in relation to the Political Government, yet there was something common among them which united their Interests, viz. the Cause of Religion, and Liberty of Conscience. They added in the said Instructions that the Assembly would not be satisfi'd, unless the Deputies of *Bearn* were contented. The reason which oblig'd the Assembly to speak thus, was that the Deputies of *Bearn* gave clear proofs that the Edict of 1599 was daily violated by the Catholicks; and that the Clergy almost openly declar'd their design to resume their former Power and Authority in the said Province. But they were oblig'd to comply with the Court in this point; and to divide, though much against their will, the Churches of *Bearn* from those of the other Provinces, in the prosecution of their Affairs.

Apparent  
Union in  
the Assembly.

While they were employ'd about the *Cabier*, there still appear'd Union in the Assembly. The Marshal de Bouillon who together with *Lesdignieres* and *du Plessis* had drawn the Memoirs on which the Provinces had form'd their Instructions, to the contents of which the Articles of the *Cabier* were limited, maintain'd and seconded them as much as any body; and gave reasons to show the Justice and necessity of the most Considerable, which remov'd all the difficulties others expected to meet in them. The Duke of *Sully* did not lose that opportunity to show that he prefer'd the Common Cause before his own. He made a new Discourse to the Assembly, in which he declar'd that he did not desire that the General Cause of the Churches should be engag'd for his Interest, and desir'd them to alter the Articles that related to him. They return'd him thanks for his good Intentions, and left the Articles as they were. But when the time came to elect the Deputies to carry the \* *Cabiers* and Letters of the Assembly to the King, they all broke out of a sudden into Brigues and Factions. So that they had Con-

\* Petitions  
or Ad-  
dresses.

testations

testations even upon the manner of naming them; every one being desirous to promote that which seem'd most favourable to his designs. Some propos'd to refer the Election to Chance, in which Interest cannot prevail: But finally, they resolv'd to make the said nomination by Provinces, and to submit to the Plurality of Voices. Thus the Deputation fell to the Barons *de la Case* and *de Courtonier*, To *Ferrier* Minister of *Nimes*, and to *Mirande* and *Armet* of the \* third Estate. Their Instructions differ'd but little from the *Cahiers* that were deliver'd to them: They were only allow'd to submit to a small number of Offices of Sergeants and Notaries, which the Assembly desir'd for the *Reform'd* in every Baillywicke. The King's Commissioners had made a great business of that Article; as if the multiplication of Places and Offices had been very prejudicial to the State: but those reasons were never found very weighty, when the Court wanted Money: and the number of Offices has perhaps been increas'd one half since that time. The difficulty therefore did not proceed from the fear of overburthening the People: The Court has but little regard to that consideration; but they had no mind to oblige the *Reform'd*, and publick good was alledg'd to them as a plausible reason for a refusal.

But the Chief Article of the Instructions was that which limited the Power of the Deputies. The Assembly only allow'd them to Confer upon the Articles of the *Cahier*, in order to explain them, and to show the Justice and Necessity of them: But they did not allow them to conclude any thing; and they refer'd the taking of their last Resolution, till they had receiv'd an account of the intentions of the Court. The Reasons they urg'd for putting such Limitations to the power of their Deputies, was that the King's Commissioners not having had a fuller power, and not having been Authoris'd by the Court to proceed to the least conclusion, it was not reasonable for the Assembly to give their Deputies a greater Power. But the principal reason of several Members

1611.

*In which  
discrd  
breaks out  
at last*

\* The Com.  
miss.

*The Power  
of the De-  
puties that  
carry the  
Cahier is  
limited.*

1611. of the Assembly was, that they saw Persons in that Deputation who had it by the Interest of the Marshal de Bonillon : for which reason they suppos'd that they would be govern'd by him. His behaviour had confirm'd the suspicions that were conceiv'd at the Overture of the Assembly, of his having Ingagements and Correspondencies with the Queen: and consequently that by putting the Power of Concluding into the hands of Persons that were his Creatures, they would be expos'd to the Mercy of that Princess and of her Council. The Marshal de Bonillon oppos'd those restrictions as much as in him lay: and the thing being resolv'd upon contrary to his Sentiment, he express'd great dissatisfaction at it. The Deputies also marmur'd at the small Confidence that was repos'd in them: and they declar'd at their return, that had not their Power been limited so much, they would have brought more satisfaction to the Assembly: as if the Stubborness of the Court had only proceeded from their being offended at that defect. Those Reflections after the Evil are very common in the World. People fancy always that other means would have prov'd more effectual, because those that have been us'd have not succeeded: and to cry *had such or such a thing been done*, is the Universal Remedy the Vulgar applies to Affairs which can no longer admit of any.

The Deputies are well received at Court, where they are flatter'd:

The Deputies were kindly received at Court: Commissioners were appointed to treat with them, and they were promis'd a quick dispatch; and that their *Cabier* would be return'd to them with favourable Answers. They did not fail to flatter the Assembly with those good hopes; but they vanish'd in a few Days. As soon as the Court was satisfied that there were seeds of Division in the Assembly, which they might easily improve to their advantage, they chang'd their behaviour; and after several Conferences, the Deputies were told by the Chancellor that the \* *Cabier* was answer'd; that the Places of Surety were allow'd them for five years longer: That 15000 Crowns more was granted

\* *Petition, Address, Demand,* &c.

ed them for the Sallery of their Ministers, and some other Articles which might pass for something. But the Chancellor gave them to understand that all the rest was favourably answer'd; yet that the *Cabier* should not be return'd to them, no not so much as Communicated to them, nor the Breefs deliver'd into their hands, before the Nomination of the Deputies General. This answer neither satisfying them nor the Assembly, they were order'd to make earnest solicitations, that the said answers which were presented to them to be so favourable might be Communicated to them; and to promise that the Assembly would Nominate the Deputies General as soon as they had seen those Answers, which they might rely upon in case the said Answers were as advantageous as they reported. But they were yet less hearkned unto in those Remonstrances than they had been in the preceeding. Particularly when they express'd that the Assembly was not satisfied with the substance of the Breef for the keeping of the Places, or Cities of Surety, because it prejudic'd that which they had obtain'd in 1605, which confirm'd to them the keeping of all the Places they were possess'd of: whereas the new Breef was written in terms which made them lose part of them. But they were very much surpris'd when a Contestation was form'd upon the Breef of 1605, as if the Court had not believ'd it true: or that by some new Interpretation they had found the secret to pervert the sence of it. That affront fell upon the Duke of Sully, who had been the Negociator of that Affair, and the bearer of the Breefs to the Assembly of *Chatellerand*: as if what ever side the thing were taken, it had been certain that he had abus'd the Kings Name, or had deceiv'd his Brethren.

But however this disavowal of a Piece to which the late King's Name was prefix'd, appear'd so bold, that all Persons of Sence judg'd thereby that the Court had evil Intentions; and that they were so well acquainted with the Foible of the *Reform'd*, that they were not afraid to

1611.

And afterwards deceiv'd.



1611. offend them. A positive threatening was added to that answer, to send them an Order to retire in a very short time, unless they obey'd willingly. Nevertheless they tarried still until they had receiv'd new orders from the Assembly about that, and about the affairs of *Bearn*, which the Court would not allow them to meddle with. But they endeavour'd in vain to make new solicitations in the Council. Letters were deliver'd to them on the last of *July* for the Assembly, and they were commanded to retire. The truth is, that in order to soften that Order, they were told that *Bullion* who was come back from *Saumur* with his Colleague, about the same time the Deputies of the Assembly came away from thence, would go back thither with the *Cabier* and answer. The Deputies being arriv'd, gave the Assembly an account of their Journey; and deliver'd the Letters they had receiv'd. The substance of them answer'd the Verbal answer the Deputies had receiv'd. They mention'd the King's having receiv'd the *Cabier* as a great Instance of kindness, considering the reasons he had not to receive it. Those Reasons were that the Custom was to receive them from the Deputies General after the dissolution of the Assembly; whereas the King had been pleas'd to receive this from particular Deputies, while the Assembly was in being and even before their having nominated their Deputies General. The same Letters press'd the Assembly, since they had nothing more to do, to proceed to the Nomination of six Persons, and to break up immediately.

The Assembly tarries for the return of the Kings Commissioners.

And gives Reasons not to chuse six Deputies.

*Ferrier*, whom his Collegues pitch'd upon to be their Speaker, making his report of their Negotiation to the Assembly, did it in such a way as gave great suspicions of Treachery; and they were sufficiently confirm'd since by the sequel of his Life. In the mean time the Assembly was unwilling to Nominate the six Persons out of which the Court was to chuse two, before they had heard what *Bullion* had to say. They were in hopes of waving that Nomination, as being contrary to the first Liberty of General



ral Assemblies; as being introduc'd into the Assembly at *Chatelleraud*, for private Reasons relating to the Marshal of *Bouillon*, who was out of favour at Court at that time; whose Confidants and Creatures the King would not admit to reside near him; as being afterwards made at *Gergeau* out of complaisance to the King who would have it so. But they were of opinion that those two singular Examples ought not to serve as Presidents: Moreover all the Provinces had Instructions which requir'd the restoring of the Election of the Deputies General upon the former Foot; and that the Assembly should only Nominate two, which the King should be intreated to approve of.

*Bullion* being come, insisted upon the same things that were contain'd in the King's Letters, which the Deputies had remonstrated. He alledg'd the Examples of *Chatelleraud* and *Gergeau*: He added that he had the \* *Cabier* with the answers; that they ought to content themselves with what they should find upon the said \* *Cabier*; and that the Court having done whatever they could do, would grant nothing more. The Assembly being sensible that this proceeding was not barely upon the account of formality as *Bullion* endeavour'd to persuade them, refus'd to acquiesc without deliberation. And after having taken the Votes by Provinces, they remain'd in the resolution to follow the Instructions which the Deputies had receiv'd; not to name above two Deputies General; and not to break up without having first receiv'd satisfaction; and to make most humble remonstrancies to the Queen upon the whole. They acquainted *Bullion* with this Resolution by express Deputies; and soon after they deliver'd their Remonstrances into his hands, and desir'd him to send them to the Queen. He promis'd to do it; and did: but this show of good will, was only a Cloak to cover other designs.

When he was sent back to *Saumur* he was order'd to take the Marshal de *Bouillon's* advice in all things, and to sub-

*In which they persist after having heard Bullion.*

\* *Bullion written in one Column and the Answer in the other*

*Delivers to unite mine the Headrest of the Assembly.*

mit

1611. mit to it ; either because they were already sure of him ; or because they design'd to bring him quite over to them by this shadow of Confidence, *Bullion's* chief Endeavours were to persuade that the *Cabier* was answered in such a manner as would satisfy the most difficult : and he swore it in terms little suitable to his Age and Quality. He sometimes declar'd, that if what he said was not true, he would be *Damn'd Eternally*. The Reason which oblig'd him to make those horrible Oaths, was that the secret of the Answers made to the *Cabier*, had been ill kept. Several Persons were inform'd by very good hands that they were limited to a very inconsiderable matter. But whereas those extraordinary expressions did not blind every body, they set another Machine at work which prov'd more effectual. *La Varenne*, who had made his Fortune under the late King, by his Capacity in the Intreagues of Debauches, had been sent to *Saumur* without a Character, but with a secret Commission to Corrupt as many Persons as he could, in order to incline them to follow the Sentiments of the Court. This Man who knew how to promise and how to give, and who had learn'd among Women, not to give over at the first Denial ; and to overcome the first shame that hinder'd them from yielding to his promises, employ'd his Time and his Pains effectually here. He barter'd for Votes almost publicly, and went from Door to Door to display the means of Corruption he was intrusted with.

of which  
some Mem-  
bers suffer  
themselves  
to be Cor-  
rupted.

He prevail'd with some ; he hook others, and the Oaths of *Bullion* coming to the assistance of the Presents and Promises of *La Varenne*, a small number of Deputies devoted themselves to the Court. Men must sometimes have a fit Reason to tell, when People wonder at their behaviour ; altho it be not the Reason which moves them. They must have a plausible Motive, to conceal the real Motive they are ashamed of. People would blush to confess that they do Act for Money ; but those never fear reproaches, who only fail through an excess of Credulity. The execrable Oaths

Oaths of a Considerable Man are a fair pretence to suffer ones self to be deceiv'd, in order to deceive others. There also were others who tho incencible to bribes, suffer'd themselves to be deluded into the Snarnes of those powerful Affirmations, and condemn'd the Constancy of the Majority, who would see the Answers, before they would proceed to any thing else. Nevertheless, all this could not amount so high as to make so strong a party as the Court desir'd. The Number of the Obstinate surpass'd that of the Complaisant above one half. Infomuch that all things being decided in those Assemblies by the Plurality of Votes, the Court was certain to lose her Cause.

The Marshal *de Bouillon* found an Expedient for it : at least it is imputed to him ; and the effects show'd it clearly enough. It was to send for another Letter from the Court, more positive than the preceeding ; to order the Assembly expressly to Nominate six Persons to the King ; to accept the Answers given to the *Cahier*, and to break up ; which declaring such to be Rebels who should refuse to obey without reply, should Authorise the inferiour Number to remain at *Saumur*, to make the said Nomination, and to accept the Articles. The substance of that Letter was drawn at the Marshal *de Bouillon's* House ; who had made his boast for some days that 30 of the Deputies would obey the Order of the Court : and who, in case the others should retire, being unwilling to have a share in that Complaisance, were resolv'd to remain, to obey the Queen in all things. The said Letter was sent to the Court by *Bellujon*, who tarry'd two days after the Courier to whom *Bullion* had given the Remonstrances of the Assembly. They thought thereby to conceal the Mystery : But it was easily unridled. *Bellujon* took a false pretence to go into *Berry*, to see some Relations of his Wife, in order to obtain leave from the Assembly to absent himself for some days. Within half a days Journey from *Saumur*, he took Post for *Paris*. He was Convicted of that deceit at his return ; and caught in a Lye in two

Reasons

*Dangerous  
Counsel im-  
puted to the  
Marshal of  
Bouillon.*

1611. Reasons he endeavour'd to give for his Journey : and finally he was so hard put to it, that he had no way to clear himself, but by confessing that he had done it by the Marshal *de Bouillon's* order. It was easie to judge that the Sentiments of *Lesdiguieres* were known to the Marshal and to *Fuillon*, since they so freely made use of *Bellujon* who belong'd to him, for such enterprises. The Assembly censur'd *Bellujon* severely for this Conduct; and enter'd the said Censure among their other Resolutions. They declar'd that his Deportment had render'd him unworthy to assist for the future in such Assemblies; that nevertheless as he had a procuration from *Lesdiguieres*, they remitted the Judgment of it to him. Besides the Journey I have mention'd, he had given the Assembly other Causes to treat him with Rigor. He had some differences with the Church of *Villemur*, a Place of which *Lesdiguieres* had given him the Government : and the said Church having made grave and considerable Complaints against him, he had spoken of the Assembly with a scorn which amounted to Insolence. But the Marshal *de Bouillon*, being exasperated to find all his designs frustrated by the Prudence or Courage of the Assembly, took *Bellujon's* part; and after having been refus'd twice or thrice, he prevail'd so far by Reasons, by Prayers, and by Threatnings, that the said Affair was once more put to the Vote of Nine Provinces, and that the Censure was revers'd by a Tumultuous Deliberation.

A Letter from the Court Authorising the inferior number against the greater.

In the mean time the Letter being brought by the Courier who follow'd *Bellujon* close, it was thought fit to see what effect it would produce upon Peoples minds; and to communicate it to some of the chief Members before they deliver'd it to the Assembly. They were sensible that it might chance to succeed quite differently from what the Court desir'd. The Assemblies of the *Reform'd* had preserv'd such marks of greatness in them till then, that even those to whom they were odious, were oblig'd to have regards for them. It was dangerous to hazard a thing which might as well exasperate them as oblige them



to break up. When Acts of Note are practis'd against Persons that have just Jealousies, they often drive them to despair, instead of surprising them; and the sight of Rods to scourge them, often gives them a cause to take up Arms for their defence. The Marshal *de Bouillon* took upon him to deliver the said Letter, and show'd it to *La Force*, and to *Du Plessis*. He declar'd before it was read that he thought it very reasonable, and the arguments very good. After which they were greatly surpriz'd to find that Terrible Clause in it which Authoriz'd the Inferior Number against the Greater. *La Force* and *Du Plessis* spoke vigorously to the Duke upon that Subject, and show'd him that the said Letter was an Inlet for Division, of which it would be impossible to cure the Evil; which would occasion the ruin of the Churches; which neither Persecution nor Civil Wars had been able to destroy. But they only gain'd the Liberty by it to Communicate to whom they pleas'd, what they could remember of the substance of the said Letter. Abundance of People repaired immediately to *Du Plessis*, to hear from him those strange particulars, and to take proper measures to prevent that misfortune.

*Bullion* in order either to dissipate the heat of those first movements; or to seem averse to Actions which might offend so many Persons; or to have time to play the Machine that was set at work more securely, declar'd that he was sensible of the Inconveniencies that would attend the said Letter; and in order to avoid them propos'd a Conference with *Du Plessis*, about the means he should judge most proper in order thereunto. There was some likelihood that the Conference would produce some effect, by reason that *Bullion* and *Du Plessis* agreed about some things, *viz.* That the Assembly should Nominate six Persons to the King; That the Deputies General which should be Elected should be satisfied about the *Cabier*; That in case they were not satisfied with the Answers already given, he should obtain satisfaction for the Assembly upon

*Bullion*  
seems to accept of a  
Temp.r.



1611. on five or six Articles, before their Dissolution; and this he engag'd to do, tho he had no orders about it: That he would not press the Deputies to break up so soon after the aforesaid Nomination; and that he would receive all their Protestations about the Number of Six, to the end that what they should do at that time, might not serve as a Precedent for the future. But while *Du Pleffis* was preparing to give the Assembly an account of the said Conference, *Bullion* sent to him, to acquaint him that he revoked his Word; That he would perform his Office; go into the Assembly and cause the Queen's Letter to be read.

Whereas he alledg'd no other Reason for that alteration, but an Idle Rumour of their designing to take the advantage of his promises, every body concluded that this was Inspir'd to him by the Marshal *de Bouillon*: and they were fully convinc'd of it, when they were inform'd that he had assembled all his Creatures that very evening at his House, and had prevail'd with them all to rise, at the first Overture that should be given them by the opposite Party, upon the proposition *Bullion* was to make, and to make a Scisme against the Assembly. This News fill'd the minds of all those that lov'd Union, with despair and grief; and their first thoughts were to retire, to avoid being Witnesses of that Scandal, which neither their Courage or Prudence could prevent. But after having heard *Du Pleffis*, they follow'd his advice, which was to obey the Orders which *Bullion* would signifie to them, whatever prejudice they might sustain by it: To the end that by this means the fire of Division which had been kindled in their Bosome, might be smother'd there; and that those who had had the malice to prepare the Scisme, might not have the satisfaction to see it break out scandalously. This Resolution was held secret, by reason that they were unwilling to allow the Marshal *de Bouillon*'s party time to prevent the effect of it. There were 55 Persons of this mind. Among which were the Dukes *de Rohan*, and *Sully*,

by a strange  
error of  
the Mar-  
shal Duke.

Wife Coun-  
cil of Du  
Pleffis.

*Sully, Soubise, La Force*, and many Gentlemen, But particularly all the Ministers, excepting *Ferrier*, who had taken of his Mask. 1611.

The event shew'd that they were in the right to recommend Secrecy. *Bullion* presented the Queens Letter to the Assembly the next day ; and after the Reading of it, desir'd them earnestly to obey it. *Du Plessis* being prepar'd for that proposition, did not take the Votes to put the thing in deliberation, as the Marshal *de Bouillon's* Friends did expect : but answered in few words ; and observing to *Bullion* how prejudicial it was to the State , to sow Divisions among the *Reform'd*, he assur'd him nevertheless that the Assembly would obey. This unexpected answer, keeping every body within the bounds of Duty and Silence , *Bullion* who was unwilling to lose the Fruit of his Project, and who thought that the prevention of the said disorder, which had been prepared with so much art would reflect upon him , reiterated without necessity that they must obey. Three or four of the Conspirators , and among the rest *Berticheres* and *Villemade* offer'd to speak, and declar'd that they were of the small number mention'd in the Letter. But *Du Plessis* stop't them by his Authority ; and in few words made them such powerful Remonstrances, and so much to the purpose, that many of the same Party, who thought that the Queen only desir'd that they should obey, and who found every body inclin'd to do it, cry'd out to those hot heads to refrain. After having thus prevented the Tumult, *Du Plessis* who had only spoken in his own Name, being confident that he should not be contradicted, resolv'd to take the Votes of the Assembly as was usual : but lest they should think that he was afraid of having been too forward in his promise, he declar'd he only took the Votes for form sake : being very well satisfied that what he had said would be approved of by every body. In effect Obedience was concluded upon ; only two or three Creatures of the Court cavil'd about some Circumstances. The Duke of *Sully*

Who wards  
the blow.

1611. tho' naturally as wavering in his opinion, as his Fortune was uncertain, and moreover a little unresolv'd in his own affairs, prov'd notwithstanding steady in this, and seconded the Presidents advice with good Reasons; which he did the more willingly, by reason that he thought he did serve the King and the Assembly by it.

*The Assembly  
bls. Annu-  
minates  
Commission-  
ers.*

Thus they resolv'd to proceed by Commissioners in what *Bullion* had propos'd. The Assembly nam'd eight, of which the Marshal *de Bonillon* was the first. But this project came to nothing, by reason that he refus'd that Commission under pretence of being ill. This was look'd upon to be an evasion, by reason that while he excus'd himself upon that account, from meddling with the affairs of the Assembly, he had Conferences with *Bulloin La Varenne* and others, which after having lasted part of the day, sometimes took up part of the night. It is certain at least that he was so much inrag'd at the success of this enterprise, that he utter'd very hard words against some of his adherents, for having suffer'd themselves so easily to be silenc'd: he upbraided them with it as a want of Courage. Nevertheless the evil, if there was any, did not proceed from them. The Marshal had no reason to accuse any body but himself, and *Bullion*. They had only taken measures to make a Scisme, in case the Assembly should resolve to continue their Session to provide for the safety of the Churches, or should break up without doing any thing: but they had taken none in case they should obey; because they did not expect it.

*Vexation of  
the Mar-  
shal at the  
success of  
his enter-  
prise.*

*Nomina-  
tion of the  
Deputies  
General.*

On the 5th of *December* they proceeded to the Nomination of Six Persons, whose Names were to be presented to the King: which was done with more ease than was expected, by reason of the Brigues and other difficulties they were surrounded with. It had been propos'd to exclude from the said Nomination all such as had any Relation, or Dependencies on the Court, either upon the account of Pensions, Places in the Magistracy, or Governments, which oblig'd them to keep measures there.

They

They had unanimously Voted the exclusion of the Pensioners, but they had not been able to agree upon the rest, by reason that among those who had such employments, there were several Persons qualified for the Deputation, both by their being acquainted with affairs, and by their Zeal for the Common Cause. Therefore the said difficulty was not as yet remov'd; and moreover the Marshal de *Bonillon* spar'd nothing to make the Deputation fall upon some Persons he might confide in. He had no mind the Deputation should be made on the appointed day; and he fell out into a great passion against some of his Party, who had not persisted in that sentiment as firmly as they should have done. Yet notwithstanding all this, *Mombrun*, *Rouvray*, and *Berteville*, were Nominated for the Nobility: and *Maniald*, *Boisseuil* and *La Milletiere* for the Third Estate. This Nomination displeas'd the Marshal and *Bullion* to that degree, that they us'd their utmost efforts to alter it. They offer'd *Maniald* and *Boisseuil* 2000 Pistols, or a Place of Councillor in a Parliament, provided they would refuse the Nomination; by reason that *Armet* who was at the Duke's devotion, and who had most Voices next to them, must have had the Place of him that would have refus'd it. But they could not prevail: and the Nomination remain'd as it had been made by the Majority of the Assembly, and approv'd of by the *Reform'd* as the best and most faithful. The Court chose *Rouvray* and *La Milletiere* out of those Six: and the Assembly was soon acquainted therewith.

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## The End of the First Book.



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE

Edict of Nantes.

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VOL. II.

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BOOK II.

A Summary of the Contents of the Second Book.

*The Answers to the Cahiers satisfy no body. Nevertheless, they resolve to break up: altho' nothing considerable had been done in the Assembly. Artifices to disgust Chamier. Ferrier retires. Why the Court will not seem to have occasion'd those Divisions. Regulations drawn by the Assembly. Provincial Councils: Their Functions. Regula-*



on of Union. The Marshal de Bouillon will not allow the Ministers to make a seperate Body in those Councils. Substance of the General Cahier, and of the Answers that were made to it. Articles in favour of Bearn. Mutual reproaches of the Members of the Assembly. Books that make a noise. Niceness of the Doctrine concerning the Authority of Kings. Du Plessis Book. Number of 666 Justness of the Application. Sedition at Paris. Return of the Deputies in their Provinces. Commissioners in divers places where they are recus'd. Synod at Blois: which the Commissioners are allarm'd at. They write to Court about it. Assembly at Castel Jealous, which occasions a kind of League of the Catholicks. Mortifications receiv'd by the Jesuits. Commissioners in the Country of Gex. The Reform'd side with the House of Guise in a quarrel. Death of the Lord de Vatan. A Minister is granted him, to assist at his Death: but they will not allow Psalms to be sung by him. Deputys of the Provinces at Paris sent back outrageously. Declaration of the 24 of April. The Deputies General form an Opposition to the Inrollment of it: which is notwithstanding perform'd. National Synod at Privas. Censure of the Divisions of Saumur. Union sign'd and sworn. Particular Divisions. Deportments of Ferrier. Grave accusations against him in the Synod; which Censures him severely. Nimes sends Deputies to preserve him, but in vain: and the Synod aggravates. Complaints of the Synod of Blois. A formal disavowal of the Declaration of the 24 of April. Applications of the Synod for the Reconciliation of the Grandees. Breefs of Augmentation of the Money granted for the Sallery of Ministers. Alteration made in the State of the Reform'd in the Country of Gex. The Synod endeavours to hinder the abuse that is made of that augmentation: and renews the Demands of the Assembly of Saumur. Reasons of the Repugnancy so often express'd about the Denomination of Pretended Reform'd Religion. Complaints concerning the Commissioners. Resolution no longer to send particular Deputies to Court.

Force

*Force of the Reform'd in the County of Avignon. Gratifications. New declaration upon the preceeding one, which is not satisfactory. Cahiers answer'd Inroachments of the Parliaments upon the Jurisdiction of the Chambers. Severity of the Chamber of the Edict. Removal of the Corps of a Gentleman of the Reform'd Religion out of the Ground, by the Order of a Commissioner. Favour granted to the Reform'd of Tierache. Division of the Duke de Rohan, and the Marshal de Bouillon; and the Issue of it. Abuse of the Duty which inclines to Obedience. The Court improves the Doctrine of Patience. Ministers Pensioners. Enterprize upon St. John d' Angely. The Duke of Rohan prevents it: and persists notwithstanding it was done by order from the Court. The Queen is offended; and all things seem to incline to a War.*

1611

*The Answers to the Cahier satisfies no body.*

**B**ullion being no longer able to delay the delivery of the Answer'd Cahier to the Assembly, since he had so often promis'd to do it, as soon as the Queen should be satisfied about the Nomination of the Deputies General, kept his Word, and allow'd the Deputies to continue their Session for some days longer, in order to examine it. None of them seem'd favourable; and they were conceiv'd in Equivocal and Capitious Terms, which allow'd the Court a great deal of liberty to wave that by way of Interpretation, which seem'd most plausible in those promises. Even those who had been so earnest in forming the Scisme, which the prudence of the others had prevented from breaking out, were as much surpris'd as the rest, and express'd a great deal of discontent. Some of them exclaim'd highly against that deceit, and upbraided Bullion severely for the Oaths he had sworn to amuse them. But there was no remedy; and Bullion had what he desir'd, and therefore did not care for their reproaches. Nothing comforts people so easily of an accusation of Perjury, as the happy success of the Artifice which deserves it. One of the Reasons urg'd to give a pretence

1611.

pretence to the Scisme that was preparing, was, that the only thing in debate was a piece of formality; that it was indifferent whether the Assembly receiv'd satisfaction before or after the Nomination of the Deputies General, provided it was given them effectually; that the Court looking upon the said Nomination before the delivery of the Answer as a point of Honour, it was reasonable to comply with the Kings desire; that is was a respect due by Subjects to their Sovereign, not to dispute with him upon a point of Decorum about his Authority, especially when it was no wise to their prejudice. But the illusion of that reason was soon discover'd, when they found the scope of the favour they had flatter'd themselves with. It was visible that the Court being unwilling to do any thing beyond the little they did grant, had only insist'd upon that pretended formality, to avoid being oblig'd, at the earnest solicitation of the Assembly, to give them any real testimonies of good will.

They would fain have us'd some endeavours to obtain something more: but when they thought on the means to effect it, they found none of which they durst promise themselves a happy success. The Brief which did Authorize the Assembly, allowing it only in order to Nominate the Deputies General, it might have been stil'd unlawful after the said Nomination, if they had refus'd to break up. Several of those that had the best intentions were weary of contending as they had been oblig'd to do, in order to prevent Brigues contrary to the common good. Others were afraid of drawing the indignation of the Court upon them, incase they should resist their Orders with a Vigour, which would be stil'd Rebellion. They were all dissident of those that had been so ready to divide from the rest of the Assembly, and notwithstanding some of them seem'd discontented at Bullion's deceit, there was no reason to expect that they would unite themselves to the good party again, incase any resolutions should be taken. They had as well promis'd to make a Scisme upon the subject of the answers, incase the Assembly were dissatisfied with them,

Nevertheless they  
resolve to  
break up.

1611. as upon the time, and manner of deliberating about it. So that they agreed unanimously to break up; To leave the prosecution of a more favourable Answer to the Deputies General; and to see whether the Queen, being satisfied with their submission to her Will, would not be more easily inclin'd to allow the Reform'd greater favours.

Nothing had  
been done  
worthy of  
the Assembly.

Thus an Assembly compos'd of the most eminent Persons among the Reform'd both for Quality, and Capacity, which in so proper a Conjunction ought to have taken such measures for the safety of the Churches, as could never have been violated by their Enemies, broke up without doing any thing. The Nomination of Deputies General was all that was done during a Session of four Months: and the publick affairs remain'd in the same condition after such long deliberations as they were before the meeting of the Assembly. Moreover it did more harm than good, by reason that the facility of sowing Divisions among the Reform'd discover'd their weakness; and taught the Court the way to destroy them. The Authors of the said Division were so much ashamed of it, that they us'd their utmost endeavours to avoid that reproach. The very Court had no mind it should be imputed to their Artifices: Therefore endeavours were us'd to lay the blame of it upon private Interest, which had occasion'd great heats. And indeed, as there were many Persons who had demands to make either immediately to the Assembly, or by the Assembly to the Court, it is very probable that *Bullion*, and those that serv'd him on that occasion, took the advantage of those personal affairs, in order to succeed in their principal design. So that this provid one of the means which corrupted those who thereby expected to find more favour at Court. As many endeavours were us'd to break the measures of those that were firm and inflexible, as to gain those whose Souls were sensible to promises and to hopes. *Chamier* was one of those steady Pillars, which nothing was capable to shake. He had the first Voice in the

Artifices to  
disgust  
*Chamier*.

Assembly,



1611.

Assembly, as being Assistance to the President ; and where- as he was skill'd in Affairs, the Conclusion depended partly on the turn he gave them. A particular grievance was put upon him, in order to disgust him of Assemblies, in which he had too much Authority. The Consistory of *Montelimar*, where he was Minister, took the advantage of his absence, and of his Deputation to give his place to another. This was done without consulting him, and without hearing him ; by some Intrigue or other, in which it is very likely that *Lefdigneres* had a hand, since it was done in his Province, before his eyes, and in a place where he had the power to do what he pleased. And to aggravate the Injury, the Consistory sent to search his House, and tumbled all his Library with a great deal of Violence, under pretence of taking some Papers which did belong to the Church. The behaviour of the Consistory had something so offensive in it, and there appear'd so much contempt in it against *Chamier*, that he was extreamly offended at it, and the more because his interest was concern'd in it, as well as his honour. His Family, his Estate, and his Acquaintance were at *Montelimar*, and he could not remove from thence without disadvantage. He was not a of humour to lose patiently : but at the same time he would not have done any thing for his own Interest, to the prejudice of the common Cause ; and he preferred Religion to Interest. He thought it a great piece of injustice that his own Church should endeavour to ruin him ; that in order thereunto they took the advantage of his absence, to prevent the Ruin of his Brethren. He complain'd of it to the Assembly, as of an affront in which they were concern'd ; and resolv'd to remove from *Saumur* to mind his own Affairs. This was directly what the Court aim'd at, in order to Weaken the Party they were afraid of, by removing so good a head. *Ferrier* had already shown the good example of preferring private affairs to the General. He had left the Assembly under pretence of his Son's and Mother-in-Law's being ill. Had *Chamier* done the same, every body

*Ferrier re-  
tires.*



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would have found reasons to imitate them; and the Assembly would have been dissipated insensibly. But they stop'd *Chamier* by doing him Justice. The Assembly maintain'd him in the Ministry of *Montelimar*; and in order to remove the pretence the Consistory had taken, they order'd the Ministers of the adjacent places to Preach for him Alternately in his absence. The Synods confirm'd the said Regulation afterwards; and *Chamier* serv'd the Church of *Montelimar*, untill he was Transferr'd to *Montauban*, there to serve the Church and the Academy.

Why the Court was unwilling to appear the cause of these Divisions.

But those particular affairs were not the real cause of the Evil: they only serv'd as an occasion to corrupt some of the Deputies, and to disgust others. It may perhaps seem strange that the Court should be unwilling to appear the Cause of a Division, they had procured with so much care, and which was so useful to them; but two reasons may be given for it. The one that giving so many assurances of their good Will to the *Reform'd*, they were unwilling to bely them, by seeming to endeavour to disunite them. The other that all the Catholicks did not approve the ruining of the *Reform'd*: some because they look'd upon their union as the best defence of the State against foreign Intrigues: others because they were of opinion that the Publick Liberty was joyn'd to the preservation of the *Reform'd*, whose Union was a powerful Fence against Arbitrary Power, of which they perceiv'd that the Policy of the Jesuits was laying the Foundation. The main design of the Court of *Spain* was either to engage *France* to ruin the *Reform'd*, or to oppress the People, which had never known what slavery was till then. In all probability the Court of *France* was like to engage it self into irreconcilable difficulties, if they enter'd once into Wars of Religion with the *Reform'd*, or engag'd themselves by the Usurpation of an unbounded Power against People that were fond of their Priviledges; and accustomed to reverence their King's like Fathers, because they us'd them like their Children. For that reason there were many Catholicks, who would have been very

sorry

forry to see the *Reform'd* driven out of the Kingdom. Even in the Council, those who had had a share in the late King's designs, and had relish'd his Maxims had the same sentiments: and expected no good from the disunion of the *Reform'd*. Some of the Members of the present King's Council have likewise had the same sentiments, particularly those who observ'd the course of Affairs, during the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. This opinion has induc'd a zealous Catholick Historian, who has written the History of those Transactions in a stile full of Gall and Violence, to Confess that the fall of the *Reform'd* would occasion that of the State, and that the ruin of their Sect, would destroy those very Catholicks that had occasion'd it. This shows that the very designs of the Court not being approv'd by all the *French*, they had no reason to own themselves the Authors of a Division which was look'd upon by so many to be contrary to the good of the Kingdom. This is the reason for which in some relations about what pass'd in the Assembly of *Saumur*, all the misunderstandings which render'd it useless to the *Reform'd*, are imputed to the particular affairs of the Members of it, as if the Intrigues of the Court had had no share in it.

All these troubles did not hinder the Assembly from drawing very fine Regulations, which would have been sufficient to render the *Reform'd* Invincible, had it been as easily to put them sincerely in execution, as to resolve upon them. Such were those which related to the preservation of the Places of Suerty; but particularly those that were resolv'd upon for the establishing of Councils in every Province. The first Project of it was form'd in the Assembly of *Ste. Foy*: and that of *Chatelleraud* resum'd the said design some years after it. But the continuation of the War, and afterwards the long Negotiation of the Edict, from which the *Reform'd* expected more surety than from their own regulations, hindred them from pursuing the Project of *Sainte Foy*. and the Intrigues of *Roni* at *Chatelleraud* also hinder'd them from taking any resolutions upon that Subject. But the  
King's

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Regulations  
drawn by  
the Assen-  
bly.

1611. King's Death having alter'd the state of Affairs, the Assembly of *Saumur* thought themselves oblig'd to renew their antient precautions, which the power of the Jesuits, and the Artifices of those that were ill inclin'd made more necessary than ever. Therefore they voted a Council in every Province compos'd of Gentlemen, Ministers, \* and Members of the third Estate, who should be chosen by the Provincial Assembly, and should be continued, or chang'd once in two years, in the whole or in part, according as the Assembly should think fit. The number of the Persons of which it was to be compos'd was not limited. They allow'd the said Council a power to nominate the Persons and Places, where the advices that should be given them should be directed; and to advertise the Churches when it should be fit to convene a Provincial Assembly. In order thereunto they settl'd the form of deputing to those particular Assemblies, and of receiving the Votes there: they excluded from it all such as had no express Deputations: They allow'd the King's Officers and Magistrates to assist at the same, provided they were deputed according to the form prescrib'd; on condition that they should make no distinct Body in the Assembly; and that they should side either with the Nobility, or with the Third Estate, according to their quality: The Presidentship of those Assemblies was allotted to the Gentry: and finally they fix'd to five at most, and to three at least, the number of the Deputies every particular Assembly should send to the General.

*Their Functions.*

Proceeding in the next place to the Functions of the Provincial Councils, they charg'd them to send whatever advice they should receive to those to whom it should be necessary to Communicate them, either within, or out of the Province: and in order to facilitate the said Communication, they ordain'd a Fund for the Charges; and that the Contiguous Provinces should take measures together before their breaking up, to advise each other with more speed. They authoris'd the Council that should receive the advice, in case

incase they were not able to perform it, to call such persons to their assistance as should be able to assist them, according to the nature of the thing propos'd. In some Important Cases they allow'd the Council to require at least three adjacent Provinces, such as they should think fit, to assist them with their advice; and they order'd the Provinces so requir'd to send one, or many Deputies in the place appointed to them, to deliberate about the means to prosecute such affairs as should intervene in such a Province, as if it were their own. And supposing they could obtain no satisfaction, it was left to their Prudence to give the Provinces notice of it, and to invite them to joyn in order to make the said prosecution more effectually. They grounded that order upon the duty of the General Union, of the Churches, which were oblig'd to interest themselves in their mutual affairs; to the end that those that were abus'd, and consequently more inclin'd to violent resolutions should be hinder'd by the Prudence of the others from proceeding to extremities, or seconded by them, in order to obtain Justice the sooner.

They order'd the said Councils moreover to mind the condition of the Places of Suerty; to depute persons of capacity to visit the said places, and to take a review of the Garrisons; to be certain of the Religion of the Souldiers; who, by reason that it was necessary to reinforce the said Cities with men, could not be Inhabitants either of the said Cities or Suburbs. They exhorted the Governours to approve it; and in order to redress the abuses committed in time past, as to the number and payment of the Soldiers, to be pleased to allow the regulations added by them: *viz.* That the Governour should receive the third part of the sum appointed for the Garrison, free from all Charges; and that he should give an Acquittance for the remaining two, to the person that should be nominated by the Council of the Province, who should pay the Soldiers with it, and all other Charges relating to the Place and Garrison; which were afterwards specif'd: That an estimate should be made of the real sum to which the extar-



1611. ordinary Charges might mount, to reserve a Fund for it ; which should not exceed the third or forth part of the two thirds retain'd upon the whole sum ; That the Person imploy'd in order thereunto should give an account of his administration in the Council, in presence of the Governour ; That in case the King should grant any sums for the Reparations and Fortifications of the said places, the Governours should order how they should be imploy'd, but that the Council should inspect the same, and should have the direction of the disposal thereof, making of Proclamations, Adjudications, &c. and that in case a Fund were necessary for the said Reparation, the direction thereof should be given to a person which should be nominated by the Council, who should give an account of it, in the Governours presence ; That without prejudice to the Officers appointed by the King, the Governours should inspect the Magazines, in order to keep the Corn, Wines, Provisions, Powder, and Matches, and other Amunition liable to corruption in a good Condition.

*Regulations of Union.*

They empower'd the same Councils to determin all Quarrels, Lawfuits, and Animosities that might arise among the *Reform'd*, of what quality soever ; To cause the settlements granted by the King, to be observ'd, in case any of the Governours of the said places should dye : To maintain a good Correspondence with the Neighbouring Provinces, by sending Deputies into their mutual Assemblies ; and as to a General Correspondence, they were charg'd to maintain it with the General Assembly, when in being, and to apply themselves to the Deputys General after their Dissolution. Moreover in order to preserve Union among all the Churches, it was agreed upon, that once a year at a certain time and place, there should repair a Deputy of every Council, as privately as possible could be, and in such a conjuncture of affairs as it should be thought of most use : and the chief reason of that interview, which was only to last for a few days, was to give each other a mutual account of the state of their Provinces, and to renew the Sentiment of the



their Common Interests. The General Assembly at their breaking up was to nominate the Council which should appoint the time and place for the first Interview. 1611.

The Marshal Duke de *Bouillon* approv'd the said Regulation as well as the rest, and sign'd it: but he protested against the Ministers, whom he would not allow to make a Body a part: and he writ the said Protestation when sign'd it. *La Motte Grimout*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Rouen*, was the only person who imitated him. His motive for it was, a particular grudge, for having receiv'd a Censure from the Assembly, to which he did not doubt but the Ministers, a sort of people a little inclin'd to censure, had contributed considerably. But the Marshal's Motive was his being abandon'd by the Ministers, who formerly us'd to follow his advice almost Implicitly. Some of them had said some things in their Sermons which he took to be design'd against him: and notwithstanding *du Plessis* remonstrated to him, even after the Dissolution of the Assembly, That the said Protestation was not only useless, but of ill consequence, he still persisted in it, and threatened that the thing should not remain so. The truth is that he excepted some Ministers, who by reason of their mildness and capacity, seem'd to him to deserve a Rank in the Assemblies. This perhaps was an effect of Resentment; but that Resentment was so well suited to the Maxims of the Court, where the \* *Con-* \* Ministers  
sultoriats had been so long reputed the persons who were to be fear'd in Assemblies, That it look'd as if he had a mind to be angry on purpose to please them. Nevertheless, he kept his word; and whereas he always appear'd zealous in other things for his Religion, this did not forfeit his Credit in the least in the Provinces; of which some afterwards forbad the Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies, and to Preach against the Sentiments of private persons.

Before I make an end of what relates to the said Assembly, it is necessary to give some account of the substance of their \* *Cabiers*, and of the answers that were made to them; since they occasion'd those fatal divisions. I will only give

*The Marshal de Bouillon will not allow the Ministers to make a separate order or Body in these Councils.*

*\* Ministers and Elders &c.*

*† Petitions and Addresses.*

*Substance of the General Cabier and of the answer made to it.*

1611. an abstract of them, by reason that they are set forth at large, at the end of this Volume. They contain'd 57 Articles, of which the three first demanded the re-establishment of the Edict, and of its particular Articles, in their first form; and the verification of them in the Sovereign Courts. The King refus'd these three Articles directly, being willing, *as he said*, to conform to the resolutions of the King his Father, which he call'd *Good and Holy*, and who had explain'd himself upon that Subject in the year 1602. The fourth demanded Commissioners, of which one should be of the *Reform'd* Religion; and nominated by the *Reform'd* of the Province to which he was to be sent, and the other a Catholick: unless the *Reform'd* had rather leave the execution of the Edict, to the Baylifs or Seneshals of the places, which should be oblig'd to take a *Reform'd* Associate. The King granted it for such places in which the Edict was not put in execution, according as the Parliaments had verifi'd it. The fifth demanded for the *Reform'd* Communities, which did possess some Fief, or some Judicature of the quality mention'd by the seventh Article of the Edict, the right of performing the exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion there: and the King referr'd them to the observation of the Article of the Edict without any Alteration. The sixth demanded that the exercise of their said Religion perform'd in 1577, and 1597, however it had been establish'd, even *by Power, of Fief*, altho' the Fief were since possess'd by a Catholick, even by an Ecclesiastick, should notwithstanding be continu'd there. The King without deciding whether the Articles 9 and 10 of the Edict were favourable, or contrary to the said pretention referr'd them, to the observation and maintenance of the same. The seventh remonstrating that the exercise of the said Religion ought to be re-establish'd in certain places, by Vertue of the 10th Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, where it could not be perform'd without exposing the *Reform'd* to the danger of a Tumult, by reason of the long discontinuation thereof, demanded that the right of it might be transferr'd to other places of the Province which the Synod should

should appoint. The King answer'd that the Commissioners should inquire, both as to the right of performing the said exercise in those places, and the reasons of the interruption thereof; after which it should be regulated: which made the *Reform'd* sensible that it would go against them, by reason that the Possession of the same having been interrupted for reasons which the Court would approve of, they would not think it fit to restore them.

The 8th renew'd the Petition, that the *Reform'd* might not be oblig'd to qualifie their Religion themselves in Publick *Cahiers, answer'd.* Acts, with the Title of *Pretended Reform'd*. The King refus'd it; and referr'd them to the Answer made to the *Cahiers* of the *Reform'd* in 1609, by the late King. The 9th requir'd that the Ministers might have the same exemption as the Ecclesiasticks. The King referr'd them to the Exemption granted by the late King in 1604, by Letters Patent, which only freed them from the \* *Taille* in what related to their Goods and Pensions. The 10th, grounded upon the 16 Article of the Edict, demanded the restitution of the places that did formerly belong to the *Reform'd*, without obliging them to justify their Possession by Titles. The King referr'd it to his Commissioners, who should cause a restitution to be made of those usurp'd Places, provided the *Reform'd* could prove that they had lost their Titles or Writings. In the 11th they desir'd an exemplary punishment of such Preachers, Confessors, and other Ecclesiasticks as did forbid the Catholicks to hold any Communication with the *Reform'd*; as to serve them, to nourish their Children, to undertake their Affairs: and who declar'd that all those who frequented them would be Damn'd. In case they could not be seiz'd, the Article requir'd their Superiors should be responsible for the same, and that the Attorneys General and their Substitutes should be injoyn'd to see it perform'd, The answer instead of the punishment requir'd, forbid only, according to the 17th Article of the Edict, Seditious Sermons and Discourses, and made a very mild Exhortation to Preachers, to aim only

\* A Land  
Tax, &c.

1611. in their Sermons to preserve publick Peace, and Tranquility. The 12th complain'd of the multiplicity of Festivals; and desir'd that the Commissioners might retrench some of them, in such places where it should be desir'd; That neither they nor the Curates might be allow'd to become Parties in the examinations of the Contraventions of the same; nor the Provosts, Warders, or other Officers to prosecute the same, nor even Serjeants without a positive order from the Judge of the place. The answer spoke nothing as to the restriction of the number; and confirm'd the 20th Article of the Edict. The 13th related properly to the Affair of the Duke de Sully, and of the Catholicks that embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, demanding the observation of the 27th Article of the Edict concerning Imployments; and the re-establisment of such from whom any had been taken without observing the usual forms: That is without having convicted them of any fault by which they could forfeit the same. The ancient *Jurisprudence* of the Kingdom allow'd no other reason to take away a place from a Man, unless he desir'd to be discharg'd himself for some known reason. The answer said in a word that the Article of the Edict should be observ'd: leaving a just cause to believe by that briefness, that the King would allow no re-establisment of that Nature. The four following related to Church-yards and Burials, and demanded the confirmation of the Possession of the places which they had enjoy'd since the verification of the Edict; the delivery of some convenient places in those parts where they had none; leave to perform their Burials in the day time, even in such places where they were oblig'd by the Treaty to perform them at inconvenient hours; and good regulations to prevent Seditions and Tumults, in such places where the Gentry and other *Reformed* had right of Burial in the Chappels of their Predecessors. The answers preserv'd to the *Reform'd* the possession of the Church-yards, which had been deliver'd to them by the Commissioners; order'd others to be deliver'd to them, according to the answer to the *Cabier* of 1602, referr'd to the Commissioners to consider in what places



places their Burials might be allow'd in the day time, without fear of a Sedition ; and refusing to allow the *Reform'd* to be Buried in the Churches, by reason that it was contrary to the Canons, prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and capable to give a Scandal and Discontent to those that profess'd it, it only allow'd that the Commissioners being upon the place, should seek expedients to preserve to the Successors of the *Reform'd*, the Rights which belong'd to them as Patrons.

The 18<sup>th</sup> which demanded leave to establish little Schools in all Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, receiv'd *Cahiers answered.* only leave, by the answer, to have one School-Master in the Towns, in the Suburbs of which the exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion was allow'd; there to teach reading and Writing only ; forbidding them to teach new Doctrines ; That is, as it has been explained since, even to make Children repeat their Catechisms ; and to receive above twelve of the Neighbourhood in any Place. The 19<sup>th</sup> requir'd the same Privileges for the Accademies of *Saumur* and of *Montauban*, as were enjoy'd by the other Accademies of the Kingdom : and the Answer putting the Change upon them, allow'd them to establish Colleges in such Places where the Exercise of their Religion was allow'd, and gave those Colleges the same Privileges of the other Colleges, receiv'd and approv'd of in the Kingdom. This signifi'd nothing, by reason that the Immunities of simple Colleges created by the Wills of private Persons are nothing. The 20<sup>th</sup> tended to obtain that the Catholick Counsellors, who were to serve in the Chambers of the Edict, might be chosen with the Deputies of the Churches, to the end that none might enter there but persons of Equity and Moderation ; and that the same might remain there at least three years without being chang'd : but by the Answer the King look'd upon that choice as a right which only belong'd to him, and which he would keep. The 21<sup>st</sup> which desir'd two places of Counsellors, to equal the Chamber of *Neraci* to that of *Castres*, was waved by the Answer ; under pretence that there were too many Officers, or places in the Kingdom already : and in order to answer the



1611. the inconvenience of recusations, which sometimes reduc'd the number of the Judges below that which was requir'd by the Ordinances, the King allow'd the said Chamber to judge to the number of Eight, as it was practis'd in some Parliaments. The 22<sup>th</sup> complain'd that in most Causes the Catholick Judges were divided in the Chambers of *Guyenne* and of *Langnedock*; which they imputed to the Passion of the Parliaments, who having the liberty to nominate to the King the Counsellors of their Courts which were to serve in the said Chambers, always nam'd the most passionate: Wherefore they desir'd that the number of those Counsellors might be fill'd up in part with some Counsellors of the Grand Council, and part of those of the said Parliaments, which the King should chuse himself upon the List. The King refus'd to alter the method of forming those Chambers; and promis'd to take care as to the choice of those that should serve in them, to the satisfaction of the *Reform'd*. The three following petition'd the Creation of some Offices, especially in *Dauphine*: and by the Answers the King said that Patents had been given for some, and that he could not grant the others; for which he gave a remarkable reason, *viz.* That he had promis'd to make no new Creation in that Province.

*Cabiers answered.*

The 26<sup>th</sup> contain'd complaints for that the Parliaments from which the Causes of the *Reform'd* were remov'd to the Chambers of the Edict or Party-Chambers, gave Decrees against the Serjeants who within their Precincts did Execute the Decrees of the Chambers, into which those causes were remov'd; and desir'd that since the Serjeants being frighted by the said Decrees, refus'd to put the said Sentences in Execution, his Majesty would be pleas'd to Create two Royal Offices of Serjeants in every Bayliwick, to be given to the *Reform'd*; and the following petition'd the same thing for two Offices of Notarics. The King refus'd those new Creations; and pretended to remedy the said Grievances by commanding those who had such Offices, to make, or receive all the Acts as should be demanded or  
of-

offer'd to them by the *Reform'd*. Three other Articles related to the Validity of the Certificates given by the Ministers; The regulations of the Judges; and the time of Prescriptions, of which the Chamber of the *Edict of Normandy* refus'd to deduct a certain number of years, of which the *Edicts* allow'd the deduction in favour of the *Reform'd*: and upon those Articles the King granted nothing new, or at least of any moment. The 31<sup>st</sup> demanded the revocation of a Clause which took away the right of Transferring Causes into the Chambers of the *Edict*, from those who had not made an open profession of the *Reform'd Religion* six Months before their requiring the said removal; and this demand related particularly to Ecclesiasticks, who after having chang'd their Religion, remain'd expos'd to the hatred of the Parliaments, who were very severe against men of that Character. The answer was very subtle; and in refusing to alter any thing about the Clause of six Months, the King promis'd that he would take care of the Causes of the Ecclesiasticks, if they made their applications to him. The *Reform'd* were very sensible that the meaning of this was, that after having chang'd their Religion the Ecclesiasticks would be us'd worse in the Council than in the Parliaments. The 32<sup>d</sup> desir'd a right of transferration for the *Reform'd*, Heirs to those that had already proceeded before the Parliaments; and for those who should have their right by \* Cession, or otherwise. The King refus'd it to the Cessionaries, by reason that it might be done fraudulently: but he granted it to Heirs, observing at the same time that the said Concession was a favour. It is true: but it was so slight a one, that it was hardly worth observing; the occasion of using it, not occurring perhaps once in 50 years. The 33<sup>d</sup> demanded for Foreign Inhabitants, or Traders in the Kingdom, the same Privileges as were enjoy'd by the other *Reform'd*, and particularly that of transferring of Causes. The King by his answer reserv'd to himself to do them Justice, in case they appeal'd to him. The 34<sup>th</sup> desir'd that the Privilege


\* Yielding  
up a Title  
or Right to  
a Creditor,  
&c.

1611. to take a *Reform'd* Assistant or Associate in all criminal Causes, in which the *Reform'd* were concern'd might be extended to all the Provinces; and not only observ'd for some which were specifi'd in the 66th Article of the Edict. The King granted it for the instruction only; but he would not allow the Associate a deliberative Vote in the Judgment of the Process. The 35th desir'd that the Judgment of the

\* *By whom* \* Competence in † Provotal Cases, which by the 67th  
*the Cause* Article of the Edict was referr'd to the nearest \* Presi-  
*ought to be* dicial Seats, within the jurisdiction of some Parliaments,  
*tried.* might be transferr'd to the Chambers of the Edict, as in the  
 † *Criminal* others. The reason of this demand was evident. The jurisdic-  
*Cases.* tion of the Provost being quick and without appeal,  
 \* *Courts* the *Reform'd* were ever in danger of perishing by the sen-  
*of Justice.* tences of those Judges, when a Presidial in which the Catholicks were the strongest was Master of the said Competence. Nevertheless, the King refus'd to alter any thing about it.

*Cabiers*  
*answer'd.*

The 36th related to the Education of Children, whose Fathers had not nam'd Guardians at their Death; and desired that they might be put under the tuition of persons that should breed them up in the Religion of their Fathers. The Answer referr'd it to the General Law of the Kingdom; That is at the Election of Tutors or Guardians, chosen by the Relations, and thus expos'd the Children of the *Reform'd* to the danger of falling into the hands of Catholick Guardians, whenever the nearest, or most considerable Relations, which are commonly pitch'd upon by the rest, should be Catholicks. The 37th desired that the resignations of Presidents or Counsellors which had been promoted at the nomination of the Church, might not be receiv'd unless by the same nomination. The King reserv'd to himself the choice and nomination of the persons. The 38th tended to prevent the injustices that were done to the *Reform'd*, who had Estates in the County of *Avignon*, and desir'd that leave might be given to the Officers there residing to give Reprisals, after the Solemnities that were requir'd,

requir'd, to the *Reform'd* to whom Justice had been deny'd : 1611.   
 Notwithstanding what was ordain'd upon that Subject by the 51<sup>st</sup> of the particular Articles. The King would have them to apply themselves to him to obtain Letters of Reprieves ; only allowing the Officers to draw Verbal Processes of the State of the Case. This engag'd the poor *Reform'd* into infinite expence and delays. The 39<sup>th</sup> requir'd the Confirmation and Execution of the Briefs granted to the Churches in 1598, and since : upon which the King ordain'd that they should be represented ; as if his Council had been ignorant of the Contents. The 40<sup>th</sup> renew'd the demand of two Places of Masters of Requests, promised to the *Reform'd* : and the King wav'd it by the usual evasion, that care should be taken about it, when any Vacancies should happen by death. The two following demanded the augmentation of the sum promis'd for the Sallary of the Ministers ; and of new assignments for the payment of the Arrears. The King promis'd to consider of what might be proper to gratifie them ; but he refus'd them new assignments for the old Arrears, under pretence that it was a general disease, and that all those that had been assign'd at the same time had suffer'd the same loss, without receiving any Re-implacement.

The 14 following Articles related to the Places of Surety. *Cahiers*  
 The 43<sup>d</sup> demanded that the Guard of all those which the *Reform'd* held, might be left them for ten whole Years, to begin from the Day the last Brief would expire ; and that in the New Brief, the Court should specify those that were contain'd in the Settlements drawn in 1598 : Those that were comprehended with the others under the Denomination of \* Marriage, and those that belong'd to private persons, \* *Cities or Towns answer'd.*  
 in which Garrisons had been kept. The Answer was cruel upon that Article. It reduc'd the places of Surety to those that were express'd in the Brief of the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1598, and declar'd that those that were call'd of Marriage, were not comprehended amongst the places of Surety. It only allow'd as a Favour, that no innovations should be made : but *new'd to others.*



1611.

\* Towns,  
Castles.  
&c.

it refus'd them the keeping of all the other \* Places; and only left them such as were really places of Surety but for Five Years. Thus two thirds of the Places in which they held Garrisons were taken from them by one dash of a Pen. The 44<sup>th</sup> desir'd that no Innovations might be made in the Places they held, in which there was no Garrison established by the settlements; and that in case any had been made, they should be redress'd. The King granted that Article; and order'd his Commissioners to redress the said Innovations, according to the instructions they should receive. The 45<sup>th</sup> desir'd the restitution of several Places, among which they nam'd *Caumont, Tartas, le Mont de Marsan* and *Montandre*. The King absolutely refus'd the first and last, and promis'd to put *Reform'd* Garrisons in the other Two. The 46. 47, and 48, desir'd good Assignments upon the clearest part of the Receipts, for the full sum of 540000 Livres, which had been promis'd to them by the Brief of the last, of *April 1598*; That the Sums which had been deducted out of it, for the settlement of the Pensions that were given to private persons, might be return'd to the Mass again; That the Arrears might be paid, and such Sums as were not paid in re-implac'd. The King refus'd it all, excepting only the Assignment upon the clearest part of the Receipts, which in such cases is always granted, and never perform'd: But he paid the *Reform'd* with Reasons instead of better Money; and told them that the retrenchment they complain'd of, had been made under the Reign of the Late King, at a time when retrenching the Garrisons of the Catholick Citys, he had been oblig'd to do the like to the *Reform'd*, lest the Catholicks should complain. But in order to excuse himself from re-implacing of the Arrears and Sums unpaid, he added a reason which favour'd more of a Test than a serious Answer. He said that there was no reason to desire it, since the Places for the preservation of which the said Sums were design'd, had been as well kept as if the said Sums had been paid. According to this Notion,



tion, a Debter might very well excuse himself from paying 1611. the Arrears of his Debts, by reason that his delaying to pay them had not reduc'd his Creditors to Starve.

The 49<sup>th</sup> desir'd the King would be pleas'd to use his Interest with the Prince of Orange to put a *Reform'd Governour* into the Castle of Orange, according to the late King's promise to the Assembly of *Chatelleraud*. The King who did not pretend to the Right which his Successor has usurp'd over the said Principality, declar'd that he had restor'd the said Principality to the Prince of Orange to whom it did belong; and that he had oblig'd him to make a Declaration, in favour of the *Reform'd* of the said City, which they were satisfi'd with. Upon which pretence he tacitly refus'd the Mediation promis'd by the late King. As to the 50<sup>th</sup> which spoke of the Resignation of Governments, which could not be done without the approbation of the Churches of the Province: and of the Nomination of of a new Governour by the Deputies General, in such Places where the Government should become vacant by Death, the King refer'd them to the Brief of 1598, and to the Articles of the Edict, both General and Secret, which he said had always been observ'd. Upon the 51<sup>st</sup>, which desir'd that the Captains and Lieutenants of the Garrisons might not be chosen without the approbation of the Governours: the King answer'd that he would do what he thought best for the advantage of his Service. The 52<sup>d</sup>, desired the Liberty to perform the Exercise of the *Reform'd Religion* in all those Places, and that no body might be allow'd to dispute that right. Upon which the King order'd the observation of the Edict of *Nantes* in General Terms. The 53<sup>d</sup>, desir'd that the Jesuits might not be allow'd to have Colleges, Seminaries, or Houses in the places of Surety; nor to Preach, Teach, Confess, or Reside in the same: and that throughout the Kingdom they should be reduc'd to the terms prescrib'd. by the Edict of their re-establishment. The King's answer engag'd him to nothing, he said that the Jesuits not being allow'd to settle a College with-

*Cahiers  
Answer'd.*

1611. out his leave, he would take care, that the *Reform'd* should have no reason to complain. The Jesuits had too much power at Court to suffer the King to make a more positive answer upon that Article. The 54<sup>th</sup> desir'd the prevention of accidents that might be occasion'd by the Processions, which the Catholics affected to make in the Churches and Chapels of the Castles in which the *Reform'd* had but weak Garrisons; and did propose some expedients in order thereunto. The King reterr'd them to what should be ordain'd by his Commissioners, after having taken the advice of the Governours of the Provinces, or Lieutenants General. The 55<sup>th</sup> spoke of the necessary means to maintain or repair the Garrisons, and to secure them; desiring to that end the execution of the Answer made to the *Cahiers* of the Assembly of *Gergeau*. The King allowed the reparations of the said places at the Charge of the Inhabitants; and that they should apply themselves to the Council to obtain leave to impose such sums as should be necessary: promising only some assistance in case of an urgent necessity. The 56<sup>th</sup> desir'd that the Artillery, Arms and other Ammunitions of War which were in the said places, might be left there, and not transported elsewhere; that what had been already remov'd might be returned to them; and that they might have their share of the Distribution of Arms and Amunitions, which was made yearly to the other Towns of the Kingdom. The Answer on the contrary, order'd an account to be brought in of the Artillery and Amunitions that were in the said places, in order to dispose of them, promising only to leave so much as was necessary for the Defence of the said places. The 57<sup>th</sup> desir'd that the General Assemblies might be held every other year; that the Deputies General might officiate but two years; and that the Assemblies might only be oblig'd to Nominate two, that should be approv'd of by the King. The answer was that he would allow such Assemblies when he thought fit: and that they should Nominate six Persons.

There were some other Articles at the end of all those relating to the Churches of *Bearn*, as I have said heretofore: but the King's answer to them was, That the Late King never having approv'd the Union of the Churches of that Principality with those of *France*, he could not allow it neither: but he promis'd to receive the particular Petitions of that Province. Finally, the Assembly broke up, tho' dissatisfi'd with those Answers; and the Deputies repair'd to their respective homes laying the blame of the ill success of their good intentions upon one another. Those who did side with the Marshal *de Bouillon* blam'd the obstinacy of the contrary Party, imputing all the fault to that; and the others upbraided these with having taught their Enemies how to ruin the Churches, by breaking the Union designedly, and by a manifest Conspiracy. Most of the Reform'd were very much dissatisfied with the answers made to their \* *Cahiers*: and seeing that instead of granting them any new favours upon their Complaints, at a time when they had just reasons of diffidence, their Privileges and Surgeries were inroach'd upon more than ever, they apply'd the Fable of the Camel to themselves, who complaining that Nature had been unkind to him, in not giving him Defensive Arms, as to the Lyon, Elephant, and Bull; obtain'd no other fruit of his Complaints but to have his Ears shorten'd. So the Assembly having expected from the King's Good Will some favour suitable to the time, had only obtain'd illusive answers; in which Injustice was join'd to Contempt.

Articles in  
favour of  
Bearn.

Mutual re-  
proaches of  
the Mem-  
bers of the  
Assembly.  
\* Petitions  
or Address-  
ses.

During the Session of the Assembly there appear'd divers Books which made a Noise. *Mayerne* publish'd one which was not proper to gain the Queens heart. He maintain'd in it that neither Women nor Children ought ever to be admitted to the Government. This was conformable to the Antient Right of the Monarchy, which attributed the Regency to the nearest Princes of the Blood during Minorities. But an example or two to the contrary had remov'd the Princes from that Employment; and they were too poor or too weak

Books  
which make  
a noise.

1611. weak at that time, to resume their Rank. The said Book was condemn'd ; and the Author Fled. *Gourmandier* had also printed a Treatise about the Right of Kings : But it was prohibited as well as the other, and all the Copies that could be met with seiz'd. The pretence us'd for the said Prohibition, was that the Author had mix'd divers Maxims of his Religion in the said Book, which the Court did not approve. But in general the true reason of it was, that the Authority of Kings is a very nice Point, which cannot be treated of without offending them ; in so much that Kings had rather that nothing should be said about it, than even to speak advantageously of it. Moreover the Doctrine of the Reform'd is commonly divided into two Parts upon that Subject, which offend two sorts of People. The one allows King's a perfect Independency in relation to the Pope ; and the same authority over the Clergy, as over the rest of their Subjects. The other makes King's lyable to observe Equity and Justice ; The Fundamental Laws of the State, their Oaths and Edicts ; and proposes the preservation of their Subjects to them as the Universal Rule of their Sovereign Power. So that it is impossible for their Doctrine to be well receiv'd among Catholick Princes. The first part ever animates all the Roman Cabal against them : and the second all the Slaves of the Court. The Clergy never scruples to sacrifice publick Liberty to their own Grandeur : and Princes little value the Popes Enterprises, provided they exert an Arbitrary Power over their People. Moreover there was a particular reason for the Condemnation of the said Book. The Doctrine of the Jesuits upon that Subject was detested by all the Kingdom ; and the condemnation of *Bellarmin's* Book was actually prosecuted in the Parliament of *Paris*. It was sufficient for those subtle Politicians to see themselves dishonour'd by Decrees from the Sovereign Courts : they did not seem to be very sensible to those affronts, because they had been us'd to them, and were harden'd in them, from the very beginning of their Society. But they could not have endur'd that while they were treated

*Niceness of  
the Doctrine  
concerning  
the Authority  
of  
Kings.*



as Enemies to Sovereign Power, the *Reform'd* should be allowed to be the Defenders of it. Therefore they obtain'd the Condemnation of the said Book, to involve it in the same Censure with those of their Doctors.

But the Book which made most noise upon that Subject, was that which *du Plessis* publish'd during the Session of the Assembly in which he did preside, and which he had intitul'd *The Mystery of Iniquity*. It was not so much the dignity of the Subject, and the reputation of the Author which made the Book to be taken notice of, as a Cut which was fix'd at the head of the Work, which did revenge *du Plessis* highly for the affront he had receiv'd at *Fontainebleau*. The Pride of *Paul* the 5th, who fill'd the Holy See of Rome at that time, and the Flatteries of his Creatures, did afford him a large Field to stile him *Antichrist*. The first Leaf of the Book represented a Tower of *Babel*, of a prodigious Architecture, which appear'd to the Spectators a subject of Admiration, but it was only sustain'd by some pieces of Timber, which were set on fire. Two Latin Verses advis'd the Spectators not to admire that vast Building which would tumble Down, as soon as ever the fire had consum'd those feeble supporters. In the next place you saw the Effigies of *Paul* the 5th accompani'd with Inscriptions so haughty and so Impious, That it would have been impossible to give the *Reform'd* a better hold, tho' it had been done designedly. Whatever Flatteries can be attributed to a Temporal Prince; whatever Holy Writ has spoken with most Emphasis of *Jesus Christ* himself, was apply'd to that Pope; and underneath the Figure there was a Motto, which gave him the Title of *Vice-God*. This was copy'd from a Picture made in *Italy*, to adorn a Triumphal Arch rais'd in honour of that new Pope. But that which was most remarkable was that the name of *Paul* the 5th, joyn'd to that of *Vice-God* in *Latin*, in the case which belongs to the Inscriptions, fill'd up very justly the famous number of 666, which all the Christians according to the testimony of *St. John* in the *Apocalypse*, took upon to be the number

1611.

Books of  
Du Plessis.

|             |      |
|-------------|------|
| Number of   |      |
| 666. Paulo  |      |
| 5 Vice-dec. |      |
| V.          | 5.   |
| L.          | 50   |
| V.          | 5.   |
| V.          | 5.   |
| I.          | 1.   |
| C.          | 100. |
| D.          | 500. |

666

Justice  
of the Cal-  
culation.

1611. of Antichrist. Joyning the value of the Numeral Letters of that name, according to the use of the Latins made up that mystical number.

*Du Plessis* triumph'd upon that important discovery. 'Tis said that he had been inform'd that the Queen design'd to recall him to Court, and to imploy him again; and that his Friends had advis'd him, either to defer or to suppress the Edition of this Book, which would not fail to involve him into new Troubles. But he preferr'd the advantage of his Religion to that of his Fortune at Court. The *Reform'd*, who were great admirers of these kind of observations, did not fail to draw certain presages from thence of the decay of the Roman See, which manifested its Antichristianity by such evident Characters. To say the truth that number was made out there so naturally, that it neither required learning, nor stretching to find it out. There was no need to invent a new Orthography, or barbarous Names, nor ambiguous Words: and the Title of Vice-God, which made the greatest part of that number, was so well adapted to the Authority which Antechrist was to pretend, according to the predictions of Scripture, That it seem'd to require no other information upon that Subject. Those who had treated about it before, had never imagined any thing so just: and those who have spoken of it since have invented nothing farther. There was no necessity to look for that fatal number either in the *Greek* or *Hebrew*; nor to make use of a Calculation unknown to the Vulgar, and not in use in the Language in which the application of it was made. All this was found in the Language and in the manner of Calculating of the *Latins*, which the Catholicks call that of the Church: which seems to be necessary in this Question, which relates, according to the Catholicks themselves, to a man who is to possess the *Roman See*. So that it is no wonder that *du Plessis* should value himself upon that happy Discovery; and that the *Reform'd* look'd upon it as a real Triumph of their Doctrine. The Catholicks was strangely mov'd at the said Book; the Pope made

made great complaints about it ; The *Sorbonne* censur'd it ; and some private persons undertook to refute it. Among the rest one *de Brai St. Germain* endeavour'd to excuse the Pope, and lay'd the blame of the excess of the Elogys and the Impiety of the Applications upon the sordid flatteries of the Courtiers. But he made himself ridiculous by endeavouring to apply the same number to *du Pleissis* : which he did by turning his name as many ways as he could imagin. The Catholics have followed that method untill our Days, from the time of the *Reformation*, as if that Number were the less applicable to their Church, when by a thousand violent efforts they find the way to apply it to another Subject. Antichrist himself, according to the very notion of their own Doctors, might make use of that secret, to prove that he is not the person meant by the *Apocalypse*, because that name has been applied for example, to *Paul* the 5th, with justness enough. That method has nevertheless prov'd useful to them : In turning by those forc'd applications the mystery of that Number into a rilliry, they have evaded the serious applications that might be made of it to the See of *Rome*.

Before I resume the sequel of what the return of the Deputies in the Provinces did produce, it will not be amiss to speak a word or two of a Sedition which the Catholics excited at *Paris* against the *Reform'd*. Part of the Church-yard call'd *Trinity* was allow'd them. A person of the *Reform'd* Religion caus'd his Childs Corps to be carri'd thither in open day. Two Marshals men accompany'd it to secure it. But their presence did not hinder an Apprentice from abusing and flinging of Stones at the *Reform'd* who follow'd the Corps : and his Master in imitation of it did the same. The Marshals men endeavouring to suppress the said Violence, increas'd the evil instead of appealing it. The Mob fell upon them as well as upon the *Reform'd*. Several of them were wounded, and among the rest one of the Officers. As the Court was yet uncertain of the success of the Affairs of *Saumur*, they thought fit not to leave the said

*Sedition at Paris.*

1611. Sedition unpunish'd. Those who had begun it were seiz'd. The Apprentice was condemn'd to the Whipping Post, and his Master to stand by. They appeal'd to the Parliament, which confirm'd the said Sentence, and it was execut'd.

Return of  
the Deput-  
ies into  
their Pro-  
vinces.

The Deputies of the Provinces being come home, Provincial Assemblies were call'd to hear their Proceedings. This report of new Assemblies made the Court fear that the discontents given to that of *Saumur* might be attended with worse consequences than was expected. New expedients were sought after; and they follow'd the advice of the Marshal *de Bonillon*, which was to send away the Commissioners the King had promis'd with all speed; who under pretence of performing the answers to the *Cabier*, might easily disperse the said Assemblies. Left the *Reform'd* Commissioners should cross that design, the Marshal nam'd all those that were at his Devotion in every Province. This was done with so little secrecy, that several Provinces refus'd to receive them. The Lower *Guyenne* gave the example of that refusal; and several others follow'd it; tho the Wisest were of opinion that it would be the best way to let them perform their Office without any hindrance. It will be easie to judge of what the Commissioners were to do in every Province, by the manner of proceeding of those that were deputed for *Berry*. They arriv'd at

Commis-  
sioners in di-  
vers places  
where they  
are not re-  
ceived.

Synod at  
Blois  
which the  
Commis-  
sioners are al-  
larm'd at.

*Blois* at the time the Synod was assembling there; and where-as they were not acquainted with the nature of those Assemblies, they were surpris'd to see it compos'd of 50 persons; and cited them to appear before them. Twelve Deputies were sent to them, having the Moderator and his Associate at the Head of them. The Commissioners endeavour'd to perswade them that their Assembly favour'd of a Cabal; and in order to remove all ill thoughts from them, they made a large Discourse to them about the Queens good intentions. The answer of the *Reform'd* was a little cold at first. They said that they had been told the same at *Saumur*; That the Deputies General writ the same thing to them; and that there was no necessity to Cite the Assembly, only  
to



to tell them that, They refus'd to acknowledge the Commissioners very civilly, covering the said refusal with an intreaty that they would be pleas'd not to meddle with their Affairs, nor with the complaints that had already been presented to them : and whereas the Commissioners did not dissent notwithstanding their civility, the Assembly sent them notice soon after it, That they appeal'd from their proceedings. The Commissioners on the other hand, acquainted the Court with their opinion of the said Assembly. They said that they had refus'd to acknowledge them in the quality of Commissioners ; and that the Number of the Nobles was not so great as it us'd to be ; That their Deputies went to and fro towards *Saumur* ; That small nocturnal Assemblies were form'd there under pretence of Treats ; That they continu'd their Session, notwithstanding they had forbidden it ; That they hinder'd them, with scorn from executing their Commission ; That *Vignier*, Moderator, had declar'd that the *Reform'd* would not accept the answer made to the *Cahiers* of the General Assembly ; That they had new demands to make still ; That they would resume in the National Synod which was to be held the following year at *Privas*, or at *Rochel*, what had been interrupted at *Saumur* ; and that upon the order the Commissioners had given him to Dissolve the Assembly, he had answer'd that he would complain about it throughout the Kingdom. The Truth is that he explain'd himself the next day ; and declar'd that he only meant the custom of acquainting the Churches with all that pass'd. Nevertheless, the Commissioners allow'd them to continue the said Assembly, provided they meddled with nothing but the affairs of their Discipline : but they would not allow the report of what had been done at *Saumur* to be made otherwise than in their presence. The manner in which they wrote at Court was a little envenom'd, but yet they own'd that the Deputies had express'd a great deal of willingness and quickness in taking the Oath of Allegiance to the King and Queen. By allowing the continuation of the

1161.

*They writ  
to Court  
about it.*

1611. Assembly, with the restriction I have mention'd, they hinder'd them from making a Provincial Council, according to the resolution of the General Assembly: and they were seconded in that by the Consistory of *Orleans*, whose Deputy *Memin* and *Heruet* Doctor in Physick oppos'd the said Establishment with great heat, threatening even to acquaint the Magistrates with it. Moreover, the said *Heruet* writ a Libel against that design, which was not relish'd by the Court. These were the effects of the Divisions of *Saumur*, which were followed with the like discord in divers parts of the Kingdom.

Assemblies, at  
Castel-  
Jaloux  
which caus-  
es a kind of  
League of  
the Catho-  
licks.

As Assemblies of this kind were made in all Parts, in which they renew'd the Oath of Union, one of the same kind was held at *Castel-Jaloux*, which gave an occasion to the Catholicks of *Guyenne* also to form a kind of Union among them, which favour'd very much of a League. The Commissioners I have been speaking of mention'd the said Union of the Catholicks in their Letters to the Queen; and in order to alleviate the reproach which that novelty deserved, they compar'd the Union of the *Reform'd* to the League it self. Nevertheless, there was this difference between them, That there was no Conspiracy against the Catholicks, which could oblige them to make a Confederacy to defend themselves: whereas the *Reform'd* saw one throughout *Europe*, of which they felt dismal effects in divers parts. That was sufficient to oblige them to stand upon their guard in *France*. The Protestants in *Germany* were abus'd in all places by the Catholicks. For which reason the Princes were assembled at *Rotenburg*, in order to apply themselves to their mutual preservation. Even in *France* they saw themselves expos'd to bear the burthen of every thing. The Jesuits had a violent desire to settle themselves at *Troyes* a rich City of *Champagne*, very Populous, and of a great Trade; and omitted nothing that Impudence, Deceit, and Malice are capable to invent in order to succeed in it. Nevertheless, they met so much opposition in their design, that they were constrain'd to give it over:

But

But the *Reform'd* suffer'd for it. The Jesuits feign'd that 1611. their only design in endeavouring to settle in the said City was to hinder *Herese* from introducing it self there. The City in order to remove that pretence oblig'd it self never to suffer the *Reform'd* to settle there: which resolution they have observ'd scrupulously.

This was not the only Mortification that Society receiv'd at that time. The *Sorbonne* divided their Censures between the *Reform'd* and the Catholics. As they had condemn'd the Book of *du Pleffis*, they also censur'd some propositions which the Jesuits had advanced concerning *Ignatius* their Founder, and declar'd them Impious. One of their Robe censur'd the Censure; and having no better reason to alledge, he maintain'd that it was good for nothing but to rejoyce *Charrenton* and the *Huguenots*. They had a great Process with the University, for the overture of their College. *Martelliere* a famous Advocate stunn'd them by a thundring Plea: and whereas the Parliament was not oppress'd by a Superior Authority at that time, they gave a Decree in favour of the University. But the Jesuits had the cunning to publish a Letter without a Name, which they feign'd to be written to them, which comforted them for their Disgrace, putting them in hopes of a time that would prove more favourable to them.

*Mortifications receiv'd by the Jesuits*

Among the Commissioners that were sent into the Provinces, *le Masnier* and *Villarnoul* had the district of *Burgundy*, of which the Country of *Gex* is a dependency. They did not meet with the same opposition in that Country, as had been made else where to those that had the same Commission. Therefore we find several ordinances of theirs of the end of that year, and the beginning of the following, concerning the exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion in that little shire: and the Rule of their Judgments was the Edict of *Nantes*, which they look'd upon as a Common Law to all those who liv'd under the King's Obedience. Moreover, some of the said Ordinances were given at the request of the Bishop of *Geneva*, and of the Catholics of that Canton, who

*Commissioners in the Country of Gex.*

who desir'd that the said Law might be observ'd in favour of them. It was much for them at that time, to enjoy the privileges of the Edict : but time has given them more boldness ; and they have finally oppress'd in that Country, those by whom their Fathers had formerly thought themselves very happy to be Tollerated. An Essay of it appear'd the following year.

*The Reform'd in a quarrel take the part of the House of Guise.*

Perhaps the Reader will not be displeas'd to be inform'd by a small affair of the Court, how much the Reform'd were dispos'd to forget the hatred and violences past, in case they had been any wise encourag'd to do it by a better Treatment. The Count *de Soissons*, Son to a younger Brother of the Princes of *Conde*, who had been the Heads of the Reform'd, had a quarrel with the Duke of *Guise*. The Court sided with them as it is usual : but the Count was abandon'd almost by all the Reform'd : and the Dukes *de Bouillon*, *de Rohan*, *de Sully*, *la Nove*, *Gouvernet*, even the Grand-Sons of the Admiral *Chatillon*, and several others offer'd their service to the Duke of *Guise*. This was a very publick Proof that they would not call him to an account for the Blood and Pains, which his Father and Grand-Father had cost them.

1612.

*Death of the Lord de Vatan.*

The following year was spent in little Disputes, which without proceeding to an open War shew'd nevertheless, that there were great Animosities ; and that one side had ill designs, and the others jealousies and diffidences. At the very beginning there happen'd an affair which past without noise, tho it might have prov'd of ill consequence at another time. The Lord of *Vatan*, a little Town in *Berry* which was of some defence, and in which he held a Garrison, was accus'd of favouring the Sale of Prohibited Salt in that Province, and to make Money of it himself. The Court order'd Informations to be brought in against him : and that Gentleman thinking to terrifie those that did it, committed some Violences, which oblig'd the Court to put their orders in execution. The Rebellion of that Lord not being suppress'd by the first endeavours that



that were us'd to reduce him to his Duty, Forces were sent against him; he was besieg'd in his own House, and forc'd to surrender upon Discretion; and being sent Prisoner to the *Conciergerie*, he was condemn'd to Dye by the Parliament of *Paris*. He had flatter'd himself that the *Reform'd* would Interest themselves for the preservation of his Town: but no body stir'd for him; and the Town was taken within sight of the *Reform'd*, who did not offer in the least to defend it. Not but that there were People who dreaded the consequence of it; and who were of opinion that they ought never to suffer the loss of any place of that kind, whatever pretences were us'd to attack it; by reason that if plausible pretences were sufficient, the Court was too Ingenious not to find new ones daily, and to attack them one after another. But the Gentleman's case was so forreign to those in which Religion was concern'd, That they did not think it reasonable to make a general affair of it; nor to give their Enemies a reason to reproach them that they made use of the Cities that were committed to their Guard, for the security of their Conscience and Lives to protect those that were Violators of the Laws of the State. The Judges allow'd the Baron *de Vatan*, after he had receiv'd his Sentence to send for a Minister in Prison to prepare him to Dye. The *Reform'd* either Prisoners, or such as repair'd thither to accompany him had a mind to Sing some Verses of Psalms. But the Catholick Prisoners and others who came there out of Curiosity oppos'd it directly: and *Fuzil* Curate of the Parish of *St. Bartholomew*, who came there in hopes of an occasion to perform some action worthy of his Zeal, was one of the most earnest, and boldest. Their pretence was that the Edict allow'd to comfort the Prisoners, but not to perform the exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion in Prisons upon that account: much less in that place which was the Chapel of the *Conciergerie*. The *Reform'd* obey'd; and the Tumult ceas'd.

They allow  
him a Mi-  
nister to  
prepare  
him to Dye:  
but they  
hinder him  
from sing-  
ing Psalms.

1612.  
Deputies of  
the Provin-  
ces at Pa-  
ris.

But at the begining of the same year, there were Deputys of Eight Provinces at Court, which did meet together in order to send thither, to resume the Affairs in the same condition in which the General Assembly had left them ; and to Solicit His Majesty to add something more favourable, and more express to the answers he had made to their *Cabier*. The Deputys General receiv'd them as if they had spoken in the Name of all the Churches, because they were Deputed by so many Provinces, which werethose inwhich the *Reform'd* were the strongest. The Court did not use them so. They were resolv'd to Condemn the Provincial Assemblys that had Deputed them, as Unlawful Assemblys : and therefore they were oblig'd to send them back again without seeing, or hearing them. But the fear of exasperating the said Provinces by that Affront, made them finally resolve to hear them, after some difficulties. Moreover they enter'd into some Negotiation with them ; and the Queen being desirous to have *Du Plessis* advice upon their Demands by an Express, she sent to him it inclined People to believe that that affair would have a happy Issue. The Marshal *de Bouillon* hinder'd it ; and took it as an Affront to him and his that more should be granted at the Solicitation of the Deputys of those Unlawful Assemblys, than the Assembly of *Saumur* had been able to obtain. The Court which had no Inclination to favour the *Reform'd* easily comply'd with the Marshal Duke ; and taking for a pretence that those Deputys of divers Assemblys not allow'd of, could not be look'd upon otherwise than as private Persons who assum'd the name of the General, they were sent back without an Answer. Moreover the Court added Contumely to Severity ; discharging them in Writing in very offensive Terms, which reflected at once on their Commission and their Persons.

Sent back  
Outragi-  
ously.

In the meantime they endeavour'd to prevent the evil, which they foresaw that rigour might occasion ; but the way they took for it prov'd more Injurious than the Evil it self ; and incuring one Wound made another more considerable, and more dangerous. Among all the Resolutions of the

the Assembly of *Saumur*, there was none troubled the Court more than that of Establishing Provincial Councils. The Truth is that difficultys were met with in divers places for the Execution of that Regulation, and the same discord which had troubled the General Assembly, imbroy'd the particular ones: so that it made the Enterprize miscarry in some Provinces. But that Establishment was made in others; and neither Brigues, nor Craft could hinder it, The Court had no mind to proceed openly to the suppressing of the said Assemblys for fear of exposing their Authority, by a Resolution they might not be able to perform: But on the other hand this new form of Assemblys, which fastned the Union of the Churches with new Links, which the Council design'd to break at any rate, was the more Odious to the Council, by reason that it was advantageous to the Party they had a mind to Ruin. For that reason they bethought themselves of a Wile, which without prohibiting them directly made them pass Indirectly for Unlawful: and that design was cover'd with the pretence of securing those against the proceedings of Justice as had assisted in the Assemblies of which the Deputies had been sent back by the Court with contumely. The King gave a Declaration on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *April*, which beginning with the design he had had to pursue for the preservation of the State the means which the Late King had us'd, to make it pass from an extream desolation to a perfect Splendor, by degrees took notice of the answers given to the *Cabiers* of the Assembly of *Saumur*, and of the sending of Commissioners into the Provinces. Those two things were propos'd in it as great proofs of the good Intentions of the Court, and as proper Expedients to remove all the Jealousies and Fears, which had given the *Reform'd* a pretence to hold some Assemblys without leave, and which had created jealousies in others. Those Assemblys were only spoken of by the they were only stil'd *Extraordinary*; and they were only imr ed to some of the *Reform'd*; They said that they were only ven'd in some Provinces; The King declar'd that he was well satisfy'd with the good Will, Zeal and Loyalty

*Declaration  
of the 24<sup>th</sup>  
of April.*

1611. Generality : Nevertheless he alter'd his tone all of a sudden; and calling that a Crime, which he had just before express'd in such mild Terms, he granted the Remission and Forgiveness of the fault Committed by those who had occasion'd the said Assemblys and had been concern'd in the same, forbidding his Attorneys General and their Substitutes to make any Inquiry after, or prosecution for the same. So far there only appear'd a prelude, of which the Mistry was conceal'd : but finally the last Article of the Declaration reveal'd it, prohibiting all Assemblys of that nature for the future, declaring them to be Interdicted by the 28 Article of the Edit, by the Ordinance of the 16th. of March 1606, and by the Answer given to the *Cabiers* in the Month of *August* of the said Year. Nevertheless the King allow'd the *Reform'd* still a full Liberty to hold Consistorys, Conferences, Provincial and National Synods, on condition that none but Ministers and Elders should be admitted in the same, and that they should only treat of their Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline, on pain of forfeiting the Right of holding such Assemblys. The Moderators were to be responsible for it : and the Cognisance of the infractions was re-ferr'd to the first Master of Requests being upon the place.

*The Deputies General oppose the Inrolment.*

The Deputies General being inform'd that the said Declaration was sent to the Parliament, in order to be Registred, form'd an opposition against it by a Petition, which contain'd an express disavowal of having requir'd it; protesting that they look'd upon it as injurious and prejudicial to the *Reform'd*, and that in the name of the General they refused to make use of it. This opposition, and the proceedings of the said Deputies at Court, in order to put a stop to the said Declaration, stopt the Parliament for some days. But whereas the Court had only given that Pardon, to the end, that supposing the said Assembly to be Criminal, they might have a pretence to suppress them for the future, proceeded on : and the said Declaration was verifi'd on the 25 of *May* in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in other places sooner, or later, according to the force of their Intrigues.

Moreover



Moreover the Court found out some *Reform'd* who desir'd 1612.  
 the Inrolment of it, under pretence that having been in-  
 gag'd imprudently in the said Assemblies, without knowing  
 whether they were lawful or no, they stood in need of a <sup>Which is</sup>  
 Pardon for their Security. They were Creatures of Mar- <sup>notwith-</sup>  
 shal *de Bonillon*, who had only assisted in them, in order <sup>standing</sup>  
 to cross the Resolutions of the rest, or to give informations <sup>perform'd.</sup>  
 of what pass'd there. But yet the refusal of it was look'd  
 upon as general, since it was made by the Deputies Gene-  
 ral, who did represent all the Churches. So that the Inrol-  
 ment of the said Declaration had something very singular  
 in it. It granted a Pardon to persons who desir'd none;  
 and to whom it was only granted, in order to make them  
 declare themselves guilty by accepting of it. It was a very  
 new sort of kindness to pardon people against their Wills,  
 who desir'd no Pardon; and notwithstanding their oppositi-  
 on to make a Law of a Remission against which the persons  
 concern'd did protest, before the publication of it.

The Inrolment was made the very next day after the <sup>National</sup>  
 overture of the National Synod, which was begun that year <sup>Synod of</sup>  
 at *Privas* on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May: as if the Court expecting that <sup>Privas.</sup>  
 the Synod would make some new Protestation against the  
 Declaration, had design'd to put it past retracting, when they  
 should make remonstrances about it. It is certain at least  
 that this Synod resent'd it highly; as I will relate  
 it after having mention'd some other important Acts  
 which preceded it. This is one of the Synods that enter'd  
 farthest into Political Affairs. They examin'd the Conduct  
 of those that had created a Scisme at *Saumur*, and that  
 united themselves to prefer the smaller number to the Plu-  
 rality of Voices, according to the Queens Letter. They  
 pronounc'd a general Censure against those that were con- <sup>Censures</sup>  
 concern'd in that Conspiracy. They declar'd that the concor'd <sup>about the</sup>  
 so often Sworn, had been violated by that Artifice; and <sup>Divisions</sup>  
 that the Divisions of the Assembly had given the King's Coun- <sup>of Saumur.</sup>  
 cil an occasion to wave their just demands. Therefore they  
 renew'd the Union, which was sign'd and Sworn by all the

1612. Deputies ; who promis'd to get it sign'd and 'sworn by all the Churches of their Provinces. The Instrument that was drawn of it contain'd a promise to Live and Dye in the profession of their Confession of Faith and Discipline, *under the Authority and for the Service of the King and Queen Regent, the Empire of God remaining whole.* It was in order to contribute to that Union that a last and definitive division of the Kingdom was made into 16 Provinces, in which *Bearn* was Comprehended. Till then the number had not always been the same : which had sometimes occasion'd disputes in the Deputations to the National Synods, and General Assemblies.

Private  
Divisions.

In the next place the Synod took Cognisance of some divisions which occasion'd mischief and scandal in several places. There were places where the Governor and Minister did not agree : The one being of the number of the *Complaisant*, and the other of the *Zealous*. In other places the Ministers could not agree among themselves ; which created Parties in their Churches, which the Court knew very well how to improve. Even at *Montauban*, *Benoit* and *Beraud* had continual disputes. *Beraud* was the most passionate of the two : he had more Vigor and Impatience, and was capable in case of necessity to quit the Pen to draw a Sword : which in time drew mortifying affairs upon him. *Benoit* had more weakness : but his Cause was the best ; and the Synod of the Province had adjudged it more than once in his favour. Nevertheless, the National Synod oblig'd him to yield to his Competitor ; and sent him to serve in the Neighbourhood : but in order to comfort him for that disgrace, they gave him very honourable Testimonials. The Synod thought themselves oblig'd to perform this Act of Authority, for the preservation of *Montauban*, which might have been in danger'd by the continuation of a dispute which had already lasted many years.

*Ferrier* was not forgotten in that Synod. It was upon his account they made an Act which excluded the Professors of Theology out of the Political Assemblies. But they proceeded farther yet against him, and tryed him in a very mortifying

ing manner. He had of late thrown of his Mask with so little prudence, that he seem'd to have lost his Sences. The Party he had taken at *Saumur* had render'd him odious in his Province, and to one part of his Church. He was sensible that they would prosecute him in the National Synod : and that of the Lower *Languedock* was so prejudiced against him, that he was affraid of a shameful Censure. But the means he us'd to prevent it, only serv'd to render it inevitable. He made several suspicious journeys to Court, without the participation of his Church. The Ministers of *Paris* who look'd upon him as a dangerous man, us'd their utmost endeavours to reclaim him. They thought to flatter his ambition by offering him a place in their Church, which wanted a Minister : and there was a great deal of reason to believe that having by his ill Conduct reduc'd himself to the necessity of quitting the Church of *Nimes*, his vocation in the service of the Church of *Paris* would make him amends for that disgrace, and would be a fair pretence for him to quit his Province with honour. Besides they were less afraid of him at *Paris* than at *Nimes*. He would have had learned, vigorous Collegues there, to have an eye over his actions, who would perhaps have prevented his total ruin. He accepted the offers that were made to him at first; and even receiv'd the reproaches that were made to him for his past faults with great marks of Repentance. He confess'd all ; he condemn'd himself; he wept ; but after having promis'd never to abandon his Profession, and to exert it at *Paris* ; he retracted it unhandsonely : and whether it were that he had promis'd to do things for the service of the Court, which this new vocation would disable him from performing ; or whether he thought he had credit enough by his friends means, to mainhimself at *Nimes* in spite of his Province ; or whether he were absolutely possess'd by the Jesuits, and only acted by their inspirations, he left *Paris* without a pretence ; and without taking his leave of the Ministers there, from whom he had receiv'd so civil and honourable a Treatment.

1612. All this was taken into consideration at *Privas*; and *du Moulin* who gave an account there of what had past at *Paris*, where *Ferrier* had discover'd a mind equally haughty, fickle and without Faith, represented his conduct to be very irregular. Divers accusations were added to it relating to his life past, which was examined rigorously. They upbraided him for having neglected his profession of Theology; for having Preach'd Doctrines that were not Orthodox; for having taken upon him the management of Money, and apply'd a very considerable Sum of it to his own use unlawfully; for having himself forg'd, or consented to the forging of certain Letters which had engag'd him into shameful affairs, and dishonourable disguises. They censur'd him severely upon all these Articles; but besides the Verbal Censure, the Synod Injoyn'd him to write to the Church of *Paris* to make them satisfaction; forbad him to appear in Political Assemblies for the space of six years; and order'd him to exert his Ministry out of the Province of *Languedoc*.

Which censures him grievously.

Nimes de-  
putes to  
preserve  
him.

*Ferrier* was too haughty to obey; and tho he did not expect so ill a treatment, he was not disheartned. He had Friends at *Nimes*, and his Faction was increas'd by all those who were at the devotion of the Court. By those means he prevail'd with the Church and City of *Nimes* to send Deputies to the Synod on his behalf. They chose them among the Counselors of the Presidial, the Body of the City and the Ministers. The Synod gave them a hearing; and they omitted nothing to prevail upon them, and to obtain the Revocation of their Judgment: but all in vain. Moreover the Synod express'd their displeasure at so considerable a Deputation, to favour a Man who betray'd the Common Cause. The Ministers who were joyn'd in it, were censur'd for their complaisance; and the *Memoirs* they had brought in order to his justification were call'd calumnious. But whereas they were sensible that *Ferrier* would not stop there; and that the Magistracy being of his side he would keep his Ministry, of which



which they had not suspended the Functions, they declar'd to him aggravating the matter, that he was actually suspended from that moment, unless he obey'd. Nevertheless as they had no mind to exasperate him, the Synod having thought fit to send *Chamier* to the Academy of *Montauban*, which desir'd him for their Professor in Divinity, they sent *Ferrier* to *Montelimar* in his room. But this Indulgence of the Synod did not succeed according to their expectation.

1612.  
And the  
Synod ag-  
gravates.

The said Synod also receiv'd the Complaints of that of *Blois*, against those who had hinder'd them by their oppositions from forming a Provincial Council, according to the resolution taken at *Saumur*: and in order to apply proper remedies to an affair of so ill an example, they deputed three Ministers and two Elders, whom they charg'd to examine that affair to the bottom, and to proceed to suspension, and even to depose the Guilty.

Complaints  
of the Syn-  
od of  
Blois.

But the greatest affair that was treated there, was that of the Declaration of the 24<sup>th</sup> of *April* which the Synod disown'd solemnly by an Act that was Sign'd by the Moderator, his Associate and the Secretaries, which was sent to all the Churches, and even Printed in order to send Copies of it throughout *Europe*. The Synod pretended that there was a flaw in the Pardon granted by that Declaration; since there had been no crime committed to render it necessary, that the Assemblies that had been held since that of *Saumur* were lawful; that the like had often been held during the Reign of *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>. without his ever complaining against them; That whenever a permission was given to hold a General Assembly, it included leave to hold particular ones either before the General, to Nominate the Deputies that were to assist at it; or after it to give them an account of their Transactions there. This was particularly grounded on the very form of the fatal Letter, the Queen had written to the Assembly of *Saumur*, which commanding the

Depu.

1612. Deputies to break up, order'd them at the same time to carry assurances of the King's good Intentions into their Provinces : which had induc'd the general Assembly to summon particular ones, to acquaint them with those good dispositions. They added that the Council was not ignorant of the resolution of holding those particular Assemblies, since the Commissioners that were sent into divers places, had receiv'd Orders to repair thither, if possible before the Overture: That the King had sent some Persons of Quality to assist at them in his Name, in some Provinces: That the King's Licutenants, Magistrates, Counsellors and Presidents, had sent for some of the Deputies of those Assemblies to speak to them, and to know their Intentions: That the very Commissioners nominated by the King had assisted at some of them: That their *Cabiers* had been receiv'd in the Council, and that they had treated about the Answers that were to be made to them: from whence the Synod infer'd that the said Assemblies were neither Criminal nor Clandestine. They complain'd that the *Reform'd* were blacken'd by that Tacit reproach: That it reviv'd former hatreds, making them odious both at home and abroad by those oblique accusations: which were contrary to the peace of the State. Therefore they seconded the intreaties which the Deputies General had made, and the Petition they had presented to the Parliament of *Paris*; and did protest that the *Reform'd* had neither required nor sought after those Letters, not deeming themselves guilty in any respect, and being ready to expose themselves to all manner of torments rather than to suffer their Loyalty to be tainted by that spot. They protested that they would make no manner of use of that pretended Pardon; and that they disown'd all the proceedings, avowals, and approbations the said Declaration might take the advantage of, as being contrary to their approv'd fidelity, in which they promis'd to persevere, and to maintain it with their Fortunes, Lives and Honours. This Act was dated the 2<sup>d</sup>. of *June*: and the Synod charg'd

charg'd the Churches of those places where there were Chambers of the Edict, to make Remonstrances to the Counsellors who had suffer'd the Inrollment of the said Declaration to be made without a vigorous opposition; and the Churches of Cities in which there were Parliaments, were also order'd to present the protestations of the Synod to them.

They also writ to the Marshals *de Bouillon* and *de Lesdiguières*, to desire them to assist the Deputies General, in order to obtain the revocation of that injurious Pardon. And moreover because the Synod dreaded the consequences of the Division that had broke out at *Saumur*; they employ'd their utmost cares to reconcile Peoples minds. They charg'd the Deputies General to employ themselves about it, and gave them for Associates *Du Meulin*, *Durant* and *de Lisle Grolot*, a man of great merit and credit. They wrote to all those who were any wise concern'd in those disorders, and made very lively and very pressing exhortations to them; and declaring themselves positively for those who had insisted for most surety, they intreated the Marshal *de Bouillon* and *de Lesdiguières* to joyn themselves again to the Dukes of *Rohan* and *de Sully*, to *La Force*, *Scubise* and *Du Plessis*, and the rest of those that were Zealous; to forget all that was past, and all the diversity of sentiments and of opinions; to lay aside all animosities fomented by their common enemies; to re-unite themselves to the Churches in their Remonstrances, in order to obtain favourable answers, at least upon their most important demands. They writ at the same time to *Chatillon*, to the Duke *de Rohan*, to *Parabere*, and to others upon the same subject, to exhort them to a Reconciliation, and to make a Sacrifice of their Resentments to the good of the Churches. The Dutches *de La Trimouille* was not forgotten. She had begun to apply her self to that Work: The Synod writ to her to continue; and to breed her Children in good Sentiments of the Reform'd Religion. The said Letters were

1612. earned by divers Persons, who were able to second them but by reason that the Division had pass'd from the great ones to the inferiour sort, the Synod also made strong exhortations to private Persons to reunite themselves; and counsel'd them in a very moving manner not to abandon the Common Cause. Neither did they forget to threaten the obstinate with Ecclesiastical Censures, or to denote the Vengeances and Judgments of God against them: and they charg'd all the Ministers to endeavour to restore concord in their Flocks.

Int. of  
augmentation  
of the

Re-  
form'd.

The Deputies General had brought the Synod a Brief of 15000 Crowns which the King granted for an augmentation to the Sallaries of the Ministers. It was dated on the first of *October* last past; and contain'd only what related to the augmentation. Another had been granted before, to confirm that of 45000 Crowns of which the King promis'd to continue the payment; declaring that he knew what considerations had oblig'd the King his Father to give that Sum to the *Reform'd*, to be imploy'd about their secret affairs. Therefore the King allow'd the *Reform'd* the same Liberty to dispose of that Sum, which had been granted to them by the Briefs of the late King. But the King did not design to do the same thing in relation to the Brief of augmentation, which the Court undertook to distribute themselves. Insomuch that the said grant which look'd like a favour, was in reality a dangerous Snare. All those who were self-interested were fir'd with the hopes of obtaining more from the Court out of that Sum than they expected to get from the Synod, in which the Distributions were made with more Husbandry and Equity. So that it was easy for the Court to make that serve to corrupt the *Reform'd*, which seem'd to be given to oblige them. Some private Persons had already made their Addresses to the King, in the short time that was past since the Date of the Brief in order to obtain some gratification out of that new Sum. Even some Communities had been taken by that Charm, and the City of  
Ber-



*Bergerac* had obtain'd 15000 Livres that way, under pre-  
tence of erecting a College.

Moreover it occasion'd a great Alteration that year  
in the State of Religion in the Bayliwick of *Gex*,  
I have related in another place the condition of the  
*Reform'd* there, when that Country was surrender'd to  
the King by the Duke of *Savoy*. It is the Natural Obliga-  
tion of Princes to leave all things in the condi-  
tion in which they find them, when they fall into their  
hands; at least as to what relates to those Rights which  
subjection cannot deprive Men of; such as are those of Con-  
science, and of Priviledges acquir'd by a long Possession  
in favour of Liberty. For which reason *Henry* the IV.  
had made no alterations there; contenting himself with  
restoring the free exercise of the Catholick Religion there,  
until means could be found to reconcile the two Parties  
about the possession of Estates and Buildings. But *Lewis*  
the XIII. his Successor would no longer keep the same  
measures. The Commissioners which he had sent into  
*Burgundy*, of which that Bayliwick was a dependency,  
took at once from the *Reform'd* both the Ecclesiastical  
Revenues, and the Houses, which had formerly been im-  
ploy'd for the *Roman* Church. In order to make them  
some amends for that loss, the King allow'd them 1200  
Crowns for the Salary of their Ministers: and took the  
said Sum out of the 15000 which he allow'd the *Reform'd*  
more than the late King had granted them, in recompence  
of their Tithes. To this he added leave to build Temples:  
but he gave no fund towards it. He only order'd two very illu-  
sive things; the one was that they should take materials from  
the demolish'd Convents to imploy them towards these new  
Buildings: the other, that the Catholicks should pay the re-  
parations and amendments of their Churches; and that the  
said Money should be apply'd towards the Construccions of  
the said Temples: This was the way to Involve the *Re-*  
*form'd* into continual Law Suits, to recompence them for  
the Estates that were taken from them: besides it re-

1612.  
Alterations  
made to the  
state of the  
Reform'd  
in the year  
1612.

1612. du'd the Salary of the Ministers to a very inconsiderable thing, since they were only allow'd 1200 Crowns, tho there were 12 Ministers at that time in the said Bayliwick. Insomuch that taking out of the said grant the indispenfible Charges which every Church was oblig'd to be at yearly, there did not remain enough to allow each Minister a Pension of a 100 Crowns. But that which was most remarkable was that the King indemnified the Churches of *Gex* at the cost of the other Churches of his Kingdom; taking out of what he had promised to some, wherewith to make the others subsist.

*The Synod  
increases  
to prevent  
the abuse  
that is  
made of the  
said aug-  
mentation.*

The National Synod having part of these things before their eyes, and foreseeing the rest, endeavour'd to remedy the same. Therefore they charg'd the Deputies General on the one hand humbly to beseech his Majesty to leave the receipt and distribution of the said Sum to the *Reform'd*, as the King his Father had allow'd them the Care and Management of that which he had granted them; and on the other they order'd them to oppose the endeavours of those who should make their applications to the Court, in order to obtain some Pension out of the said Sum, to the prejudice of the right of the Synods and of the common good. The Town of *Bergerac* was highly censur'd for having taken that way to obtain the Sum that was granted them; and the Synod injoyn'd them to desist from that pretention, and not to pretend any thing out of that Sum, unless by the approbation and Will of the Assembly. It proved somewhat difficult at first to make them obey; but finally, the Synod having sent exprefs Deputies thither, to remonstrate the consequences of the thing to them, they submitted to the discretion of the Synod; and 1200 Livers were granted them soon after it for their College.

*Andrenews  
the de-  
mands of  
the Assem-  
bly of Sau-  
mur.*

The same Synod renewed all the demands the Assembly of *Saumur* had already made; and declaring that they were not satisfied with the Answers to the *Cabiers* of the said Assembly, they form'd others just like them, and charg'd the Deputies General to endeavour to obtain more favourable

ble answers than the preceeding. But no Article was so earnestly recommended to them, as that which desired that the *Reform'd* might not be oblig'd to call their Religion themselves *Pretended Reform'd*. The Synod charged them to declare in the name of all the *Reform'd*, that they would sooner undergo a thousand Racks than to give their Religion that odious Title. As many Persons may be surpris'd without doubt to see the same Article press'd so often with so much earnestness, and perhaps may not at first perceive the consequence of it, I will give you a short account of the Reasons which oblig'd the *Reform'd* to insist so much upon that matter. Therefore I will observe once for all, that the word *Pretended* is equivocal. It often signifies the undecided and doubtful state of a thing in contestation, upon which nothing has been determin'd as yet to bind the Parties: The Judges make use of it as of an indifferent term, when before the decision they speak of the things which are pretended by one of the Parties, and disputed by the other: and sometimes also in the Instruments that are common to both, the parties make use of it in speaking of their Rights, without being afraid of doing themselves any prejudice. In a word, *Pretended* is relative to *Pretention*, and in that sense implies nothing suspicious, or offensive. But it is yet more usually taken in a signification almost equivalent to the Terms of False and Unlawful: and whereas the first sense is in some measure reserv'd for the Barr, the second is of a common use every where else. So that there are words to which the word *pretended* cannot be joyn'd without giving it an injurious sense. You cannot apply a *pretended* Merit, or *pretended* Vertue to any body without offence: and in that stile a *pretended* Schollar, signifies an ignorant Person. This use of it draws another after it, viz. That the word *Pretended* becomes Ironical in several occasions, and gives an offensive air of reproach and railery to discourse. Therefore the *Reform'd* being sensible what was meant, when they were call'd *Pretended Reform'd*, took it for an affront to be oblig'd to give themselves that equivocal Name; as

1612.

Reasons of  
the Repug-  
nancy so of-  
ten ex-  
press'd a-  
gainst the  
Names of  
Pretended  
Reform'd  
Religion.

1612. if they had approved the opinion which the Catholicks had of their Religion and of their Doctrine.

Complaints  
concerning  
the Com-  
missioners

The Deputies General were also minded to complain of the Illusive Journey of the Commissioners. It was apparent that the Court had not sent them to better the condition of the *Reform'd*. Their main Function had only been to dissolve the particular Assemblies, and to hinder the establishment of the Provincial Councils. Besides which, they had hardly given any decisive Ordinances; and they had left all the affairs undecided either by divisions or removals to the Council. Their chief expeditions were only to give some Church-yards, and far from doing the *Reform'd* Justice upon their Complaints, they had made their condition worse in some places than it was before. They gave the Deputies General Instructions and Memoirs to record those Remonstrances. The affair of the Churches of the Baywick of Gex were comprehended in them; and the Deputies General were charg'd to desire that the Sum which the King allow'd them out of the 15000 Crowns of augmentation might be assign'd to them upon other Funds, and that something more might be allow'd to them to build their Temples.

Resolution  
no longer to  
send parti-  
cular Deputations to  
the Court

The success of the Solicitations which the Deputies of the particular Assemblies had made at Court, had been so unfortunate, that in order no longer to offend the Court, which took no delight in being troubled with Deputies, the Synod resolv'd for the future to imploy the Deputies General to the end that their representations being deliver'd to the King by Persons that were agreeable to him, they might obtain more favourable answers. Therefore they charg'd them with a large *Cahier*, and with the Solicitation of such things as they should have demanded at another time by a particular Deputation.

Force of the  
Reform'd  
in the Coun-  
ty of Avig-  
non.

It is observable that the number of the *Reform'd* was so considerable at that time in the County of *Avignon*, that they esteem'd themselves strong enough to form a Province a part. They desir'd three things of the Synod: To be receiv'd in the communion of the Churches of *France*:

To



To make a particular Province, without being mixt with those that were adjacent ; and to be assisted with some Sums of Money to make the said Establishment. The Synod granted them the first Article ; referr'd the second to a Political Assembly ; and excused themselves upon the third. Not but that the Synod had some Money good out of the preceeding years : but they design'd it for other uses. They took several Sums out of it to gratifie private persons. Among the rest, *Thomson* Minister of *La Chataigneraye*, had a recompence given him of three hundred Livers for the Book to which he had given the Title of *The Chace of the Roman Empt* : and *Tignier* had a gratification of two thousand Livers for the *Theatre of Antichrist*, which he had written by Command of the National Synod of *Rechel*. This may serve to shew that the Synod had not alter'd their Sentiments about the matter of Antichrist.

*Gratification.*

Soon after the breaking up of the Synod, the Court being press'd on several sides to revoke the Declaration which had made so much noise ; and being moreover disturb'd about the troubles that were forming in *Saintonge* and at *Rochel*, which might be attended with ill consequences, put out a new Declaration, which under pretence of removing the Scandal which the preceeding had occasion'd, did notwithstanding confirm it. It suppo'd that the preceeding had only been granted at the request of some particular Persons, who were afraid of being prosecuted for having assisted in Assemblies which had been held without leave, and for having been guilty of some suspicious actions, as Listing of Men : which had given them some disquiet, by reason that some of them had been inform'd against in the Chambers of the Edict : But whereas some People look'd upon that pardon not so much as a remedy for the fears of those who did wisely think they stood in need of it ; as a desire to lay a lemish upon the general, the King was willing to remove all manner of pretence from the disaffected, and to satisfie the good Subjects, who joyn'd the Zeal of their Religion to their obedience, and only desir'd to enjoy the benefit of the

*New Declaration upon the preceeding.*

1612. the Edicts in Peace. He said that the number of those was much the greatest; and comprehended those in it who had most power to help to maintain publick Tranquility. Therefore he declar'd by way of Esclaireissement upon the Declaration of the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, That he was very well satisfi'd with the *Reform'd* in general, and that for that reason he did forget the faults of particular persons, which should no wise reflect upon them for the future, provided that they kept within the bounds of their Allegiance, and of the observation of the Edicts.

Which  
gives no  
satisfacti-  
on.

This new Declaration was dated *July* the 11<sup>th</sup>. It was drawn in Terms which at the bottom signifi'd nothing; and which showing that the first had been publish'd upon certain informations made on purpose, to serve for a pretence to the Act of Grace they had a mind to give, reduc'd it to a particular Pardon; in which the generality seem'd not to be concern'd. But at the bottom the King not naming those he was satisfi'd with, nor those of whom he complain'd, it remain'd still uncertain and undecided to whom the said Pardon did belong; which many, and even the greatest number of those that had assisted in the Assemblies would not accept of: and consequently they had as much reason to complain of the second Declaration as of the first. Moreover the Assemblies remain'd still under condemnation as unlawful; and consequently prohibited for the future. Therefore that expedient prov'd ineffectual; and lest the Evil might go farther, they were forc'd once more to take it in hand again.

*Cabiers* an-  
swer'd.

I have observ'd that the Synod had endeavour'd to ground the right of Particular Assemblies, upon the Courts having receiv'd their *Cabiers*, and given favourable answers to the same. The truth is nevertheless, as I have said it elsewhere, that the Deputies were dismiss'd in a kind of insulting manner; and that they had not the satisfaction to bring back those answers. They were made to the *Cabiers* as presented by the Deputies General, without looking upon them

as coming from particular Provinces. Three \* *Cabiers* were thus answer'd on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April. The first contain'd several Articles extracted out of the *Cabier* of Saumur. There was one among the rest relating to little Schools, whereby the King was desir'd to remove the restriction of the number mention'd in the Answer to the 18<sup>th</sup> Article of the *Cabier* of Saumur; and that the said Article should no wise prejudice the concession of the Edict, which allow'd *Reform'd* Schollars to be receiv'd without distinction into the publick Colleges. There was another which desir'd that the *Reform'd* Associates, which were deprived of a deliberative Voice by the Answer to the 34<sup>th</sup>, might have it in Judgments; as in those places where the *Reform'd* were the strongest, they allow'd it without contestation to the Catholick Associates. The King did grant the last; and as to the preceeding he reversed the restriction in relation to such places in which the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion was allow'd in the Subburbs; provided they were Children belonging to the Town or Subburbs; and he allow'd the said Schools in the Town it self: but he only allow'd the Children of the places adjacent to be sent to School in the Suburbs: and he also confirm'd the privilege of sending Children to publick Colleges, as it was allowed by the Edict.

The second relating to the Administration of Justice was answer'd the same day; and among other things the King confirm'd the preceeding Settlements, which render'd the Chambers of the Edict Judges of their own Jurisdiction and Power: but he added a word to it, which opened a way to wave the said Concession, reducing it to the Settlements made and observ'd. So that under colour of granting all, he granted nothing, since the *Reform'd* had no need of a new Law for such places in which the old ones were observ'd: but only to put them in force again in those where they were not observ'd. The King also granted that the *Reform'd* should not be lyable to be Sequestrators of the Ecclesiastical Estates seiz'd upon for the Tithes; but it was his pleasure that incase they should accept it voluntarily, they should be subject to the ordinary jurisdiction, and should not pretend a removal to the Chambers.

1612.



The third which related to the Affairs of *Dauphine*, which were commonly treated of apart, was also answer'd the same day ; and among several other Articles, the King particularly granted these ; That the Grounds given to serve for Church-yards should be freed from paying of *Tailles*, and Rents due to the King ; or that in case they should Lay in the Royalty of any other Lord they should have the same discharge, the said Lords being indemnifi'd at the charge of the Communities, injoyning the exemption : That the number of the Judges allow'd of requir'd to judge according to the Ordinances, not being found in the Chamber of *Grenoble*, the Parties might of Right, and without having recourse to the King, or to the great Council, apply themselves to the next Chamber ; as it was already allow'd in Case the Judges were divided in their Opinions : That the *Reform'd* Associate who should be taken by the Catholick Judge, to assist at the Information of Criminal Causes, should also be taken for Assessor with a deliberative Voice in the Judgment, That the Parliament should not be allow'd to give a \* *Pareatis*, nor to give a Decree in Causes depending in the Chamber, against persons who publickly profes'd the *Reform'd* Religion. That the King should create a *Reform'd* Secretary and a Messenger, to be officiated by such persons as should be nominated by the Churches of the Province, with the same Gallarys and Prerogatives as others who had the same Offices : That the Parties who had reason to complain of the Ordinances made by the Commissioners, which the late King had deputed for the Verification of the Country Debts, might appeal from their Judgment in three Months time to the Party-Chamber.

\* *Injuncti-*  
*on.*

Enterprises  
of the Par-  
liaments  
upon the  
Jurisdiction  
of the  
Chambers.

It appears by those *Cabiers* that the Chambers had daily new disputes with the Parliaments, concerning their Jurisdiction and Power : So that those Judges allow'd to the *Reform'd*, to exempt them from putting their Affairs and Lives into the hands of other suspected or partial Judges, for the most part only serv'd to engage them into disputes of Jurisdiction, which almost distracted them. The Parliaments could not accustom themselves to that dismemb'ring of their

own



own Jurisdiction, which deprived them of the major part of Affairs. Therefore upon the least ground they retain'd the Causes of the *Reform'd*, and refus'd their appeals. At *Paris* a man pretending to have a right of sight upon a certain place, the Possessors oppos'd it; and after the appeal of the Sentence of the first Judge, the Defendants resolv'd not to submit the Cause to the Chamber of the *Edict*. The Cause was Civil, if ever any was so; since the thing in debate was only a little Right pretended upon the ground of a Community: but whereas the owners of the said Ground were Monks, the Parliament retain'd the Cause, pretending that it was an Ecclesiastical Cause. Another man being condemn'd for some pretended Irreverence, by the Inferior Judge, to keep and be at the charge of a burning Lamp in a Church, was likewise refus'd the removal he desir'd, under pretence that it was a Cause that was excepted: So that it was sufficient in order to deprive a *Reform'd* of the Privilege of a removal granted by the *Edict*, for the Subaltern Judge to condemn'd him to any thing in which the Church of *Rome* was concern'd: by this Wile they gave the Parliaments a pretence to retain the Causes of Appeal. In other places the Parliaments oblig'd the Messengers, who were to execute any Decrees made by the Chamber establish'd within their Precinct, to take Letters of Injunction; as not acknowledging that the said Chambers had an Authority to cause their Judgments to be observ'd Independantly from the Parliaments. This was the reason for which the Chamber of *Grenoble* desir'd the afore said Settlement.

1612.

Nevertheless, the Chambers of the *Edict* still retain'd some notwithstanding these pretences; and then they were as severe in their Judgments as the Parliaments. The Chamber of *Paris* gave one that year in the Month of *April*, upon a very singular Case. A Curate, in resigning his Cure, had retain'd a Pension upon his Revenue; and in order not to be liable to the Consequences of such Agreements, when sufficient precautions have not been taken to

*Severity of  
the Cham-  
bers of the  
Edict.*

1612. Authorise them, he had caus'd his contract to be approv'd of at the Court of *Rome*. His said Pension was constantly paid him while he was a Catholick : but as soon as he had embrac'd the Reform'd Religion, the Assignee would no longer pay it. The said Cause was brought before the Chamber of the Edict, I know not why, since it was at least as much Ecclesiastical, as the others I have mention'd : And they declar'd the Pensionary incapable of injoying the said Revenue, by reason of his change of Religion. The Profelite really acted contrary to the Discipline of the *Reform'd*, which oblig'd all those of his Character, when they embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, to renounce their Benefices, & to preserve none of the Revenues of the same, directly, or indirectly. But the Chamber of the Edict did not judge according to the said Discipline : they only consider'd the Religion of the Parties.

The  
Corps of a  
*Reform'd*  
Gentleman  
taken out of  
the ground  
again, by  
the order of  
a Com-  
missioner.

As I have heretofore observ'd that the *Reform'd* complain'd, that the Commissioners sent into the Provinces had made their condition worse than it was in some places, it will not be amiss to give another proof of it. The Commissioners who had the District of *Burgundy*, and who made the alterations, I have already mention'd in the Country of *Gex*, did a thing in the Parish of *Chalemant*, a dependency of the Diocess of *Nevers*, which the *Reform'd* were very much concern'd at, by reason of the Consequence of it. A *Reform'd* Gentleman whose Family pretended to have a right of Burial in the Parochial Church, had been bury'd there. The Bishop complain'd to the Commissioners about it, as of a great attempt; and desir'd the Corps to be remov'd, in order to reconcile the Church which was profan'd by the Burial of an *Heretick*. *Genicourt* Master of Requests, the Catholick Commissioner, caus'd the said Corps to be taken out of the Ground, and to be transported to the place which was allow'd to the *Reform'd* for their Burials. The *Reform'd* Commissioner was absent at that time, whither it were that he had no mind to have a hand in that extraordinary proceeding, or whither being

1612.

one of those complaisant persons nominated by the Duke of *Bouillon*, he absented himself on purpose, not to be oblig'd to do an Act of Courage, by opposing that novelty. All this was done with a great deal of Ceremony, and great Formality : which only serv'd to make the more noise, and to give a greater lustre to the Bishop's triumph. But the worse part of it was the example. It was no novelty to see a Corps taken out of the Ground, either by the violence of the Clergy, or by the ordinance of some Country Judge : but the thing was done here by a man who had the quality of Commissioner for the Execution of the Edict, so that his Example had the force of a Law, and might Authorise all the other Judges to do the like. Moreover it was apparent that the Instructions of those new Commissioners were very different from those which *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup> had given to the Commissioners in 1600. Those had orders to explain the difficulties which might Intervene in the execution of the Edict, in favour of the *Reform'd* : but these new Commissioners, by a different method were only rigorous Judges against the *Reform'd*, and all their favour was bestowed on the Catholics.

The *Reform'd* Inhabitants of *la Tierache*, in the Bayliwick of *Soissons*, were treated a little more favourably. They complain'd that they were oblig'd to repair to very distant places, in order to perform the publick exercise of their Religion, in so much that they were in danger of falling into the hands of the *Spanish* Garrisons, who treated them as *Hereticks*. This oblig'd them to present a Petition to the King, to obtain leave to Assemble in a nearer and safer place. They propos'd *Gercy*, where the Chief did not allow them to meet above thirty, at a time; by reason that the Lord thereof had only mean and low Justice there, the high Justice belonging to the King. They obtain'd as a special favour, without consequence or example, the Power of Assembling there, as they might have done at a Lord high Justicer : on condition that in case the House of *Gercy* should fall into the hands of a Catholic, the said exercise should cease there : or that

*Favours granted to the Reform'd of la Tierache.*

1617. that a *Reform'd* Gentleman coming to possess a House of the Quality requir'd by the Edict in the Neighbourhood thereof, it should be transferr'd there; and the Brief granted in favour of *Gerci* should remain void. It was dated *April* the 28th, and was Registr'd, at *Laon*. It appears by this Brief that the Court had not as yet bethought it self of the Cavils they have rais'd of late years against the Lords Justicers; That there was no doubt of their having the privilege to receive at the exercises of Religion that were perform'd at their houses all those who repair'd thither, whether Vassals, Inhabitants or others; That the said exercise might be establish'd in Fiefs or Justices newly acquir'd, which the Lords were not in Possession of at the time of the Edict of *Nantes*; and it might also be concluded that it was not thought certain, that in case a Fief in which the said exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion was establish'd should fall into the hands of a Catholick, the said exercise was to cease by Right: since that in order to hinder its being continu'd at *Gerci* in such a Case, it was thought necessary to express positively that it should not be allow'd.

Division of  
the Duke  
de Rohan  
and the  
Marshal  
de Bouil-  
lon, and  
the sequel.

But after all these Particulars, it is necessary to relate a more general Affair, which having lasted untill the following year, without any bodys being able to put a stop to it, had like to have reduc'd the whole Kingdom to Confusion. The Division which broke out at *Saumur*, having made a particular breach between the Dukes *de Rohan*, and *de Bouillon*, the last not being able to conceal his jealousy at the growing Credit of the other, and the Duke *de Rohan* imputing the ill success of the Affairs of the Assembly to the Duke *de Bouillon*. The Duke *de Rohan* had the greatest number of the *Reform'd* on his side; but the quality of those who adher'd to the Marshal *de Bouillon* render'd his Party considerable, the more by reason that he was favour'd by the Court, which made use of him to keep up a Division among the *Reform'd*. Many had sided with him for sordid self-interested reasons, which the possession or hope of a Pension inclin'd to great complaisances. But there



there were others whose simplicity and credulity ingag'd them innocently to take the same Party, by reason that they look'd upon it as the most lawful and safest for their Conscience. The grand reason the others made use of to dazle them, was the specious name of Peace, and the incumbent duty of obeying the higher powers, *not only upon the account of anger, but also for Conscience sake.* The Court kept men in pay to preach that Gospel; and while they made barefac'd enterprises, and did secretly prepare machines which were necessary in order to oppress the *Reform'd*, they endeavour'd to persuade them by those they had corrupted, that they were oblig'd not to oppose them.

It is almost incredible how many people were caught in those Snares; imagining that that Apostolick Doctrine only allow'd honest people Sighs and Patience: and that they violate it who take measures to prevent the Injustices, Violences, and Treacheries of those who are in Authority. Yet this is the way by which the freest Natives suffer themselves to be made Slaves; and that Sovereigns, improving their credulity, easily impose upon them. It is an Illusion which reigns among men, in all the relations they have together: that notwithstanding they are grounded upon certain mutual duties, which maintain or destroy each other reciprocally, the one imagin that tho they violate that part of the duty which they are oblig'd to, the others are nevertheless oblig'd to observe that part which relates to them Religiously. It is particularly the opinion of those who hold the Rank of Superiors; who when they take the least care to afford their Inferiors either the Protection, or Justice that is due to them, pretend that they are nevertheless oblig'd to pay them Submission and Obedience; and how vain soever that pretention may be, yet there are always People who rack their Wit; to find out specious reasons to maintain it; and Tender Consciences that are persuaded by those reasons: particularly when those who design to make an ill use of those maxims, joyn some appearance of advantage to those reasons, it is difficult to believe what

1612.

*Abuse the  
Deputies  
which in-  
joyn obedi-  
ence.*

1611. what an Empire they get over simple Souls. They fancy that the Cause of their Benefactors becomes the Cause of God; That all the measures taken for self preservation become so many Crimes; That oppress'd Subjects can have no redress but the hopes of a better time. And that God will reward their simplicity, when they suffer themselves to be destroy'd by virtue of Passive-Obedience.

*The Court  
makes use  
of the Do-  
ctrine of  
Patience.*

Therefore the Court took great care to persuade all those they found inclin'd that way that it is an Evangelical Doctrine: and to give ademonstrative force by small gratifications to those reasons wherewith they did second it. Whereupon I can not forbear admiring the confidence which Polititians often repose in the simplicity of other men, to whom they endeavour to perswade, that Religion and Conscience oblige them to submit to those that oppress them, and to the Fetters which they design to give them, by preaching Patience to them: partly as if Thieves, in order to dispose Travellers to suffer themselves to be stript without resistance, should alledge the lesson of the Gospel to them, which exhorts those who are stript of their Coat, to deliver their Cloak also. However this Doctrine being cry'd up in all parts, and innocently receiv'd by the Simple, and others making use of it to cover their designs, serv'd powerfully to foment Division among the *Reform'd*; the one condemning the foresight of the others, and these reciprocally complaining of their ignorance and weakness which ingag'd them to betray the Common Cause unawars. Such Ministers as they could draw into those submissive peaceable sentiments were very kindly us'd: but they met but few of them; and the Court found more advantage to treat with the Nobility, with Governours of Places, and other Officers: by reason that the services they could do them, in betraying their Party, were of far more consequence. Nevertheless, I will add in this place, since I am upon that Subject, in order not to resume it, that when the *Reform'd* were depriv'd of their Garrisons and Soldiers, the Court still kept, particularly in the Meridional Provinces,

Provinces, some Ministers in Pay, who preach'd up Passive-Obedience in Consistories, Assemblies and Synods, and even in familiar conversations; and who always gave a fair gloss to the Actions of the Court. Those Ministers Pensioners prov'd for the most part Rogues, which was sooner or later discover'd, either by their revolt, or by a scandalous life. But that which is most to be wonder'd at, is that there were sometimes very honest men, who lov'd their Religion, and look'd upon it as true Gospel, who nevertheless, receiv'd pensions without scruple; because they look'd upon them rather as recompences of their affection for the Publick Peace, than as engagements to act against the Interest of the Churches. To say the truth, in those places where the rash and boyling temper of the People might easily incline them to Rash and Seditious enterprises, it was necessary that their Ministers should be Wise, Prudent, and Moderate, in order to inspire the same sentiments to their Flocks by their Discourse and example: but it would have been much better to have done it upon the account of the Justice of the thing, without receiving the least gratifications from the Court, than to take those suspicious recompences, which might call their Innocence and Integrity in question. *Du Moulin* had often been tempted by persons sent to him from the Court, who offer'd him great Pensions without exacting any thing from him, but barely to incline people to Peace and Obedience. He always answer'd that it was a Duty he would ever perform: but that he would have the honour to do it of his own accord out of Conscience; and not as being brib'd to it. So that he never accepted any thing that was offer'd him. It were to be wish'd that all those who were expos'd to the same Temptations, had withstood them with the same Courage.

While the Court caus'd Peace and Patience to be preach'd among the *Reform'd*, they did not fail at the same time to make them put those Lessons in Practice. They almost publicly violated the Faith of the Briefs, and promises

1612.

Ministers  
Pensioners.

Wiles  
and Inju-  
stices of  
the Court.

R

they

1161. they had amus'd them with. They remov'd some Governours of Places, corrupted others ; and barter'd with some to get them out of their hands. Besides those places of which the Assembly had desir'd the restitution by their *Cahiers*, *Rambures* had suffer'd *Aiguesmortes* to be taken : *Bourg-sur-Mer* had been sold for ready Money ; and as soon as ever the Court got it into their hands they caus'd it to be Demolish'd : They did treat with *Candelay*, to buy the Government of *Rosay* of him. They us'd all sorts of means to sow Divisions in *Roche*, and to obtain the Election of a Mayor, Devoted to the Court. The Catholicks of *Saintes* were order'd to Arm themselves, upon some pretence or other ; which occasion'd great Alarms among the *Reform'd*. Finally, the use the Court made of the 45000 *Livers* of augmentation they had granted for the Sallary of the Ministers, shew'd plainly that they design'd to ruin the *Reform'd*. Since they only granted them favours to divide them ; and that favours which were to be employed for their advantage, became by the cunning of their Enemies snares to surprise them.

Enterprife  
upon St.  
John d'  
Angely.

Among the other places which the Court had a mind to get out of their hands, they had an eye upon *St. John d'Angely*, and they endeavour'd to under mine the Duke of *Rohan's* Party there. *La Rochebeaucour* his Lieutenant, whether he expected to become Governour in Chief of that important City, or whither he thought himself strong enough there no longer to have any dependence on the Governour, suffer'd himself to be mannag'd by the Court. He had caus'd a Mayor to be Elected the preceding year, who was at his Devotion ; and in order to strengthen his Authority, he undertook to maintain him in that Post, tho he was sensible that the Duke of *Rohan* would be offended at it. The said Duke was come to *Paris*, where he was very well receiv'd by the Queen ; and that Princess in order to slip the time of the Election of a new Mayor, express'd a great deal of kindness to him during the fourth night



night as he tarry'd there. But the Duke being acquainted with the design that was on foot to continue the ancient Mayor, and the great Brigues *la Rochebeaucour* made in order thereunto; he concluded that the Marshal *de Bonillon* had plaid him that trick, to dispossess him of one of the most considerable Cities of Surety. Whereupon he left *Paris* at a time when it was least expected; and the better to conceal the motive of his sudden departure, he gave out that he had receiv'd Letters that his Brother *de Soubize* lay a Dying. He went to his Brother indeed, but it was only to consult with him about the means to secure *St. John d'Angely*, and to get such a Mayor as he could confide in. That City was one of those that had a Right at that time to create their own Mayor, who afterwards receiv'd the Kings approbation: and it behoved the Person who was to Command there to have no disputes with the said Magistrate, who had a very great authority. As he was the Master of the Polity all the Inhabitants were at his Command; and when he was belov'd by the people, it was in his power to make them take Arms or to lay them down; which might put a Governour at a great loss, who had only a small Garrison at his Command, which was not capable to hold out against the Inhabitations of a great City.

Therefore the Duke having taken his measures with his Brother, with the Nobility of the Neighbourhood, and some Inhabitants of *St. John*, he repair'd thither before the Election was perform'd. The Queen finding her Enterprize broken by the Dukes presence, resolv'd to take the advantage of his Journey, to execute a design she had contriv'd with *la Rochebeaucour*. She wrote to the Officers and to the Town House, that in order to prevent the ill effects of the Election of a new Mayor, she desir'd that the old one might be continu'd. The Duke of *Rohan*, who had gain'd his point, refus'd to submit to those orders. He oppos'd the Continuation of the Mayor in writing, and declar'd

The Duke  
of Rohan  
prevents it.

1612. bodily that the People had abus'd the Queens Authority to obtain the said Letter. That affair was somewhat Nice, and as some thought the Duke had imbroil'd himself a little too rashly in it, others also were of opinion that the Queen had expos'd herself too much, and that she had been ill advis'd. *St. John* was a free City, a City of Surety, jealous of her Privileges, and in a Province in which the *Reform'd* were the strongest. Therefore this undertaking to alter the accustomed form of the Election of a Major; to use Authority in order thereunto, under pretence of a discord which did not as yet appear, gave cause to suspect that the Court had a design upon the Priviledges of the Inhabitants, which were violated without necessity; or upon the surety of the place, which they endeavour'd to commit into the hands of suspected persons; or perhaps upon both.

*The Queen is offended, and things seem to incline to a War.*

Nevertheless, the thing was very much resent'd at Court; and the Queen being inform'd of the Duke of *Ro-bart's* opposition, caus'd his Lady, his Daughters, and all his Family to be Secur'd. She put a Gentleman into the *Bastille*, who was sent by the Duke to justifie his Action: She caus'd the Duke to be proclaim'd a Rebel, and order'd an Army to march against him. She was to Authorise the said enterprise her self by her Presence: and because it was necessary to prevail with the rest of the *Reform'd* to suffer the said Duke's Ruin, and the loss of *St. John* without opposition, she was to make a solemn Declaration that she had no design against any body but the Duke and his Adherents; to confirm the Edicts; suffer all such to live in Peace who did not ingage in those Troubles; The Queen was to take the Marshals *de Bonillon* and *Lesdiguieres* to Command under her in that Expedition: and as if the Court had been as ready to act as to order, orders were strait dispatch'd to the Officers that were to Command in the said Army, to keep themselves ready to march. Manifestos were publish'd on both sides. The Dukes up-braided

braided the Court with all their Wiles ; and endeavour'd to prove that the consequence of that affair was general. That which appear'd in the Queens name, endeavour'd to create suspicions about the Duke of Rohan's intentions , and to justify the Court, to perswade that their only aim was against that Rebel, and that she design'd to maintain the Edicts : and finally, it invited the Catholicks and Re-form'd to serve the King in that occasion.

## The End of the Second Book.

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THE

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.

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VOL. II.

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BOOK III.

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A Summary of the Contents of the Third Book.

*Appearance of Accommodation: under which the troubles continue. Endeavours are us'd to engage Du Plessis in them who remains in quiet. Assembly of the Circle at Rochel. Project of Reconciliation among the great ones. Sedition at Rochel: Its Original and Violence. Negotiation for the accommodation. High Pretensions of the Duke de Rohan. The Queen agrees to them, preserving some appearances for herself. The Duke being exasperated with new Injuries, will no longer be satisfied with them. The Assembly meets at Rochel: and gives*

*the Deputies General new Articles. Resolutions taken at Court: but ill executed. New Declaration. Remarks upon those frequent Edicts. The Circle assembles again. Rochel withdraws from the rest of the Deputies; which puts an end to the Troubles. Verbal promises to tolerate Provincial Councils. Declaration of the Marriages resolv'd upon with Spain. Which offends the French: but particularly the Reform'd. Ferrier forsakes the Ministry: Is receiv'd Counsellor at Nimes: Is Excommunicated. Sedition against him. Diligence of the Consuls to save Ferrier: Writings on both sides Appologies of Ferrier: and his end. Reconciliation of the Duke de Rohan and Marshal de Bouillon. Enterprize of the Sheriffs of Saumur. Equity of the Chamber of the Edict of Paris. Rights of the Bishop of Montpellier upon the University. Discontents of the Princes. The Duke de Rohan joins with them. Polity of the Marshal de Bouillon. Retreat and Manifesto of the Princes. Their Precipitation is blam'd. The Peace is made. The Prince of Conde is injur'd at Poitiers. Towns of Surety open'd to the King. National Synod. Letters from the King of England. Council of the Lower Guyenne. Mutual subordination of the Assemblies. Brief of leave for a General Assembly. Letters from the Lords. Pecuniary affairs. The Ministers are exempted from paying the Taylles. Places of Surety. Berger a Reform'd Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, turns Catholick. Reform'd of Gex. Churches not settled as yet. Condition of the Reform'd in the County of Avignon. Liberalities of the Synod. Colleges. Bearn. Metz. Oath of Union: Letters to the King and Queen. The Queen prepares to assemble the States. Declaration of the King's Majority. Overtures of the States. The Clergy and Nobility unite themselves against the Third Estate. Reform'd in the States. Independency of Kings: whose Cause is betray'd by the Clergy: and by the Court it self. Passion of the Clergy. Harrangue of Cardinal du Perron. Why Hereticks are tolerated. Distinctions of the Cardinal. His Conclusion. Reflections. The Third Estate persists*

persists. Character of Miron,\* President of the Chamber of that order. The Court silences the third Estate. Illustre Decree of the Clergy, and their shameful Prevarication. Inequality of the Prince of Conde. Perseverance of the Clergy in that Doctrine. Sedition at Milhau. Harangue of the Bishop of Lucon. Sedition at Belestat. Cahier of the Clergy. Sequel of the Cahier. Articles propos'd directly against the Reform'd : Sequel of the said Articles. Conclusion of the Cahier.

\* Speaker  
of the Com-  
mons.

**T**HERE was a great deal of reason to believe, 1612.  
that things would have gone farther, con-  
sidering the proceedings of the Court : The  
rather because the Duke of Rohan seem'd  
nowise daunted, at the storm that was pre-  
paring against him. The Election of the Mayor was  
made according to his desire : *la Rochebeaucour* was forc'd  
to yield ; and found himself almost reduc'd to pay the  
Cost of the service he design'd to do the Queen. The  
Duke gave the Offices of the City and of the Garrison  
to persons he could confide in, and the Deputy Governor's  
place to *Hautesfontaine*, who was at his Devotion. Never-  
theless, the Sequel did nowise answer those high beginnings.  
They fell to Remonstrances and Negotiations ; and *The-  
mines* Seneschal of *Query*, a wise and moderate man was  
sent to the Duke, in order to perswade him to keep with-  
in the bounds of Duty. *Du Plessis* also undertook that af-  
fair ; and the Duke having preferr'd the advice of that old  
Man, equally Prudent and Honest, to the desires of a young  
Nobility, which would incline him to a War, yielded to  
the Exhortations of *Themines*. An accommodation was  
made in which in apperance the Queen had the satisfacti-  
on she desir'd ; and the Duke in reallity. The old Mayor  
was continued for some days : after which a new order  
was sent, allowing the Inhabitants to proceed to the Ele-  
ction of another. This procur'd the liberty of those per-  
sons the Court had a little inconsiderately imprisoned :  
But the evil was not cur'd by that Remedy. The Duke  
*Rohan* refused to go out of *St. John*, to let *la Rochebeaucour*

Apperance  
of accom-  
modation.

Under  
which the  
Troubles  
de continue.

1612. command there in his absence: and he had a great mind while he was seconded by the Zealous of the Province, to rid himself of that man in whom he could not confide: So that there happened new disputes, which kept the Jealousies on foot, and which renew'd the threatnings of a War.

*Endeavours us'd to involve du Plessis in the same.*

Endeavours were us'd to involve *du Plessis* in the same; insinuating to him that the Queen, sending Forces towards *St. John*, might improve that occasion to take *Saumur* from him. That advice might equally proceed, either from those who were desirous of a War, and who were in hopes to ingage all the Provinces into it, in case they could oblige *du Plessis* to take sureties, as being full of Jealousie for himself: or from those who being acquainted with the jealousies of the Marshal *de Bouillon*, did not question but he would improve all occasions, to humble *du Plessis*, by taking from him a place of the consequence of *Saumur*. It was no hard matter to incline the Queen to do him that injury; either because he had taken the part of the Zealous in the last Assembly, or because the Book he had lately published had incens'd the Catholicks against him. The Nuncio us'd his utmost endeavours in order thereunto and he was seconded by the Marshal *de Bouillon*, who represented *du Plessis* as a Man without whose advice the Duke *de Rohan* did nothing. Nevertheless, *Du Plessis*, being perswaded that the Court was not in a condition to attack the whole Party by

*Who remain in quiet.*

main force, and consequently that they would not venture to take *Saumur* from him by open War, refus'd to follow the Council of those who advis'd him to fortifie the said City and his Garrison: and even when he saw the Forces of *Boisdauphin* lodged almost under the very Walls of *Saumur*, he persisted in his design only to arm himself with Innocence. He obtained what he desired thereby. The Court discovered, that he had no thoughts of War, since he had slip't so fair an occasion to declare it; and that far from taking the advantage of it, as another would have done, had he been in his room, he had not so much as express'd the least suspicion of being attack'd in Forms. The Queen caus'd *Boisdauphin*



*dauphin* to retire; and made use of *du Plessis* council, 1612.  
to put an end to those Troubles.

In the mean time the differences between the Duke of *Rohan* and *de la Rochebeaucour* daily grew worse and more considerable: The Duke being resolv'd to turn him out at any rate, and the Queen on the contrary thinking her self oblig'd to maintain him in his Post, as a man she could confide in, and whom the Duke designed to turn out only because he had too great a dependency on the Court. Insomuch that she still returned to threatening from time to time: and that the Duke took measures to prevent the effect thereof. It prov'd no hard task so to do, by reason that the Publick Protection *la Rochebeaucour* received from the Queen made him to be suspected: and whereas several people were of opinion that the King's Authority was nowise concern'd in that dispute, they concluded naturally that the Queen had secret reasons, to take the part of a Subaltern so highly against his Superior Officer. For which reason the Province of *Saintonge* easily suffer'd themselves to be persuaded that the generality was concern'd in that Affair, and that their Surety was violated, by the attempt that was made upon the best place within their Precinct. Therefore they made use of the Article that had been drawn at *Saumur*, which Authoris'd the Province that should be attack'd to assemble Deputies out of the Councils of the five adjacent Provinces, to deliberate about such remedies as should be most proper to be apply'd to the Evil it was threaten'd with. Those kind of Assemblies were commonly call'd the *Circle*; either because that name was taken from the form of the Government in *Germany*, divided into Provinces that are call'd *Circles*: or because the Province that was attack'd conven'd those that surrounded it. They invited *Rochel* which made a Province a part, the Lower *Guyenne*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, *Bretagne*, to send two Deputies a piece at *Rochel* on the 20th of September out of their Council, to consult about the Affairs of *Saintonge*, and of *St. John d'Angely*. The

*Assembly of  
the Circle  
at Rochel.*

1612. Court was acquainted with it ; and in order to hinder those of *Rochel* to receive the said Assembly into their City, or to suffer them to do any thing which might prove of consequence, they took precautions which increas'd the Evil, and which had like to carry things to the utmost extremities.

*Prospect of  
Reconciliation  
among the  
great ones.*

But before we relate them, it will not be amiss to set down in this place that the Commissioners of the National Synod of *Privas* for the Reconciliation of the Lords, who were divided at *Saumur*, apply'd themselves about their Commission, as soon as they arriv'd at *Paris*. They met great difficulties at first : by reason that the Marshal *de Bouillon* and *de Lesdiguières* refus'd to harken to it, but upon such conditions as would not have been approv'd of by the rest. But finally, they agreed upon the substance and form of a Writing, which was sign'd by those two Lords, and by *Chatillon* : Whether it were that the Marshal *de Bouillon* had already a prospect of other Intrigues with the discontented Princes, for the success of which it was necessary the *Reform'd* should be united ; or whither he thought he had done enough to be reveng'd of the refusal of the Presidentship at *Saumur* ; or finally, whether it were that he had a mind to show that he had a respect for a Synod which represented all the Churches ; He enter'd again into the Union of the Churches : and tho it seem'd not very material for the affairs of *St. John d'Angely*, yet it broke the Queens measures. She could no longer pretend to take those two Lords along with her against the Duke of *Rohan*, since they were reconcil'd to him, and had sign'd a Treaty of Reconciliation and Concord. The Commissioners deputed two among them, *viz.* *Rouvray* one of the Deputies General, and *Durand* one of the Ministers of *Paris*, to carry the Writing which those three Lords had sign'd, into the Provinces to be sign'd by the rest. *du Pleffis* was easily prevail'd upon to sign it : but when they came to the Duke *de Rohan* at *St. John d'Angely*, they found it a harder task ; and had not *du Pleffis* gone to him on purpose

pose about it, he would hardly have done it. The five Provinces were sent for ; the appointed day was at hand ; and it was to be fear'd that in case the Assembly were held ; they would relapse into greater and worse frowds than before. *Du Plessis* caus'd it to be adjourn'd until the 20th of *October* : and having imploy'd that time to negotiate an accomodation at Court, he got it to be put of for a month longer by the Mediation of the Deputies General.

*Rochel* had had its share of the Troubles ; and about the same time that the Duke of *Rohan* conven'd the five Provinces, there broke out a Sedition there, the consequences of which were to be fear'd. The Queen had endeavour'd to interpose her Authority in the Election of the Mayor of that City, and to make her self Mistress of it, as she had endeavour'd to do at *St. John*. The Dignity of Mayor of *Rochel* was very considerable : he was Governor of it by his place ; and had almost an absolute Power there, both as to the Military and Civil Government. So that in case the Court could have gain'd that one point, of having the Election of the Mayor at their disposal, they might easily have secur'd that place without besieging it. But the City having the power to chuse their Chief themselves, carefully preserv'd that Priviledge, and would nowise suffer the Brigues of the Court to inroach upon that important liberty. Therefore the Queen succeeded yet less in it than at *St. John* : and the last Mayor was Elected according to the usual form, notwithstanding all her endeavours to the contrary. But tho the said City preserv'd their Rights, they remembred still that the Queen had endeavour'd to invade them ; which appear'd in the affair I am going to relate. *Du Condray*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, was also one of the Sheriffs of *Rochel* ; but he was suspected of siding with the Court. His behaviour in the Election of the Mayor had increas'd those jealousies : and it was thought that he had been the bearer of the Queens orders, which tended

Sedition at  
*Rochel*.

*Its original*

1612. tended to Violate the usual forms. He came to *Rochel* every year in the Vacations, under pretence of his Domestic Affairs: but it was thought that the Court gave him secret orders. He came some days that year sooner than he us'd to do; and tho he never us'd to come before the Parliament was broken up, he came to *Rochel* before it that time. He had brought divers Commissions relating to Justice, even in such places as were not under the jurisdiction of the Parliament. Insomuch that in order to Authorise him in such places to which the jurisdiction of that Court did not extend, the Queen had made him intendent of Justice, and that was the Title of his Commission. But lest the Gates of *Rochel* should be shut against him, the Court had not given him the quality of Intendent of the Polity; by reason that the *Rochelois*, who were sole Masters of their City, would not have allow'd him to take that Title, far from suffering him to exert the authority of it. He made no use of that pretended Intendence of Justice he was invested with, and he declar'd that he would not take the advantage of it: which perswaded them that the said Commission cover'd other designs; that it only serv'd to Authorise him, as bearer of a Royal Commission; and that it was left to his discretion, to use it, or not, according as he should think fit. He discovered only a Credential Letter for *Rochel*, which gave fair assurances of her Majesties good Intention. But it was thought that he was only sent to divide *Rochel*, if he could, from the rest of the Churches: which design had a double prospect; the one to oppress the Duke de Rohan, who could not defend himself unless *Rochel* assisted him: the other to deprive *Rochel* of the advantage of the General Union, when ever it should be attack'd in particular. Moreover it was thought that he brought Instructions to dissipate the Assembly, which it was very well known at Court the Duke de Rohan was meditating. They knew that it might become General, in case the Deputys of the Circles should think fit for the common good to invite the Deputies of



of the other Provinces at it: and they were sensible that the Duke would use his utmost endeavours, to renew all the propositions of that of *Saumur* there. *Du Coudray* was also accus'd of writing to the Queen, in terms which seem'd to intimate that the Inhabitants of *Rochel* were not well inclin'd. He seldom convers'd with any of the Inhabitants, but such as the rest had no good opinion of: and the first that visited him at his arrival, was one *Le Vacher*, a man very much suspected, and not belov'd by the people; especially since that in a certain dispute with the Citizens, he had had the insolence to threaten them that he would drag them to *Paris* with a Rope about their Necks: which gave them a great deal of reason to believe that he relyed on the favour of the Court: since otherwise it would have been a ridiculous threatning, in the mouth of a private Inhabitant of *Rochel*.

These reasons whether true, or likely to mistrust him, excited so furious a Sedition against him, that the Magistrates durst not at first appear before the Mutiniers, to oppose their Violence. They took up Arms; made Barricado's in the avenues; and *Du Coudray* was forc'd to lye conceal'd for fear. This began on the 5<sup>th</sup> of *September*: but the first fury being stop'd of it self, the Sedition broke out again on the 12<sup>th</sup>. with such terrible threatnings against those that were suspected, that *Du Coudray* desir'd to go out of the Town for his safety; whither he really thought himself in danger, or whether he had a mind to take an occasion from thence to aggravate the Relations and Complaints, he was accus'd of sending to Court against *Rochel*. In order to remove him from thence the Mayor accompany'd with some Souldiers attended him to the City Gates: Yet tho' the Mayor was very much respected by the *Rochelois*, the People being in a rage forgot their respect on that occasion; fell upon him and his Men, and pursued *Du-Coudray* with Crys and injurious Words. The Mayor was slightly wounded; but *Du Coudray* receiv'd no hurt: and when that object of the Peoples jealousies and rage was remov'd, they easily

*And its violence.*

1612. sily return'd to their former Duty. A large account of the said Sedition was sent to the Council, lest *Du Coudray* should represent it yet in a more odious manner. All the motives of the People were represented in it, as well as all the progress of their violence: but *Du Coudray* was reputed the occasion of the evil; and the whole ended with promises of Fidelity and obedience.

*Negotiations  
for an ac-  
comodation.*

This affair being ended, *Rochel* consented to receive the Assembly, tho they were unresolv'd about it at first: but they only began their Session there on the 20th. of November, by reason that powerful endeavours were us'd for two Months time to find out the means to come to an accommodation. *Du Plessis* oblig'd the Duke *de Rohan* to make his propositions. He made them like a man that fear'd nothing, and who thought himself capable to inspire fear into others: and to say the truth, it cannot be deny'd that he impos'd Laws upon the Court, if we reflect on the manner in which those troubles were ended. He demand'd more advantageous Conditions than those the Assembly of *Saumur* had obtain'd: and for his own particular he desir'd the removal of *La Rochebeaucour* and of *Foucaud*, whom he did not like; to have the disposition of the Company of the first; To Nominate a Deputy General himself; That his and his Brothers, and his Friends Pensions should be restor'd, together with the arrears that had been stop't; and that all manner of proceedings should cease against such as had been prosecuted upon his account. Those pretentions were so high, that there was no likelyhood to expect that the Queen would condescend to them. Great difficulties arose upon it: and while the Council was deliberating bout them, there arose new ones. A Messenger having subpæned *Hautefontaine* to appear in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, was very ill us'd at *St. John d' Angely*, where the designs of the Court advanc'd as little by proceedings of Justice, as by threatnings of War: On the other hand, *Saujon* a Gentleman of *Saintonge*, who had been sent by the Duke into the upper *Guyenne*, to try what succors he might expect from

from those provinces, and to maintain *Rambures* in the Government of *Aiguemortes* against *Berticheres*, whom the *Reform'd* were jealous of, was stopt at *Ronergue*, and us'd like a Prisoner of State. So that people were exasperated on both sides.

Nevertheless, the Court not finding it self in a Condition to sustain by effects the height of their first threatnings, promis'd the Duke all that he had desir'd. The truth is that the Queen was not displeas'd at the removal of *La Rochebeaucour*, by reason that the Government of *Clatelleraud* being vacant at that time, she bestow'd it upon him. She only desir'd in order to save appearances that the Duke *de Rohan* should receive him for eight or ten days in *St. John*; as if the Queen having had the power to maintain him, had only relinquish'd it in order to promote a peace, without being any wise obliged to it. But whereas the Generality of the *Reform'd* began to be heated, she was also oblig'd to grant them part of those things which had been refus'd to the Assembly of *Saumur*. I have said that the National Synod had renew'd the demands of it, and that they had charg'd the Deputies General with a *Cahier* in which they were contain'd. Some of those Articles were favourably answer'd. The *Reform'd* were allowed not to stile their Religion *Pretended Reform'd*. The Court promis'd the Ministers the same exemptions as the Ecclesiasticks of the Roman Church enjoy'd. The Synods were restored to their former Liberty which had been a little incroach'd upon by the last Declarations. They promis'd to redress the grievances of the Provinces; and to give the *Reform'd* satisfaction for the Towns of *Aiguemortes*, *Essenc*, and *Mas d' Agenois*. They promis'd to revoke all the Expeditions, Letters, Acts, Decrees, that had been given since the Assembly of *Saumur* against the *Reform'd*. But that which was most considerable, was the toleration of Provincial Councils. The Queen had express'd a great repugnancy towards it: but whether it were that she was afraid they would keep them up against her will, or because she had a mind to grant the *Reform'd* a favour to blind them, she finally

*The Queen  
consents to  
it, only pre-  
serving  
some ap-  
pearances  
for her self.*

1612. consented to that Settlement, but with a Clause, which might occasion some dispute, but yet could not be refus'd; which was that they should use that privilege as modestly as they had done in the Late King's time.

*The Duke  
being exas-  
perated by  
near inju-  
ries refuses  
to accept  
them.*

*The Assem-  
bly meets  
at Roche's.*

*And charge  
the Depu-  
ties Gene-  
ral with  
new Arti-  
cles.*

But when the Duke *de Rohan* receiv'd an account of those promises of the Queen, he was in the first transports of his anger, for the violence committed against *Saujon*. So that he refus'd even to answer the Reasons that were alledg'd to him, to oblige him to receive those good offers. He threatned the utmost severities incase that Gentleman receiv'd the least ill treatment; and protested that he would hearken to no reason untill he had receiv'd satisfaction upon that Article. Thus all those promises, which the Queen made perhaps less to keep them than to dissipate the Assembly which was to repair at *Roche*, prov'd ineffectual; and the Deputies met there on the appointed day. The Court found no other expedient, to prevent their taking any vexatious Resolutions, than to send *Rouvray* thither, and to prevail with *Du Plessis* to assist at it. They could not prevail with the Assembly not to meddle with such Affairs as might create most occasion of vexation: and moreover the Assembly us'd them almost like suspected Persons. The reason of those suspicions was that they distrusted the Queens promises; and that they partly discovered her Intentions through the fair words wherewith she design'd to amuse the World. What ever *Rouvray* could say to justify the sincerity of her promises prov'd ineffectual: the Assembly refus'd absolutely to break up untill they beheld the effects of it: and all that could be obtain'd from them was that they would break up, without leaving any marks of their having made any deliberations; on condition that the Deputies should meet at the same place again on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, to see whether the said promises were performed; and to confer about it without holding the form of an Assembly. Nevertheless, in order to make them comply to this, *Rouvray* promis'd to add some new Articles to those which the Synod had drawn: and among the rest



rest they desir'd that whenever there should be a vacancy of the Government of any place of Surety, the Churches should have the liberty to Nominate three Persons to the King, out of which he should chuse one; That what had been retrench'd out of the Sum promis'd for the payment of the Garrisons should be restor'd; That the form promis'd by the Edict of *Nantes*, should be given to the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*; That the *Reform'd* should be allow'd to Nominate the Person that should Collect the Sums that should be given to them for the maintenance of their Garrisons and of their Ministers; and some others of that kind. This little Assembly seem'd to exceed the bounds of their power; since that according to the Intention of the Regulation of *Saumur*, they ought not to have exceeded the affair of *St. John d' Angely*, upon the account of which they had been conven'd. But the relation of that affair to all the rest, and the jealousies occasion'd by little things, in which a mystery was suspected, made them pass over those reflections. And *Rouvray* could obtain nothing without those Conditions.

1612.

*Rouvray*, having made his report to the Court, the Queen found that bare words would not satisfie Persons so well resolv'd: but she thought her Authority too much concern'd in the continuation of that Assembly, to do any thing at their request. Therefore a Council was held on purpose upon that Subject, in which it was resolv'd to do nothing that might seem to be granted in favour of that Assembly, which was look'd upon as unlawful; To forbid Provincial Councils for the future; To answer the other Articles nevertheless according to the Queens promise; not as being propos'd by that Assembly which was reputed unlawful, but as contain'd in a Petition presented by the Deputies General before *Rouvray's* Journey; To publish a new Declaration, confirming the Edicts, and granting a general Pardon for all those that should remain within the bounds of ther Allegiance. The said Resolution ended by the project of sending the Mar-

*Resolution  
taken at  
Court.*

1612. shals of *France* to perform their Circuit or Progress in their respective Provinces according as it had been practis'd anciently, and according to the obligation of their said Office, accompanied with Officers of Justice and Forces, to check and punish the Guilty, and to aid and assist the Good. This was a threatening resolution, which signified properly that they would oblige the Duke *de Rohan* to obey by force of Arms; and punish him like a Rebel, if they could catch him. Those Circuits or Progresses which were formerly part of the Civil Government of the Kingdom, and which were ordain'd to protect the weakest against the strongest, and to encourage the oppress'd to complain, finding themselves assisted by Law and by the King's forces against the might of the oppressors, had been of no longer continuance than Liberty. They had been suspended for a long time; and considering the behaviour of the Court, and the Progress of Arbitrary Power, it was easie to Judge that they would not be re-establish'd; or that they would not be us'd in order to administer Justice. The Marshal *de Bouillon* was to be one of them, that it might not seem to be an affair of Religion: The Marshal *de Brisac* was to be joyned to him in that Progress: and the Forces were to be divided as well as the Generals. But finally whether it were to Cost a Province or two, they were resolv'd to force the Duke of *Rohan* to obey: and his resistance was imputed to the mildness of the means that had been us'd till then in order to reduce him.

But ill perform'd.

New Declaration.

Nothing of all this was put in execution, but the Declaration that was publish'd within a week after it, which was the third that appear'd that year. It first enlarg'd upon the endeavours the King had us'd to maintain Peace among his Subjects, according to the Maxim of the late King, who having granted the Edict of *Nantes* in order to remove all the fears and jealousies of the Reform'd in relation to the Liberty of their Persons, of their Consciences, of their Honours, and of their Families, had happily govern'd his People in peace by the observation of that Edict,

dict, of the secret Articles, Breefs, and Settlements made in consequence thereof. The King added that his endeavours had not hinder'd his Subjects in general, and even the *Reform'd*, from entertaining jealousies of each other; which had induc'd them to augment their Forces, to make provision of Arms, to hold Councils and Assemblies: which he rather imputed to an ill grounded fear, than to ill will, having ever found the generality of the *Reform'd* well affected to his Service. He said that the best way to remedy that evil, and to avoid the consequences thereof, was to observe the *Edicts* inviolably: in order whereunto he order'd the *Edict of Nantes*, that of the 22<sup>d</sup>. of May 1610. The private Articles, the Decrees, the Regulations and other Letters expedited in consequence thereof, for the interpretation of the execution of the *Edict*, to be read and publish'd anew in the Parliaments. After which he abolish'd all Decrees, Acts, or Proceedings, and Expeditions made against the *Reform'd* under any pretence whatever; and impos'd a perpetual silence to his Attornies General, their Substitutes and all others upon that Subject; by reason that he was of opinion that the infractions committed by the *Reform'd*, only proceeded from slight jealousies, and not from ill will: and that he was in hopes that for the future they would keep within the bounds of the *Edict*. Finally, he forbade all manner of Communication of Assemblies, the establishing and holding of Provincial Councils, raising of men. and all actions directly or indirectly contrary to the *Edicts*, on pain of being punished as disturbers of the publick peace.

This Declaration was publish'd on the 15<sup>th</sup>. of December. The Spirit and Stile of the others appear'd visibly in it, which only tended to represent the *Reform'd* as people that were ever ready to take up Arms. Nothing could be of more use to the Court, than always to give them the full view even of the injustices that were committed against them. The project of their Ruin was built upon that Foundation; and the minds of the People had been prepar'd

1612.

Remarks  
upon those  
frequent  
Edicts.

1612.



The Circle  
Assembles  
again.

Rochel se-  
perates  
from the  
rest.

prepar'd so well upon that Subject, by that Policy, that even some of the *Reform'd* blam'd the suspicions and forecast of their Brethren. It is from thence that the exclaimors have drawn all the Common Places of their *Invectives*. Nothing can be more specious in appearance, to convince the *Reform'd* of having ever had a Turbulent Faction's inclination, than to produce Pardons upon Pardons granted to them: and to see the prohibition of persevering in their enterprises daily renew'd against them; However the justification of their Conduct will appear, by the Remonstrances of the Parliaments, and by the Manifestos of the Princes, who reproach'd the Queen directly with the inobservation of the Edicts. But before I proceed to that, we must observe that the *Reform'd* were sensible of the Policy of those Declarations; and that they were loth to receive them, by reason that they knew that they condemn'd themselves by submitting to them. Therefore the Deputies of the Circle being come to *Rochel* on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of the Month, according as it had been resolv'd at their separation, made great difficulties upon the State in which affairs appear'd to them. They were neither pleas'd with the Declaration, nor yet with the Answers made to the Deputies General; because they did not find those answers in Writing altogether conformable to those they had receiv'd a month before from *Rouvray* in the Queen's Name. The prohibition of Provincial Councils troubled them more than all the rest: and the more the Court seem'd adverse to allow them, the more they esteem'd them necessary for their safety. Insomuch that the Deputies General were oblig'd to use their utmost endeavours to appease them, and *Du Pleffis* to do the like; all which proving ineffectual, the City of *Rochel* was oblig'd to seperate from the rest of the Deputies, and to declare that they thought there was no further necessity for the continuation of the Assembly. But the Duke of *Rohan* being come thither, in order to make them alter their resolutions by his presence, they were like to come to blows; and to oblige the Body of the City to retract. The May-



1612.

or prevented it, by securing the Cantons that could make him the strongest. Thus to avoid making War with the Court, the *Reform'd* were upon the point of waging it against one another, and to spare their ancient Enemies the trouble to ruin them. It is observable that the Mayor and President of *Rochel* were lately come from the Court, where they had been to give an account of the preceeding Sedition: and that the good Treatment they had receiv'd there, had dispos'd them to follow mild Councils. As for *Du Pleffis*, the Court rewarded him some years after it for his good intentions; by taking *Saumur* from him by an unworthy Treachery: and they begun with him, in order to distinguish him from the rest.

The Assembly being therefore no longer able to subsist at *Rochel*, and that City declaring positively that they were satisfied with the Queens proceedings, the Duke of *Roban* who dreaded that example might be followed by others; and that he might be forsaken as soon as ever his City was attack'd; that those reproaches might be renew'd against him which had been made at *Saumur*, that he only aim'd at trouble and disorder, to make himself head of the Party, that Duke, I say, submitted like the rest, and sent a Gentleman to the Queen, to express his regret to her for having offended her. The Queen receiv'd his Submissions; and what she had promis'd was perform'd. *La Rochebeaucour* enter'd into *St. John d' Angely*, for form sake; and the Queen remov'd him from thence within a few days to give him the Government of *Chatelleraud*. However the Queen persisted in the resolution not to tolerate Provincial Councils: but after having been solicted by the Deputies General, and by divers Envoys from the particular Provinces; *Du Pleffis* having also solicted very earnestly for it, and remonstrated what inconveniencies might arise from it, in case the Provinces, to whom those Council seem'd to be absolutely necessary, should refuse to dissolve them, the Queen promis'd Verbally to tolerate them, provided the Churches made a modest use of the said Institution: which she

*Which puts  
an end to  
the troubles.*

1612. the Deputies General acquainted the Churches with in her Name. Thus one and the same thing was forbidden by a publick Law, and allow'd of by a secret promise: insomuch that it was easie for the Queen to take the advantage of the Law when ever she pleas'd, and to forget her Promise..

Verbal promise to tolerate Provincial Councils.  
Declaration of the Marriages resolv'd upon with Spain.

What offends the true French man.

However those troubles did not end until the beginning of the year 1613. But before we leave this, it will be proper to observe that the Seeds of the Civil Wars which were soon, after kindled in the Kingdom were sown in it. The Queen declar'd publicly that the Marriage of the King with the Infanta of *Spain*, and of the Infant of *Spain* with the King's eldest Sister were agreed upon. She chose the 25th of *March* to make the said Declaration, a day dedicated to the Solemnity which the Catholicks call the *Annunciation*. Three days of rejoycing were made upon that account, in which a prodigious dissipation was made of the remainder of *Sully's* Husbandry. The Duke of *Mayenne* was sent into *Spain*, to Sign the Articles between the King and the Infanta; and at his return he brought back with him the Duke of *Pastrana*, to Sign those of the Infant and of the King's eldest Sister. That affair offended the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count de *Soissons* to a high degree, because it had not been communicated to them. They retir'd from Court upon that pretence: but their anger did not last long; and their consent, their signature, and their return were bought with some gratifications. The most prudent among the *French*, likewise were displeas'd, to find those Marriages concluded so soon after *Henry* the IV. Death, who had express'd so much repugnancy towards them; and that those sums should be expended in Turnaments and Balls which had been laid up for greater designs; That they should serve to pay the vain Pomps which express'd the joy of an alliance with their greatest Enemies; That what he had design'd, to make War against them, to break the Fetters they design'd to Impose upon *Europe*, should serve to show publicly that they renounc'd those glorious

glorious projects; and that *France* should shamefully adhere 1612.  
to the progress of a House which aim'd at the Universal Monarchy.

But no body was more concern'd at it than the *Reform'd*, by reason, that besides the general reasons in which they agreed with the rest to disapprove the said Marriages, they had particular ones which only related to themselves. They saw as well as every body else that *Spain* had a great ascendant in the Council of *France*; and that not having been able to oppress *Europe* by the ruin of that Kingdom, they endeavour'd to succeed in it, by joyning the interests of the State to theirs, under pretence of Alliance and Friendship. They saw that *Spain* did precipitate an affair which was not ripe yet, in marrying of Children before the Age in which Nature renders them capable of it: which alone was sufficient to give violent suspicions of some hidden design. They could not foresee whether Marriages of this Nature, being only promises which may always be retracted, might not prove a trick of *Spain*, which had formerly play'd the like; and who would break that Project, as soon as they should want the Alliance of another Prince. The Negotiators, which were the Pope and the great Duke, were suspected by them, as persons that design'd their ruin. The Duke *de Mayenne* chosen among so many others for the Embassy of *Spain*, his whole Name only seem'd to revive the League, created a thousand suspicions in them. Finally, they knew that at the first proposition that had been made of those Marriages, an Article had been insert'd in it relating to them: and that the Catholics expected to sanctifie those Marriages by the destruction of *Hereſie*. Those thoughts had run in the minds of those who had inspir'd the desire of War into the Duke of *Rohan*: but whereas the cause of the diffidence remain'd still after the accomodation of that affair, and the separation of the Assembly of *Rochel*, peoples minds were still ready to take fire, when the Princes express'd new discontents.

1613.

*Ferrier abandons the Ministry.*

The noise that was made at *Rochel* to hinder the continuation of the Assembly, was soon appeas'd : But there happened an affair at *Nimes* which did not end so easily. *Ferrier* who had been depriv'd of the profession of Theology, and of the Ministry he had exerted at *Nimes*, by the National Synod, not being satisfied with the Church of *Montelimar* where he was sent ; resolv'd to try whether the Court would assist him in order to be restor'd or give him some recompence for what he had lost by his compliance for them. He obtain'd a Counsellors place in the Presidial of *Nimes* : and after having receiv'd his Patents for it, he resolv'd to officiate it himself. The Ministers of *Paris* and others us'd their utmost endeavours to put that fancy out of his head, as soon as they knew it. Moreover they obtain'd a promise from him that he would obey the Synod : but he broke it ; and to add treachery to desertion, he abandon'd his Religion, and yet profess'd it still outwardly. And it is thought that he liv'd in that shameful dissimulation long before he quited his Ministry. His Church upbraided him for it, and he partly confess'd it, as will appear by the Sequel.

*He receiv'd Counsellor at Nimes.*

As soon as he came to *Nimes*, in order to be received in his new Office, the Consistory having notice of it, endeavour'd to oppose it ; and being assisted by the Consuls and Consular Council, they desir'd the Presidial to defer the reception of *Ferrier*, because there were reasons to hinder it, which they would give his Majesty an account of, by most humble remonstrances. *Ferrier* had foreseen those difficulties ; not doubting but the City and Church would look upon his enterprize as a Bravado. And indeed he had only chosen that employment to brave his Enemies : and whereas they knew him to be a giddy headed haughty revengeful Man, they were sensible that he would prove insupportable to those who had contributed towards his disgrace, being in possession of a place of Justice. But as the same reasons which made others fear him, made him the more desirous of it, he had taken precautions against those

oppc-



oppositions before his departure from *Paris*. He had brought such positive and such pressing Letters from the Court, that the Presidial either thought, or feigned, that they could not defer his reception. So that he was receiv'd notwithstanding the oppositions of the Consistory: but whereas he had rejected the remonstrances of that Company upon his enterprise, they excommunicated him after several proceedings, being assisted by the advice of some Ministers, and of some Elders of the neighbouring Churches, as Deputies from the Synod of the Province to strengthen them. The Excommunication was pronounc'd on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July. Notwithstanding which *Ferrier* in order to brave the Consistory with more haughtiness, caus'd himself to be conducted to the Palace by the Provost and his Men. He was attack'd at his coming back, first by the Children, who threw gourds and rais'd at him; by degrees some of the Common People join'd with them without Arms. *Ferrier* finding himself prest, retir'd in a Magistrates house: but a Catholick Counsellor who was with him, pass'd through the Crowd without receiving the least affront, or injury, by word or deed. Soon after which some body crying out of the House in which *Ferrier* had retir'd himself, that some of them would be hang'd, that threatening exasperated the People instead of frightening them. However they had so much consideration in their fury as not to confound others with *Ferrier*; and to show that they only aim'd at him, those mutineers quitted the house in which he was, and attack'd and forc'd his, after his Servants had defended it a long time with Stones. The Ministers who came thither in order to appease the tumult, receiv'd some Stones from the House, which incens'd the Rabble to the utmost extremity: So that without respecting either the Consuls, Judges, or Ministers they broke down the doors, plunder'd and burnt all the goods, and omitted nothing that an enrag'd multitude is capable of doing. However it was observ'd that a *Fraunciscan*, and some Priests passing through the crowd, in the height of

*And is Ex-  
communicated.*

1613. the Sedition receiv'd no manner of outrage. Finally, the first Consul appeas'd the people, and in order to cool that first heat, a Minister made a Prayer upon the place, to b.g of Almighty God to calm their hearts. The Prayer was hearkned unto with as much Tranquility, as if the auditors thoughts had all been calm.

Diligence  
of the Con-  
suls to save  
Ferrier.

In the mean time the Consuls plac'd Guards at the Gates, and in divers parts of the City, and took precautions, as if they had been fearful of a surprize. Their design was to cause the Gates to be opened in the night, under pretence of discovering what was done without, in order to let *Ferrier* get out of the City with the Souldiers undiscovered. The better to cover their design, they gave out that they had receiv'd certain intelligence that there was a design on foot against the City, and that their Enemies design'd to take the advantage of that popular rising to put it in execution. However they durst not venture to put him out the first day, lest the people being hot still should perceive it: and the next day they could not, by reason that the word happen'd to be given double at the Gate where they design'd to pass, without knowing how it came about. But on the 17<sup>th</sup>. they got him out, and they found some of the Constables Gens-d'armes who expected him, in order to Guard him. A Corps de Guard was placed in his House for the security of his Wife who was ready to Lye In: but she also left the City within 8 or 10 days time by her Husbands order, who had a mind to have an occasion to insist in his Complaints, on the circumstance of his Wives condition, to aggravate the Violence of the People. he took his time so well in order thereunto that she was delivered between *Nimes* and *Bancaire* which are but three Leagues distant from each other; falling in Labour by the way. During these Transactions the People had destroyed a Country House which did belong to *Ferrier*; had fell'd the Trees, rooted the Vines, and committed other disorders: and the Judges having Imprisoned some of the Seditious to frighten the rest, they were rescued with violence: but yet at the same time the Mutineers were careful not to let other Prisoners escape.

*Ferrier*

*Ferrier* being safe, the said War dwindled to writings 1613.  
 on both sides; both Parties being desirous to avoid the reproach of it. The *Reform'd* accus'd *Ferrier* of a sordid Avarice, which made him detain the Salary of the Workmen that work'd for him: and they pretended that the Children of those il'paid Workmen had begun the Sediti-  
*Writing on*  
*but si. des.*  
 on. They upbraided him with having taken Pensions from *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>, and from *Lewis* the 13<sup>th</sup> to betray his Brethren, and to reveal their Secrets: that he had been wavering in his Religion; sometimes promising the Catholicks to change; and then again promising the *Reform'd* to persevere: That he had told some persons that he had preach'd the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* for 16 years, without believing in him: That he had spoken of the Incarnation of the Son of God, in such horrid Terms, that Paper could not bear them: That ever since the death of *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup> his manner of preaching had been Seditious; that the Catholicks and *Reform'd* had made equal complaints against him to the Duke de *Vendadour*, who had been oblig'd to reprimand him: That he had endeavour'd to draw his Col-  
 leagues into a Sediti-  
 on: That he had propos'd means to ruin the Churches: That he had suppos'd Calumnious Letters under other peoples names: Ill administr'd such things as he had been intrusted with: Converted the Money of the Academy and of the Church to his own use, which had been prov'd against him in the Synod of *Privas*; and in general that his Life and Conversation was neither imitable to the Catholick or *Reform'd* Doctrine.

He deny'd part of those accusations: but he excus'd the rest, as if he had had reasons to do it. He call'd the be-  
*Apologues*  
*of Ferrier.*  
 raying of their Secrets, which the *Reform'd* upbraided him with as a piece of Treachery, Fidelity to the King: What they call'd Pensions to betray them, a recompence for his good Services: Those Sermons as they call'd Seditious, free and sincere Discourses, in which he spoke his mind conscientiously about the then State Affairs. He acknowledg'd that he had Preach'd Doctrines contrary to those of the *Reform'd*; but

1612 but he said that they were new lights which he had discover'd in Catholick Books, which had opened his eyes about many errors of his own Religion. This was found in the Appologies which either himself or the Jesuits did Print. However, this Sedition had no other consequence than the Transferring of the Presidial of *Nîmes* to *Beaucarrie*. It was ordain'd so by a Decree from the Council, which gave this reason for it, that they could no longer sit at *Nîmes* there to administer Justice without danger. But the City having satisfied the Court by a speedy obedience; and other considerable Cities, which look'd upon the consequence of that Affair to be general, having joyn'd their intreaties to theirs in order to obtain the revocation of that Decree, they obtain'd it easily. *Ferrier* being cruelly mortified by the ill success of his Enterprises, and irreconcilable with the *Reform'd* that abhor'd him, comforted himself with the love of the Catholicks, who look'd upon him still to be of some use. He liv'd a long while after that miserable Catastrophe; and the Court where he was favour'd by the Jesuits, honoured him at last with a place of Counsellor of State. There is a Pamphlet of his in which he makes the Elogy of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, whose Ministry afforded a Theme to a thousand Satyrs. He never was so firm a Catholick, but that he still gave the *Reform'd* hopes of joyning with them again. But whereas there was no fortune to be expected in their Service, especially after the decay of their Affairs, he persisted to the end in the Roman Religion, which answered his Ambition and Vanity.

And his  
end.

Reconcile-  
ment of the  
Duke de  
Rohan and  
the Mar-  
shal de  
Bouillon.

The Duke *de Rohan* who had only made an agreement with the Court by Force had preserv'd some resentments against those who had put that Violence upon him: and the Commissioners of the Synod had not been able to prevail with him to enter into the Reconciliation which the other great ones had sign'd. The end of those Broils giving people time to breath, the Negotiations of that Accomodation were resum'd: but with some difficulty at first, by reason that there was some coldness between the Duke and du

*Plessis*



*Plessis*, who was very useful to prevail upon people. The said coldness proceeded from that *du Plessis* had broken all the Dukes measures at *Rochel* by his Credit and Prudence. However as they had a great respect for each other, they were easily reconcil'd. They met in a House belonging to the Dukes Mother, where after some discourse they remain'd very well satisf'd with each other. Moreover the Duke promis'd to live civilly with the Marshal *de Bonillon* when he should go for *Paris*; and whereas the reasons which made him take that resolution were grounded upon the Publick good, and the Service of the Churches, the Marshal relish'd them as well as he, and promis'd the same thing. But yet jealousy did not allow them to entertain any real friendship or confidence in each other.

1613.

The Sheriffs of *Saumur* made an attempt that year, which show'd that *du Plessis* moderation expos'd him more than any other to the attempts of his Enemies. They suffer'd themselves to be perswaded to call a Jesuit into their City, to Preach there during the *Octave*, which the Catholicks call *Corpus Christi*. The thing was of consequence had it succeeded, and the example would have been great had *du Plessis* suffer'd it to incline the Governours of the other places of surety to do the same. Therefore the Jesuits of *la Fleche* had thought fit to begin with *Saumur*, and had made an agreement with the Officers, and the body of the City to send them a Preacher. The Sheriffs and the others had much ado to desist from that Pretention, although *du Plessis* gave them to understand that having besides the usual Priests, three sorts of Monks in the City, they had no occasion for a Jesuit; and that he showed them that those of that Robe were excluded out of the Cities of Surety, by the Answers to the \* *Cahiers*. They expected to obtain his consent by Civility and Intreaties: but finally, he being positive not to grant it to them, and they not to desist from their enterprise, he was oblig'd to obtain an order from above. The Queen granted it according to her promises, and to the desire of *du Plessis*; and she caus'd the Jesuit to be countermanded herself.

Attempts of  
the Sheriffs  
of Saumur.

\* Petitions  
or Address-  
ses.

The

1614.

*Equity of  
the Cham-  
ber of the  
Edict of  
Paris.*

*Rights of  
the Bishop  
of Mompellier  
upon the Uni-  
versity.*

The Chamber of the Edict of *Paris* revers'd a sentence of the Judge of *Orleans* that year, who had adjudged a Legacy given by a Lady of Quality for the maintenance of the Ministers and Poor of that City, to the Hospitals of the said City and of *Remorantin*. The like proceedings happened often: The Inferior Judges commonly express'd a great deal of Passion in the affairs of the Edict; and made no difficulty to violate the clearest dispositions of it by their judgments. But the Chambers were more equitable: and whereas none but chosen Judges were employ'd there still, whose Righteousness and Moderation were known, they often reform'd what the Inferior Judges had judg'd amiss. But that very year the King granted an Edict to the Bishop of *Mompellier*, which the Reform'd thought they had reason to complain of. He gave or confirm'd to the Bishop the right of making Regulations, for the Government, or Reformation of the University; To take an Oath from all such as were admitted into their Body, or that enjoy'd any of their Offices; and generally to authorise their Acts. This under pretence of doing an act of Justice, was a Cruel incroachment upon the Reform'd of that City, who were much more powerful than the Catholicks, and who pretended that the said Right belonged lawfully to the Body of the City, over whom the Bishops would usurp it. The subjecting of them to the Authority of the Bishop, was the more grievous to them by reason that he was an undertaking malicious person, who spent all his time in contriving to trouble others for his own advantage. His name was *Fenouillet*: and he was indebted for his advancement to the Duke of *Sully*. The said Lord had obtain'd the Bishoprick of *Poitiers* for him from *Henry* the 4th, and that of *Mompellier* becoming vacant about the same time, he got him translated to it. But tho' *Fenouillet* was indebted to a Reform'd Lord for his Dignity, it did not hinder him from doing a thousand mischiefs to the others; nor to declare himself upon occasion one of their most inveterate Persecutors. He did not want

Eloquence

Eloquence : and when *Lewis* the 13<sup>th</sup> Besieg'd *Mompellier* in 1622, he harrang'd that Prince in so violent a manner, that the Inhabitants of the said City would have had reason to expect the utmost Extremities, if they had not been able to defend themselves. This Edict was made about two years before it was verified, by reason that the oppositions of the City made the Court judge that affair to be of consequence ; and that the State was soinbroil'd, that it would have been a rashness to have exasperated the *Reform'd*. They might have given a potent re-enforcement by their Union, to those that were dissatisfied with the Regency.

The Princes were very much dissatisfied with it ; and with much reason. The extraordinary favour of the *Marquis d'Ancre*, an *Italian* of little merit, esteem'd of <sup>Di contents</sup> of the <sup>1614.</sup> obscure Birth, and who could not so much as speak *French*, <sup>of the</sup> <sup>Princes.</sup> went so far that every body murmur'd at it ; the Princes having no share in the Affairs, and that Stranger alone governing according to his pleasure. The Prince of *Conde*, the Count de *Soissons*, the Dukes de *Longueville*, and de *Vendome*, de *Mayenne* and de *Nevers*, and some others united themselves against the Favourite : Some were induc'd to it upon the account of Pride or Interest, others upon the account of Amours, or Intrigues. The Marshal de *Bouillon* was the hottest of all of them ; and he was the Mediator of the said Union. He had entertain'd hopes to advance himself in the affairs of the State, and to gain the favour of that Princess by his Complaisance. But after that Princess had obtain'd the Service she expected from him, he was neglected like the rest : Whither it were that she observ'd that he had not so much power over the *Reform'd* as he pretended, or that she was displeas'd that after having engag'd herself, relying upon his Credit, to refuse several things to the Assembly of *Saumur*, she had been oblig'd to grant the same things at divers times, one after another ; whereby she had lost the Fruit of her Favours, by reason that they were granted by force and out of season. So that the Marshal only succeed ed in losing part of the confidence the *Reform'd* did repose

1614. in him, and drew powerful Enemies upon him. In order to remedy that loss, he dispos'd the Princes to express their resentments: and whereas he was us'd to put the Name of the *Reform'd* at the Head of all his Propositions, he did not fail to offer them all their Forces. The Duke of *Rohan* was a great obstacle for him. Their Reconciliation had not stifled their mutual difidencies. He could do nothing without him, by reason that he had a great Power in *Saintonge*, in lower *Guyenne*, and in *Poitou*, three considerable Provinces. The Marshal de *Bouillon* was afraid that in case he should enter into the Union he would grow too Powerful: but yet the Prince of *Conde* invited him to it. He found him very willing to joyn with him, by reason of the last discontents he had receiv'd from the Queen: Moreover, the Princes putting the Inexecution of the Edicts among the reasons of their retreat, and obliging themselves to obtain a reparation of the same, it was a strong motive to engage him into their party, by reason that it seem'd to be very advantageous to the Churches.

The Duke  
of Rohan  
enters into  
it.

Therefore he seem'd to harken to it, and sent *Hautesfontaine* his Confident at the Conference where the Princes treated of a Peace. This being joyn'd to the Artifices of the Duke de *Bouillon* made the Queen so jealous of him, that she resolv'd to take his Place of Colonel of the *Switzers* from him, which she presented to *Bassompierre*, the finest Gentleman of the Court, and who was most in her favour at that time. The Duke freely resign'd his place, and took a recompence for it, which he thought better than to expose himself to lose it, without the least advantage, by refusing it: besides his Sallary was not very well paid. The Marshal de *Bouillon* had had the cunning to conceal the share he had in the discontents of the Princes from his Confidents; and in order to make all the suspicious of the Court full upon Duke de *Rohan*, he had only mention'd it to his Friends. So that the Marshal de *Bouillon* seem'd to have no share in those Intrigues, altho he was the head of them: and he behaved himself so prudently that he became the Mediator of

Artifices of  
the Mar-  
shal de  
Bouillon.

of



of them. The Queen being deceiv'd by that Policy, or 1614.  
 seeming so to be, imploy'd him to quench those rising Flames:  
 and he had the Art to deserve the thanks of both sides in  
 an Affair which he had promoted himself. The Duke of  
*Roban* was of no other use to him than to make the Queen  
 dread the Princes the more, in order to oblige her to grant  
 them better Conditions; and to make the Princes accept  
 an accomodation the sooner, lest they should be too much  
 oblig'd to that Rival of his Glory, in case he should pro-  
 ceed to a Declaration of War.

The Princes withdrew to *Mezieres*, a place blonging <sup>Retreat</sup>  
 to the Duke *de Nevers*, near *Sedan*, which was very <sup>and Mani-</sup>  
 conveniently seated, either to receive foreign Suc- <sup>festio of the</sup>  
 cours, in case they could obtain any, or to fly out of <sup>Princes.</sup>  
 the Kingdom in case they were reduced to that necessity.  
 The Duke *de Vendome* was not able to follow the rest,  
 by reason that he was stopt at *Paris* as soon as their  
 retreat had been known: but having soon after made  
 his Escape he repair'd into *Bretagne* of which he had the  
 Government, in order to make the people take Arms there.  
 They publish'd a kind of Manifesto in all their Names, in  
 the form of a Letter from the Prince of *Conde* to the Queen.  
 He complain'd in it of all the Disorders that were observ'd  
 in all the parts of the State; and above all things of the  
 Inexecution of the Edicts of Peace granted to the *Reform'd*,  
 who had conceiv'd just jealousies about it, The whole was  
 reduc'd to desire an Assembly of the Estates General, as  
 the only means to restore *France* to a perfect Tranquility.  
 He writ to the Parliament of *Paris* to the same purpose.  
 An answer was sent him in the Queens name, in which the  
 Court endeavour'd to throw the blame of the disorders of  
 which the Regency was accus'd upon the Princes themselves.  
 They justified the Queen particularly upon the subject of  
 the Edicts, saying that she had us'd her utmost endeavours  
 for the observation of them: but that whenever she re-  
 solv'd to use any severity against the *Reform'd*, which as  
 they pretended abus'd their Privileges, those who endeavour'd

1614. to incline them to a Rebellion represented all her actions to them as Cruelties and Injustices; and that whenever she had been indulgent to their demands, the same Persons had blown into the Ears of the Catholicks, that she favour'd their progress by the impunity of their enterprises.

*Their precipitation is blam'd.*

The Wiser sort were of opinion that the retreat of the Princes had been too much precipitated; and that having made a false step at first, they would obtain no great advantage of their ill-contriv'd Union. They had neither Money, Souldiers nor strong holds and all their hopes being built on Imaginary Succors, or uncertain Events, we may say that they were very illgrounded. Not but that the Duke of Rohan did whatever he could on his side to make a show of his Power, and to render himself considerable to the United Princes. He prevail'd with the Provincial Council of the Lower *Guyenne* to Convene an Assembly at *Tonneins* of three Deputys of every one of the other Councils, and the Letters of it were dispatch'd towards the end of *March*. The day on which they appointed the Assembly to meet, was the same that had been taken to hold a National Synod in the same Place; Insomuch that had those two Assemblys concurr'd in the same Resolutions, it might be said that the *Reform'd* had never taken such general ones. We will observe Elsewhere why it did not succeed. I will only say that the Princes only making use of the Duke of Rohan's good Will, to render themselves the more formidable to the Queen, they concluded a Peace in the presence of *Hautefontaine* his Envoy, to whom they daily gave a thousand Assurances that they had no thoughts of it. The Summs of Money that were offer'd them, made their Swords drop out of their Hands. They obtain'd the usual Act of Grace: and the greatest thing they got was a promise to Assemble the Estates. *Amboise* was delivered up to the Prince of *Conde* as a Place of Surety. The others profited by it according to their Quality. The only Duke of *Rohan* paid the Scot; and got nothing but the Queens

*A Peace is made.*

Queens Indignation by it The Duke *de Vendome* held 1612. out longer than the rest ; and the Queen was forc'd to go into *Bretagne* to reduce him to Reason.

This Treaty being concluded at Ste. *Menehould* on the 15th, of May, was forthwith put in Execution: but the Peace which was but just concluded had like to have been broken by an affront the Prince of *Conde* receiv'd at *Poitiers*. He was disatisfy'd with the Bishop to whom he

*Injury done  
to the  
Prince of  
Conde at  
Poitiers*

sent some smart Letters by a Gentleman of his Retinue. The said Gentleman was ill us'd, by the consent, and perhaps at the Instigations of the Bishop. The Prince being Inform'd therewith in a Journey of which no body knew the Secret, resolv'd inconsiderately to go to *Poitiers* to revenge that affront. Whereas he was only Arm'd with his Quality at that time, and not very well attended, he was not much in a Condition to be fear'd ; and therefore the Inhabitants shut their Gates against him, and refus'd him Enterance. This seem'd to be done by the Bishop's Credit: but it was thought that he had receiv'd secret orders from the Queen about it. Moreover some Persons some which were Engag'd in the Princes Interests were turn'd out of the City: whereupon he did whatever lay in his Power to Assemble his Friends and to lay a kind of Siege before that Insolent City. But he could hardly Assemble Men enough to annoy the Inhabitants a little, whom he hindered from going to and fro by keeping of some Passages. He neither had time enough nor means to renew his Correspondence which the Peace had broken: and the Queen being gone from *Paris* with her Forces, the fear of her marching against him oblig'd him to remove from before *Poitiers*. He was forc'd to submit that affair to Justice, and to suffer Commissioners to be nominated to examine it: and the Bishop was sent for to Court as it were to be reprimanded for his proceedings. It was not so much to punish him, as to put him in safety: and the Queen having brought the King to *Poitiers*, improv'd that occasion to put her Creatures in the Chief Employments there, in order to secure that City to herself. The Reform'd resolv'd in that Progress to show

*Cries of  
Surety o-  
pened to  
the King.*

the

1614. the King that he was as much Master of the places of Surety, as of all the other Cities of his Kingdom. He was received with his Forces in all those where he came. Moreover, he was invited to come through such as he seem'd to avoid on purpose, lest it might create some jealousy.

National  
Synod.  
The King  
of Eng-  
land's.  
Letters.

Soon after the Treaty of the Princes, the *Reform'd* held a National Synod at *Tonneins*. Several affairs were handled in it, which neither related to their Doctrine, nor Discipline. They receiv'd Letters from the King of *England*, who embrac'd all occasions to concern himself with Divinity, as much as he neglected to mind the general affairs of *Europe*. The Subject of his Letters was a dispute between *Tilenus* and *du Moulin*, who accus'd each other of Error, about the Mystery of the hypostatick Union. Besides, *Tilenus* had Sentiments that were not very Orthodox, about the concurrence of Grace with humane Will. The Marshal *de Bouillon* who did esteem him, and who had call'd him to *Sedan*, to give a reputation to the College he had founded there, declared himself publicly his Protector; which gave a great deal of discontent to the Churches. That affair occasioned several Conferences, after which *Tilenus* was finally abandon'd, and left the Churches of *France* in quiet, untill he took upon him to write against the Assembly of *Rochel*, during the Civil Wars. As soon as the Synod received the King of *England's* Letter, they resolv'd to open it: but before they read it, they resolv'd, lest their keeping a correspondence with a foreign Prince might offend the Court, to send a Copy of it to *Rouvray*, one of the Deputies General, who remain'd with the King while *la Miletierre* was come to *Tonneins*, to the end he should show it to the Ministers in case it should create any jealousy in them: and they protested at the same time that in case the said Letter did mention any thing but what related to Religion, they would not treat about it without express leave from the King. It was a medium which seem'd to reconcile the divers pretensions of the Court and of the Synod: The Court would



would not allow the *Reform'd* to keep any Communication with Foreigners: and the Synod thought that they ought to have the freedom of that Correspondence, in things which related to their Doctrine. Therefore they thought that they should satisfy the Court by keeping within those bounds, and by tying their own hands in affairs of another Nature.

The Council of the Lower *Guyenne* was oblig'd to give the Synod an account of the Convocation they had made, which I have spoken of. That way of proceeding was not approved of every where, because it exceeded the bounds of the regulation made at *Saumur*; That the Province had not a sufficient grievance, to have recourse to that remedy; That even in that case it would have been sufficient to invite the Deputies of five adjacent Provinces; and finally, That since a General Assembly was expected, which the Deputies General endeavour'd to obtain leave for the said Convocation could not be look'd upon as necessary. They alledg'd reasons for it, which freed them from a Censure. The Church of *Pujols*, in the precinct of the Assembly of *Agen*, which is part of that Province, had refus'd to submit to the resolutions of that Council. Complaints were made of it in the said Assembly, where after having heard the Parties, they had censured the disobedience of the said Church; tho they justified pretty well that their intentions were good. The said Church appealed to the Synod, which confirm'd the Judgment of the Assembly. The reason of it was that the resolution having been taken by the plurality of Voices, they broke the Union in refusing to submit to it, and made an inlet for Divisions. Moreover it is observable by this affair, as well as by several others, that tho the Power of Political and Ecclesiastical Assemblies was bounded in certain things, the one being to meddle with Civil Government and Safety, the other with Discipline and Doctrine, nevertheless, there was a kind of mutual Subordination between them, by virtue whereof the one sometimes reform'd the regulations of the other,

1614.

Council of  
the Lower  
Guyenne.Mutual  
Subordina-  
tion of the  
Assemblies.

or

1614. or took Cognisance of their Judgments by way of Appeal. That was very proper to maintain Union between those two Tribunals, and might have contributed considerably towards the preservation of the Churches, if it could have been observed without Ambition or Jealousie.

Brief of  
leave for a  
General  
Assembly.

The Deputies General had obtained leave to hold a General Assembly: but the Brief oblig'd them to assemble at a time and in a place which did not please them. The place was *Grenoble*, very distant from all the Provinces, and moreover in the Power of *Lesdiguieres*, and of a Parliament which would not allow the Deputies the liberty of their Suffrages. The time was the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, too short a time to allow the Provinces Leisure to nominate their Deputies, and to prepare their Instructions. Moreover, the Brief contain'd modifications that were too strict, and allow'd the Assembly nothing but to nominate Deputies General. The Synod order'd those that perform'd that function at that time, to obtain a more convenient Place, and freer, a longer time, during which Provincial Assemblies might be held, to give an account of the proceedings of the Synods; and a more favourable Brief, giving the Assembly a larger Permission. The Synod, only obtained an alteration as to the time. The Assembly was put off untill the 25<sup>th</sup> of August: but the Queen declar'd that she could neither change the Place, nor the form of the Brief. The Conjunction of the time, the King being near upon entering into his 14<sup>th</sup> year, and consequently to be declared Major, might have given the Assembly an occasion to treat about great things. The Estates that were promised, were to meet shortly: which also was an inducement for the Reform'd to look about them, But those very reasons also induced the Court not to allow their Assembly all sort of Liberty, Nevertheless, the place displeasing them, they chose rather not to meet than to do it in the Capital City of a Province, in which the Parliament and Governor might equally disturb them. We will see what happened about it the following year, in which the alterations of Affairs made them earnestly

nestly desire the same place, which they had so much rejected. 1614.

An account was given to the Synod of the means that had been us'd to reconcile the Lords; and Letters were deliver'd to them from the Dukes *de Rohan*, *de Sully* and from *du Pleffis*, which desir'd the Members of the Synod to acquaint the Provinces with their good intentions, and with their zeal for the Service of the Churches. *Bergerac* disown'd in that Synod the Brief of 1500 Livres, which the King had given them to take upon the 15000 Crowns of Augmentation; and after the Church and City had declar'd in writing, that they renounc'd all manner of means to obtain the said Sum, unless it were by the good Will of the Synod, the Assembly granted them 1200 Livres. This husbandry seem'd to be very necessary, by reason that the Funds were wanting every where for the payment of the Ministers: and those who had treated with the late King upon that Subject, had taken their measures so ill, that most of them having no Sallary besides what they had out of the said Donations were reduced to great streights: which render'd them incapable of performing their Ministry, susceptible to the inspirations of the Court which endeavoured to corrup them, or despicable for their Poverty. The Sum granted by *Lewis* the 13<sup>th</sup> added but little to their Sallary; besides they had occasion for it, for so many things that the Ministers had not the advantage of it. The King applv'd part of it himself to what he pleas'd; and he had had much ado to free that Sum of the penny *per* Liver which he had taken out of it for the Sallary of the Deputies General. The rest was distributed part to the Accademys and Colleges, part in Grati-fications and Recompences, and part for Deputations and private Affairs. The Lower *Guyenne* propos'd in order to remedy that Evil to beg of the King wherewith to pay the Ministers intirely. The Synod harkened to that proposition; but they thought fit to refer it to a General Assembly.

Among the things that were promis'd in order to dissolve the Assembly of *Rochel*, the Court had put the *Reform'd*

1612. in hopes of an Exemption of \* *Tailles* for the Ministers: and the Declaration of it had been drawn accordingly. But the Courts of Aids, made great difficulties about it; and it had not been verified; so that it had only provid an illusion till then. The Synod order'd the Deputies General to press the Registring of it; and the Deputies of the Churchesto carry the said demand to the mix'd Assemblies of their Provinces; and those particular Assemblies to give them to their Deputies to be moved in the General Assembly.

Exemption  
of *Tailles*  
for the Mi-  
nisters.  
\* *Tailles*.

Places of  
Surety.

They spoke of the Innovations that were introduc'd in the nomination of the Governors of the places of Surety, and in the reception of the *Reform'd* in the places that were allow'd to them. They were oblig'd before their said reception to take an attestation of the Assembly within the extent of which the Government of a Place became vacant: But the Court did not observe it, in order to have the sole authority of those Nominations. The Synod made a very severe order upon that Subject against those who accepted Governments or other Employments that way: and referr'd the Complaints of the fact to the Political Assemblies. They also order'd the Consistories to hinder the Governors of places from protecting any persons accus'd of things which deserv'd Punishment, lest those Cities given for the Surety of their Religion should serve to protect Criminals.

Berger a  
Reform'd  
Counsellor  
at Paris  
turns Ro-  
man Ca-  
tholick.

One of the six *Reform'd* Counsellors in the Parliament of Paris, call'd Berger, was lately turn'd Catholick. His change made a breach in the number of the Officers of that quality promis'd by the Edict: and the *Reform'd* pretended that Berger ought no longer to enjoy the said employment which belong'd to them, since he had chang'd his Religion. But Berger had made his bargain before he chang'd his Religion that he should not lose his Place; and it was the interest of the Catholicks not to turn out such as embrac'd their Communion. lest the fear of that disadvantage should discourage others who might also be inclined to do the same. The Synod order'd the Deputies General to endeavour to repair that breach; and to acquaint the Assembly with it in case they



they could not succeed in it. But their diligence prov'd ineffectual; and the *Reform'd* never receiv'd full satisfaction upon that Subject. 1614.

The discharge granted by the King of the Penny per Liver out of the Money he had granted the *Reform'd*, authoris'd the Synod to desire him also to discharge them of the 3600 Livers adjudg'd to the Churches of the Country of *Gex*. *Reform'd of Gex.* The reason was that the said Sum was taken out of a Grant in which that Country had not been consider'd, by reason that it was not under the Kings Dominion at the time of the Edict; and that at the time when the said augmentation was granted, it had a Fund settled by the late King's Commissioners, for the maintenance of its Ministers. Moreover, the said Sum was distributed by order from the Council: which did not forget to do it in such a manner that divisions might arise about it. The Synod of *Burgundy*, of which that Bayliwick was a dependency, had adjudg'd 60 Livers out of the Money design'd for that Cantoone, for a College they design'd to erect at *Gex*: and the Assembly had acquiesc'd to it. But the Inhabitants of the City being offended that so little was granted them, apply'd themselves to the Council in which they obtain'd a Decree which adjudg'd them 250 Livers. This was dangerous, both as to the example, which authoris'd the Malecontents to appeal from the Judgments given in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies to the Council: and for the Consequence which submitted the distribution which the Synods made of the said Grants to the review of the Council: which was directly contrary to the Brief of 1598, which allow'd the *Reform'd* to dispose of them without giving any account of it. Therefore the Synod took the thing to heart; and censur'd the *Reform'd* of the City sensibly; and threatned to proceed further against them, in case they did not submit with obedience to their Synods.

We may gather from the Synod that there were Churches grounded on the disposition of the Edicts, of which the settlement was nevertheless not as yet made, by reason of *Churches not as yet settled.*

1614. the oppositions of the Catholics; whither it were upon the account of the Poverty of those that were to compose them, or upon the account of the negligence of those that were to employ themselves about it. There were some of this kind in *Anvergne*: and that of *Issire* was of that number. They had long pursued their affairs ineffectually at Court: but the Synod being inform'd with their deplorable Condition, order'd the Deputies General to second their Petitions, and to recommend them in their Name.

Condition  
of the Re-  
form'd in  
the County  
of Avig-  
non.

The Reform'd of the County of *Avignon*, who two years before thought themselves strong enough to form a Province by themselves had strangely alter'd their Condition since. They had been persecuted with so much violence that their Condition was worthy of Commiseration: and the Synod which knew no other remedy, was forc'd to beg of the King to turn their Mediator, to obtain some ease for them.

Liberality  
of the  
Synod.

The Synod made other liberal gifts to some particular persons, *Rivet* had 600 Livers for some Works, and *Gigord* Professor in Theology at *Mompellier*, who had had a dispute at Court some years before with *Cotton* the Jesuit, had 1850. The same Synod appointed places in every Province, in order to establish Colleges, of which some have subsisted till our days; and tho they were sensible, considering the small Fund they had to dispose of, that there were too many Accademies in the Kingdom, by reason that they were too chargeable, yet they preserv'd them for fear of prejudicing those places out of which they should remove them. They gave the Churches of *Bearn* power to convene a National Synod in their Turn, on condition that they should submit to the Decisions of those that should be held in the Kingdom, and that they should make their appeals there. We have already seen by what happen'd in the Assembly of *Saumur*, that the Court would not allow the Political Union of that Province with the rest of the Churches of the Kingdom. But the said Province it self dreaded to be United too much with them in the exercise of their Discipline, for fear of injuring the priviledges which the Churches enjoy'd there

Colleges.

Bearn.

there independently from the Edict of *Nantes*, and by 1614.  
 virtue of more ancient Titles. Particularly they were  
 afraid lest in submitting the Churches of the Country to  
 the decisions of a Synod held elsewhere, it might serve as  
 a pretence against the Right they pretended, that the Ge-  
 neral and Particular Cases of their Inhabitants could not  
 be taken out of the hands of their natural Judges; viz.  
 the Council, and their Estates. There was something like *Ments.*  
 this relating to the City of *Mets*; the Church of which  
 only maintain'd a Communion of Doctrine with the others:  
 but kept at a distance as to the rest, for fear of prejudic-  
 ing the Rights they enjoy'd before the Edict; from the very  
 time they submitted under the Protection of *France*.

The Oath of Union was renew'd in that Assembly with  
 the usual Protestations of Obedience and Fidelity to the *Oath of*  
 King, *The Empire of God remaining whole*; and every *Union.*  
 Deputy promis'd to get it ratified in his Province. Finally, *Letters to*  
 the Synod writ to the King and Queen, about the things *the King*  
 they order'd the Deputies to solicit. This difference was *and Queen.*  
 observ'd in the said Letters that the same things that were  
 mention'd in the King's Letter, were somewhat more enlarg'd  
 upon in the Queen's. Among the Complaints they made  
 in them, there was one in particular, concerning an excess  
 committed at *Guisse* against the person of a *Reform'd*;  
 which the Lieutenant General was accus'd of having had a  
 hand in; either by exciting the Authors of it directly, or  
 by conniving at them. They demanded Justice about it,  
 to the end that the punishment of those that were guilty  
 of it, might put a stop to those Violences, and show that  
 the *Reform'd* had a share in the King's protection as well  
 as the rest. They gave reasons in the same Letters for  
 the refusal that was made by the Churches to accept *Greno-*  
*ble* for the place of their General Assembly; and in order  
 to obtain a more convenient place, they alledg'd the ex-  
 ample of the late King, who always had a regard to the Pe-  
 titions of the *Reform'd*, as to the nomination of a place for  
 the like Convocations; but that Negotiation was interrup-  
 ted by Affairs of more Consequence. The

1614.

The Queen  
prepares to  
assemble  
the Estates  
General.

The Queen who had promis'd to assemble the Estates General only thought on means to amuse every body, untill the Kings Majority. The affairs that occur'd since the Treaty of *Menebould*, Ste. happen'd as apropos for her, as if she had contriv'd them herself. But she had yet a nother design in her Head, which was of greater consequence. She was very sensible that the Princes had desired an Assembly of the States in order to mortifie her by the suppression of her Creatures : and that the whole Kingdom was in expectation to see what the said Assembly would produce, which had been formerly the remedy of the peoples Grievances, and the defence of their Liberties. But she had observ'd by the success of the last States that it was not impossible to make a different use of it ; and to oppress by means of the States, those who expected protection and assistance by them. In order whereunto she did what *Pius* the 4<sup>th</sup> had done with the Councils which his Predecessors stood so much in awe of. He made use of them to break the bonds which those Assemblies were us'd to give to the authority of his See ; and to reform those Princes that had a mind to reform him. Thus the Queen took measures to make the States serve to maintain her Power, and to colour the oppression of the people. Therefore she resolv'd to make the Declaration of the Kings Majority, before the Overture of the States : not doubting but tho she thereby lost the Regency, it would be easie for her to preserve the Authority of it. The King was so easie, so young, and so well dispos'd by the Education and by the discourse of his Confessor, and others whom the Queen had put about him, to be Govern'd by her, that there was no likelihood she should Reign less absolutely under her Sons name for the future, than she had done till then. The only way to maintain her Power was to make that Prince speak ; whose Will ought to be more respected, being declar'd Major, than when it seem'd inspir'd into him by his Mothers directions.



The Overture of the States being appointed on the 15<sup>th</sup> 1614<sup>th</sup> of *October* at *Paris*, the Queen carried the King to the Parliament on the 2<sup>d</sup> of the said month, to take the Act of his Majesty, and to verifie the Declaration of the preceeding day; who after having prais'd Almighty God for the prosperiv he had granted to the State, and returned the Queen thanks for her prudent conduct during the Regency, contain'd four or five Articles, certainly worthy to be the first Laws of a Prince, who was to manage his State for the future himself, and to trust no longer to the vigilency of others. The first confirm'd the *Edict of Nantes*, and all the Articles, Regulations and Decrees that had been granted to the *Reform'd*, touching its Interpretation and Execution. The second condemn'd all Correspondencies, Leagues and Associations at home and abroad; and Deputations made to Foreign Princes whither Friends, or Foes, without leave, under any pretence whatever. The third depending on that forbad all those who receiv'd Sallarys, Pay, or Pensions from the King, to receive any from any other Prince or Lord, and to bear Arms to follow any body but the King, on pain of losing their Employments, Sallarys and Pensions. The fourth renew'd all the Ordinances against Duels; without any hopes of Mercy. The last did the same against Blasphemies, and order'd the ancient Ordinances to be publish'd a new. In order to Judge of the Justice & necessity of the third Article, we must observe that there were several persons in the King's Pay, who apply'd themselves nevertheless to the service of certain Lords, whom they look'd upon as their Patrons, whose Will was a Sovereign Law to them. In the progress the Court had lately made it was observ'd that two Lords follow'd the King, who had each of them 500 Horse to attend them. It was glorious for the King to Command such potent Subjects: but it was uncertain whether such Subjects would always obey: and Policy could not permit the King to pay Friends and Creatures to his Subjects to act against him.

*Declaration  
on the  
King's Majesty.*

1614.

*Overture of  
the States.*

On the day the Queen had appointed, the Deputies of the Provinces repair'd to *Paris* and made the Overture of the States. There had been great Brigues in the Provinces to obtain the nomination of persons that were at the devotion of those who design'd to profit by that Assembly. The Queen had us'd her utmost endeavours to have them favourable. The Prince of *Conde* had omitted no means to get the strongest Party there: and whereas the Publick Good and his Interest seem'd to be link'd together, he had easily found such as did embrace his Party, altho he had not wherewith to make gratification like the Queen. He was particularly seconded by the \* third Estate, which commonly is the only one that keeps to the right Cause: by reason that being the first on which the weight of oppression lights, they are also the first that oppose the progress of Slavery. The Prince had much ado to resolve to come to Court after the mortification he had receiv'd. His weakness had set of the Queens Power; and he was afraid that coming to Court after an Affront for which he had receiv'd so little satisfaction, he would make but a melancholly figure there. But the Queen would have him there, by reason that otherwise whatever she should cause to be ordain'd without him should want weight and effect; and that on the first occasion he should have to create new Troubles, she should be oblig'd to begin a new. She was resolv'd to ruin his Power by the means of the Estates, in order to break all his measures for the future.

\* The Commons.

*The Clergy  
and Nobility  
unite a-  
gainst the  
third E-  
state.*

She would have met with no success in that enterprize had there been any Faith in the Clergy, or Vigor in the Nobility. But the Clergy spoil'd all according to their usual custom, and betray'd the King and Kingdom for their particular interest. The Court engag'd them on their side, by Complaisance and benefits: and they ingag'd the Nobility on theirs; and those two bodys being joyn'd oppress'd the third Estate. There are natural seeds of discord among those divers orders of the Kingdom: The two first are not burdened with the Charge of the State, and little value  
the

the grievances of the third which bears them all : and the Third on the contrary having ever Complaints and Remonstrances to make against the two others, who seldom spare their Blood and Labour, and are very Liberal at their Cost. The Clergy having began by Masses, Processions and the Communion, to which they invited the other two, resolv'd to secure the Nobility, and to dispose them to joyn with them, to act together. They apply'd themselves about it by Deputations in form, and by particular Intrigues. The strongest machine they set at work, even publicly, was interest. They represented to the Nobility of what use Benefices were for the Children of Noble Families. They perswaded them that those two Orders made properly but one Body, since the Clergy was for the most part compos'd of Gentlemen dedicated to the Church, who possess'd the Revenues of it: and that therefore the Nobility ought to be united to an Order, of which they partak'd the Riches and Dignity so advantageously. In reality, Benefices are the resource of the Nobility, which being ruin'd in the King's service, have no better way to maintain, or to raise their Fortunes, than to make Ecclesiasticks of their younger Sons, and Nuns of their Daughters, while they only keep the Eldest to preserve the Name and Lustre of their Families.

There were some *Reform'd* among the Deputies of the Nobility: but they were not strong enough to oppose the Catholics. Besides what ever came from them was suspected by the ignorant Nobility and one of the reasons which prejudic'd the rights of the Crown most, and the Prince of Conde, was that those who maintain'd them most were *Hereticks*. Peoples minds being dispos'd thus, The third Estate began to treat the question of the Independency of Kings, and of the safety of their Persons, against the enterprizes and pretensions of the Court of Rome. It was none of their fault that it was not pass'd into a fundamental Law of the State that they were subject to no Power directly, nor indirectly ; and that there was no case or pretence to authorise any body to declare their forfeiture of the Crown, & to dispence their Subjects from their

*Reform'd  
in the  
States.*

*I depend  
of  
Kings.*

1614.

Allegiance. The murder of the two last Kings had made a deep impression in the hearts of the King's best Subjects, and the Third Estate was desirous to stifle the remain'd of the League by that Law, by showing their maxims to be false, and contrary to the principle of Monarchy. It was still fresh in Peoples minds, how those maxims had like to have torn the Kingdom into piece, and to deprive the lawf: Heir of the Crown under pretence of Religion, and of the Excommunication pronounc'd against him by the Popes.

*Whose Cause  
is betra'd  
by the  
Clergy and  
by the  
Court it  
self.*

It seems wonderful in our days that a proposition so specious in it self, and so advantageous to Kings could be rejected. And yet it certainly was; and that which is most surprising is that the King's authority was us'd to reject it. The truth is that it was no novelty at that time: the Court had partly done the same two years before. The Monks had undertaken to make Kings stoop under the Popes feet. The Clergy of the *Sorbonne* was inclinable to that Seditious Theology. Regal Authority was the sport of their Disputes, and most people were wretchedly misled into that opinion. I do not wonder that they refus'd to allow the *Reform'd* at that time to have the honour to defend their Sovereign, and that those Books were suppress'd which they wrote upon that Subject: but yet methinks they should have had a little more regard for the Catholicks who maintain'd the same Cause. Nevertheless the Court handsomely acquiesc'd to its own disadvantage. *Richet* only defender of the King's Rights, and of the Liberties of the *Gallick* Church, and who maintain'd the propositions which the Clergy has lately defin'd, was oppress'd by *Duval*, another Doctor seconded by the Monks: and the Court interposing in that Dispute, he was oblig'd to part with his place of *Syndu* of the University, to suffer the Condemnation of his Books, without saying any thing, and to suffer his Brethren, and even the King himself whose Interests he did defend, to treat him as an Heretick. But whereas the *Reform'd* had a great share in that Dispute which was renew'd in the States, I think it will be necessary for their Honour, to relate somewhat at large how that affair pass'd. The



The Clergy fell out into an Excess of Passion against the Authors of that proposition. They made as much noise as if they had design'd to take away their vast Revenues, or to set the *Reform'd* Religion upon the Throne. They drew the Nobility into their Sentiments : and having put Cardinal *Du Perron* at the head of a solemn Deputation which they sent to the Third Estate, he oppos'd the good Intentions of that Body with all his might. The said Cardinal made a long studyed discourse upon that matter, to render the said proposition odious : and he maintain'd the Interests of the Court of *Rome* with so much confidence, that he seem'd only to make use of the Grandeur to which the favour of Kings had rais'd him, to destroy them, and to make them subject to a Forreign Power. The turn he took to make an Impression upon the minds of the Catholicks, was to represent that Doctrine as a branch of *Heresie*, in order to create jealousies about its Original. He maintained with a boldness suitable to a more odious Name, that before *Calvin* the whole Church, and even the *Gallick Church* did believe that when a King did violate the Oath he had taken to God and to his Subjects, to live and dye a Catholick ; and not only turn'd *Arian* or *Mahometan*, but even proceeded so far as to War against *Jesus Christ*, that is, to force the Consciences of his Subjects, and to oblige them to follow a false Religion, he might be declar'd deprived of his Rights, and his Subjects could be absolved in Conscience and at the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Tribunal, of the Allegiance which they had sworn to him: and that it belonged to the Pope or Council to make that Declaration: He maintained that this Sentiment expos'd no body to the Anathema, and did not deprive those who held it of the Communion of the Church He declared more than once that the Oath which the King of *England* had exacted from the Catholicks, was the Patron of the Doctrine of the Third Estate, which at the bottom was the substance of that Oath. He alledged several inconveniences which might arise from the enterprize of that House ; for Instance that it would be

1614.

Passion of  
the Clergy.Harangue  
of Cardinal  
du Perron.

1614.

a Snare for Consciences, to make people read as an Article of Faith taken out of the word of God, a Doctrine the contrary of which had been and was still held by all the rest of the Catholick Church; That it was dangerous that Lay-men should undertake to decide matters of Faith, without being guided by a Council, or some other Ecclesiastical Judgment; That it might create a Schism, to declare a Doctrine Impious, which was approved by the other Catholics, which they did separate from by that Declaration; That under pretence of securing the Life and Grandeur of Princes, they would be exposed more than ever by the troubles which a Schism causes. He had the boldness to say, that the Murder of Kings could be prevented no otherwise than by the fear of Eternal Punishment; and that nothing but Ecclesiastical Judgments can give a real Terror of Punishments. He seconded all this with Examples, and Testimonies set out with a great deal of Pomp; displaying as he us'd to do the most fabulous and most false Reports: and he endeavour'd to prove by subtil artificial answers, the Examples and Testimonies to the contrary.

Why the  
Hereticks  
are tolerated.

He also endeavour'd to refute the Objections drawn from other Causes, and among the rest that which was taken from the Toleration granted to *Hereticks*: from whence it might be concluded that if Just Laws were made to preserve their Lives, their Estates, and their Honours, Kings were much less to be depriv'd of theirs under pretence of *Heresie*. He answer'd it in a manner which show'd, that according to his opinion the Laws under which *Hereticks* lived, did only suspend the execution of those which were against them: and insinuating, that in case a new *Heresie* should arise, which might be oppress'd without danger by reason of its weakness, they would not fail to deprive the professors of it both of their Estates and Lives; he show'd clearly enough that it was only the power of the *Reform'd*, which he meant almost every where in naming them *Hereticks*, which made their safety. This alone might suffice, if men were equitable, to apologise for their Precautions and Disidences:  
since

since nothing can be more natural and just, when People are threatened with Punishments and Massacres, than to take measures to prevent them. He did not forget in that place to relate the usage *Servet* had receiv'd at *Geneva*, and the *Arrians* in *England*. 1614.

Speaking of the fourth inconvenience which he found in the Doctrine of the Third Estate, he reduc'd his about the safety of Kings to distinctions of Tyrants by Usurpation, and Tyrants by Administration, and some others which might discover how much those pretended Sureties were illusive. The Case was not to preserve the Lives of Kings against the Darts that are Lanc'd in the disputes of Colleges, where those distinctions might have been of some use; but against Assassins, whose fury could not be repell'd by a *Distinguo*. This subject requires, and I say the same of most of those which relate to practice in important matters, Principles Independent of all such subtleties; which may at once give the most ignorant, a clear Idea of the Duties that are impos'd upon them. *Distinctions of the Cardinal.*

In order to end that long discourse by a conclusion worthy of the rest, he endeavour'd to persuade that it was a great moderation in the Popes, to suffer such to remain in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, which held the Doctrine of the Third Estate: and according to him they were very much oblig'd to the Court of *Rome*, for not being Excommunicated by them, and declar'd *Hereticks*. Finally, to dispose his Auditors the better to relinquish that Article, he accus'd the *Reform'd* of being the Authors of it, and to have slip'd in that proposition, which he call'd the *Apple of Discord*, in the \* *Cabiers* of some Provinces, to sow Division among the *Catholicks*. He said that they had long threaten'd that enterprise; That the said project came from *Saumur*: That nevertheless both the Synods and Ministers would refuse to sign that Doctrine: which he prov'd by their Confession of Faith; by the exceptions which they added to the protestations of their Obedience and Fidelity; and by their taking of Arms, when ever the Court had attempted to deprive them of the Liberty of their Consciences. *His Conclusion. \* Person or Address.* Where-

1615.

Red: Sign

Wherenpon we may observe first, That he apply'd their Doctrine to his with a great deal of malice; since there is a great deal of difference between not obeying Kings, when they will force Consciences; or making them lyable to deposition by virtue of an Ecclesiastical Censure, and exposing them to the Daggers of Murtherers, under the pretence of Anathema's. The one was the Sentiment of the *Reform'd*: the other was the Opinion of the adherents of the Court of *Rome*, the impudent pretentions of which the Third Estate would suppress. Secondly that the *Reform'd* in taking Arms, never intended to revoke the Oath of Allegiance they had sworn to their Kings; but only to secure themselves against violence and oppression, being still ready to lay down their Arms, as soon as their persecutors had done the like. Finally, that the Cardinal justified against his will according to his principles, those Wars which the Catholicks have so often reproach'd: since they never did take Arms but when their Princes violated that Oath made to God and to them, to make them live in peace and liberty under the protection of their Edicts. It was a usual thing among the most violent Votaries of the Court of *Rome*, to impute those very things to the *Reform'd* as high Treason which that Court teaches as a duty to the Catholicks.

\* House of Commons. The third Estate Persists. Character of Miron, President of the Chamber of that Order.

This Discourse produc'd no effect in the \* Chamber of the Third Estate, by reason that *Miron* who presided in it maintain'd the importance and necessity of the Article with Vigour and Capacity. He neither wanted Wit, Learning, or Courage: and as he equall'd the Cardinal in that, he had the advantage of a great probity over him. Moreover he was seconded by the Parliaments, whose Hereditary Doctrine he design'd to pass into a Law: and all the good *French*, whether *Reform'd* or Catholicks, were very desirous that his proposition might be converted into a Law of the State.

So that he would perhaps have carry'd it in spite of the Clergy, and have disturb'd the Nobility, had the Court taken care of their own Interests. But the Queen stood in need of the Clergy, either to maintain her Authority, or to accom-

plish



1615.

plish the Marriages with *Spain* which she earnestly desir'd. She was oblig'd to pleasure the Court of *Rome* and the *Spaniards*, who interest'd themselves very much in that dispute: the one to take the advantage of the weakness of the Government, and to make some Incroachments upon the Kings of *France*, who had preserv'd their Independency better than others against their pretentions: The other to sow jealousies and diffidences in the Kingdom, which they might take the advantage of in favourable occasions. The Jesuits who were the Popes faithful Servants at that time, and very powerful at Court, where they had the direction of the Consciences of the King and Queen and of the principal Ministers, did not belie themselves on that occasion; being sufficiently concern'd in the Assassinations which the Third Estate had a mind to prevent, to think it necessary to prevent the Condemnation of the Doctrine which authorises them. Therefore the Clergy obtain'd of the King under pretence to avoid disorder and confusion, to refer the said Dispute to himself and his Council. But whereas the said removal only suspended the question, upon which the Third Estate seem'd resolv'd to press the King to give his judgment, they thought fit to silence them quite upon that Article. They were commanded to put that Article quite out of their *Cabier*, where they design'd to put it at the head of all the rest. Thus the Queen sacrific'd the Interests of the King her Son to her particular ambition; and hinder'd him from improving the greatest example of fidelity that Subjects can give to their Prince.

The Court  
silences the  
Third Estate.

The Clergy nevertheless in order to acknowledge that Complaisance, and to show that they were not Enemies to the safety of Kings, put an illusive proposition in lieu of the Article of the Third Estate, of causing the Doctrine of the Council of *Constance* upon that matter to be published: a Doctrine which maintaining the interest of Crown'd Heads in appearance, submits them nevertheless to the Censure of the Popes; and exempts them no longer from the Rebellion and attempt of their Subjects than while the Popes maintain and favour them. In effect the Council only condemns this proposition.

Illusive  
Decree of  
the Clergy.

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position : *All Tyrants may and ought Lawfully and Meritoriously to be kill'd, by any of their Vassals or Subjects, even by secret Machinations, and by Artful Flatteries, notwithstanding any Oath whatever taken to them, or any treaty they have made with them, without staying for the sentence or Order of any Judge whatever.* Without minding the other equivocal Terms in which the said Article is drawn, it is evident at least in consequence of that last Clause, *Without staying for the sentence or order of any Judge whatever*, that it leaves all Princes expos'd to assassinations and perfidiousnesses, against whom Conspiracies are made after the Sentence or Order of certain Judges, that is, after the ordinance of any Council or Pope : since that, according to the Doctrine of Cardinal *Du Perron*, there is no Jurisdiction but that which can stand up against Kings. Now this was properly what the Third Estate would prevent ; in order not to expose Temporal power to the discretion of a See, which has only founded its Grandeur upon the ruin of Princes. So that by this shameful and perfidious illusion, the Clergy substituted instead of the remedy which the Third Estate and the Kings good Subjects word oppose in favour of Kings against the enterprises of the Popes, that very evil which the Third Estate and the said good Subjects endeavour'd thereby to remedy.

And their  
shameful  
Prevarica-  
tions.

But the Clergy did not think they had carryed their Prevarication far enough by that Artifice. After having propos'd to the King the Publication of that Decree, they bethought themselves ; and in order to render the Lives and Sovereignty of Kings more dependant of the Popes, they only thought fit to order, that his Holiness should be intreated to Confirm that Decree, and to order the Publication of it. This way of proceeding was pretty conformable to what Cardinal *Du Perron* had done in other occasions. In certain publick disputes in which he had assisted, he had concluded after a pompous displaying of false Erudition, that one might maintain the said matter pro and con with a safe Conscience ; and that all the Doctrine of the Independency of Kings was one

only Problematical. In the mean time all Persons of Honour trembled to think that in order to secure the Life and Crown of Kings, there was, as they said, a necessity to obtain a *Papalis* of the Pope. The Clergy pretended in vain that in sending the thing to the Roman See, the said Decree would become more Universal, and more Authentick: That if the King caus'd it to be publish'd, it would only serve in *France*; whereas if it were done by the Pope, the Doctrine of the Decree would become that of all the Catholick part of Christendom. The Answer to it was that the said Decree being only an Illusion, the Publication thereof would only serve to render the Illusion more general: and that in case it were of any Vertue, it matter'd but little what strangers might think of the Kings of *France*, provided all the *French* made it a point of Honour and of Conscience, to believe that their Kings were only responcible for their Crowns and Actions to God.

The Clergy did not forget in that affair to gain the Prince of *Conde* on their side, who at first seconded the Third Estate. They us'd the same reasons to blind him, as had prevail'd with others. They told him that the *Reform'd* employ'd him, to make a Doctrine pass unawares to him which came from them; and which tended secretly to ruin the Catholick Religion. The Prince's proceeding in this matter prov'd Inequal. and did not answer the hopes people had of him. The advice he gave in the Council upon that Subject is differently related. It is true that he took the thing upon a higher tone, after the Dissolution of the Estates: but he succeed'd no better in it, since he obtain'd nothing but words. In the mean time the Clergy having obtain'd all they desir'd, and having made the Doctrine of the Council of *Constantia* pass for the Faith of the State, persever'd in that opinion near 70 years: and some years before they recanted it, those that compos'd their *Memoirs* by their order, not foreseeing that it would be condemn'd within five or six years time, Inserted the Cardinals Speech, and the Articles of that Assembly in them. This may serve to prove that the Faith of

Inequality  
of the  
Prince of  
Conde.

Prese-  
rence of the  
Clergy in  
that Do-  
ctrine.

1615. the Clergy of *France* depends on the strongest; That when the Government is weak, and involv'd in troubles, they Sacrifice the Interests of the Crown without hesitation to the *Roman* See; and that when there is more profit to be expected from Servitude in devoting it to Temporal Powers, they likewise Sacrifice the pretended privileges of the said See to the Grandeur of Kings.

Sedition at  
Milhau.

During the Session of the Estates, there broke out a Sedition on *Milhau*, on Christmas Eve, in which Town the *Reform'd* were the strongest: and if we may credit the Complaints the Bishop of *Rhodes* made about it in the Chamber of the Clergy, the Catholics and particularly the Priests, suffer'd very much by it: The *Reform'd* took up Arms, routed the Ecclesiastics, broke the Crucifixes, and the Crosses; Tore the Ornaments; broke down the Altars, prophan'd the Relicks; took the Pix out of the Tabernacle; flung down the Consecrated Hosts, and trampled them under their feet. There had already been such another Sedition in the same place, under the preceeding Reign, against which the Clergy had complain'd: but either for want of proofs, or for other reasons, the prosecution of it was laid aside. It was renew'd upon this new incident, of which the Circumstances were aggravated, in order to have a better reason to renew the first complaints. The Clergy resolv'd to speak to the King about it, and invited the two other Chambers to joyn their Deputies to theirs, which they promis'd to do. It was performed two days before the dissolution of the Estates by the Archbishop of *Lions*, who made a long discourse to the Queen, in the King's absence, upon the Restoration of the *Roman* Religion in *Bearn*; upon the re-union of *Navar* to the Crown; and upon the Sedition of *Milhau*. The Queen told him that she had already Nominated Commissioners to inspect those matters.

The Bishop  
of Lucons  
Speech.

\* Petition  
or Address.

On the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *February* the Bishop of *Lucon*, since Cardinal of *Richelieu*, presented the \* *Cabier* of the Clergy to the King. His discourse was not Eloquent, tho he pretend-  
ed to Eloquence even to his dying day: but it was very violent,



lent against the *Reform'd*, accusing them of polluting holy Places by their prophane Burials; of keeping Churches in which the Catholick Service could not be performed, and of injoying Ecclesiastical Estates. He also complain'd of the excesses committed at *Milbau*, and desir'd that it might be reveng'd: but for fear of alarming the *Reform'd*, he declar'd that he only meant upon such as were guilty, and that as for the rest the Clergy thought no farther on them than to desire their *Conversion*, and to promote it by their Example, their Instructions, and their Prayers. The remainder of his Speech only related to the Grandeur of the Clergy, which he represented as an affair of as great consequence as if the welfare of the State had depended upon it. Notwithstanding those earnest entreaties about the affair of *Milbau*, and the Kings Answer, which is said to be, That he thought himself as much oblig'd to revenge the *Stabbing of his God*, as the Parricide of his Father: the Clergy did not obtain the Vengeance they desir'd. The reason of it is that the *Reform'd* likewise brought a complaint to Court of a greater violence committed against them in those very parts, soon after the sedition at *Milbau*. They had built a Temple at *Bellestat*, where they had a right to perform the exercise of their Religion by the Edicts. The Catholicks pull'd it down, and not being contented with that; they acted great Violences against the *Reform'd* that liv'd there, who were Plunder'd, Beaten, Wounded, and very Barbarously us'd. It look'd as if the Catholicks had done this upon the account of Reprisals, and to be reveng'd of the violences that had been committed at *Milbau*, by those of *Bellestat*. The King receiving the complaints of both sides much about the same time, it was difficult to do Justice to the one, without doing it also to the other. So that the best expedient the Court could think on, to avoid greater inconveniences, was to satisfy the Parties with general promises, and to refer them to Judges that might take a particular cognisance of their complaints. It remain'd in agitation till towards the latter end of the year.

*Sedition of  
Ecclestat.*

1615.

*Cabier of  
the Clergy.*

In the mean time the Clergy had compos'd their *Cabier* which contain'd upwards of 300 Articles, among which those that did not relate to their own Grandeur, tended only to preserve to the Queen the Authority of the Government which she was very jealous of; or to betray the interests of the State, and to inroach upon the Edicts, under which the *Reform'd* were maintain'd. Such were upwards of 65 Articles, which directly or indirectly tended to disturb them in the possession of their Liberties. To that end they desir'd the Restoration of the *Roman* Religion in all places under the King's dominion; particularly in *Bearn*, and into all the Places newly re-united to the Crown: The Condemnation of Books and Discourses that were injurious to the *Pope*, lately Printed: The Revocation of Pensions given upon Benefices to persons that were not qualified for them; specifying among the reasons of Incapacity the *Pretended Reform'd Religion*: Prohibitions to the Parliaments to meddle with the observance of Festivals: The Exemption of Imprisonment for Ecclesiasticks; and leave for Bishops to condemn to the Gally's: Leave to apply themselves to the next Judge Royal for the execution of Ecclesiastical Sentences, in case the ordinary Judge were of the *Pretended Religion*: a great extension of the Rights of Tithes. Besides this there were complaints that the Kings Officers or those of the *Pretended Religion* hinder'd the Bishops from rebuilding their Churches and their Houses. Other Articles desir'd that such Monks as should be met out of their Habit and Convent without Letters of \* *Obedience*, should be chastis'd as Apostates; which related directly to the Monks that imbrac'd the *Reform'd Religion*: That the Jesuits might be re-united to the University of *Paris*; That the King would be pleas'd to judge their Causes himself, and to take them under his protection; That the Printers might be reduc'd to a certain number in every City; and that they should print no Books without the Diocesan's Licence; That all Books from abroad should be prohibited unless they had the same approbation; That the

*Leave,  
Permission.*

the Marriages with *Spain* might be accomplished ; 1615. ~  
 That the King should take back again the Towns of  
 Hostage given by the Treaty of *Ste Menchould*; That  
 the Principality of *Bearn*, and the rest of the Kingdom of  
*Navar* should be re-united to the Crown; That all the  
 Church Lands there should be restor'd to the Ecclesiasticks,  
 without allowing them to be employ'd for the use of the  
*Reform'd*, which was stiled a *prophane use*; That a Party  
 Chamber should be establish'd at *Pau*; That the *Reform'd*  
 Judges there should not be allow'd to take Cognisance  
 of Ecclesiastical Causes; That Military Offices, and such  
 as related to Justice should be given to Catholics; That  
 an Edict of Settlement should be made between the Catho-  
 licks and the *Reform'd*; That the Garrisons should be re-  
 mov'd out of such Towns as were not seated on the  
 Frontiers. That Article did not relate to the Places of Sure-  
 ty; which another spoke of directly, and desir'd the King  
 to take them again: but this has contributed considerably  
 to enslave the Kingdom; by reason that it serv'd for an  
 Overture to disarm all those that were able to defend  
 their Liberty. The next desir'd the Prohibition of all for-  
 eign Correspondencies,

*Convincati-  
 on of the  
 Cahier.*

Others propos'd the restoring to the Ecclesiasticks their  
 Houses and Castles within the space of three Months:  
 To oblige those that were order'd to prove their being  
*Reform'd*, meaning the Catholics that imbrac'd the *Re-  
 form'd Religion* to make their Declaration before the  
 Judge Royal, six Months before their being allow'd to  
 remove their Causes to the Chambers of the Edict. That  
 time was sufficient to ruin them in the Parliaments. Others  
 desir'd that all the Causes in which Ecclesiasticks were  
 concern'd might be remov'd before the Parliaments, Presidials,  
 and other Catholick Judges: and that the Chambers should  
 not be allow'd to receive their Appeals.

Thirty two others follow'd these, which were di-  
 rectly against the *Reform'd*. The first of them was to  
 suppress the exercise of their Religion; That in the mean  
 time

*Articles pro-  
 pos'd -  
 edly -  
 anst the  
 Reform'd.*

1615 time they should be reduc'd to the Concessions of the late King; and that all they had obtain'd during the minority should be revok'd. The others import'd that they should restore the Churches to the Catholiks: That they should not be allow'd to Bury their Dead in the ancient Church-yards, or in the Churches, and that the Catholicks should be allow'd to oppose it by force of Arms: That they should be forc'd to restore the Church-yards they had shar'd with the Catholicks; That they should be forbidden to write against the Sacraments of the Roman Church, and against the Authority of the Pope, on pain of rigorous punishments; That the Ministers should not be allowed to go into the Hospitals, even to comfort their Sick; That Masters should be oblig'd to suffer their Servants to perform the rites of their Religion, and to allow the Curates to visit them when sick; That the exercise of the P. R. R. should be prohibited in Lands that were held in homage of the Church; That the Catholicks turn'd Protestants should not enjoy the exemption of contributing towards the building of Churches, &c. Untill a year after their signification of their profession in the Register Office; That their Temples should be a thousand Steps distant from the Churches at least; That the Patronages of the *Reform'd* should be transferr'd to their nearest Catholick Relations, or in default of any to the Ordinary; That a prohibition should be made on pain of corporal punishments, to impose upon the Catholicks the Sums rais'd for those of the *pretended Religion*; That the *Reform'd* Lords should not be allow'd to have Sermons in any of their Houses, but that in which they made their principal abode; nor to make use of the Kings Confession for the others; That an Order should be made for the Kings Officers to be admitted in the Synods: That the Briefs should be recall'd which granted to the *Reform'd* Benefices, Stewardships, or Pensions out of Ecclesiastical Estates; That Ecclesiasticks whether Secular or Regular might be challeng'd by the Bishops, after their having embrac'd the *Reform'd*



*Reform'd Religion*, though no Information was made before their Change; That the manner of electing the Judges that were to serve in the Chambers, being prejudicial to the State and to the Church, the King would be pleas'd to revoke it, and to cause them to be chosen according to the Order of the Register; That the Chambers should not be allowed to take Cognisance of any Ecclesiastical affairs; and that whatever state a Cause were in, even after the conclusion of the Process, an Ecclesiastick Interposing the whole should be remov'd to the Parliaments; That the *Reform'd* of *Calais* should not be allow'd to Preach in *Dutch*, or in any other Language but *French*; That the Temple built near *Bourg* in *Bresse*, for the convenience of *Boesse Pardaillan* who had been Governour of it, should be taken from the *Reform'd*; That at *Pont de Vesse*, the Temple being only divided from the Church by a Wall, the *Reform'd* should be oblig'd to provide another place; That Fathers or Guardians hindring their Children or Pupils from turning Catholicks, the Attornies General should be ordered to prosecute them for it; That the Children of a Catholick Father, bred Catholicks, should remain so after his Death, though their Mother was *Reform'd*; That the \* Lieutenants General, and other Judges of that Religion \* *Chief Justices* in Bayliwicks, should not be allowed to take Cognisance of the Possessory of Benefices, or other Beneficial matters; That the Colleges, and Semminaries that had been founded by the *Reform'd* at *Charenton*, at *Saumur*, at *Clermont* in *Boirvois* and in several other Places should be taken from them; That they should not be allowed to have Foreigners for their Doctors, Rectors, and Tutors; and that no Foreigners should be allowed to teach any Doctrine but that of the Catholick Church within the Kingdom.

1615.

Sequel of  
the said Ar-  
ticles.

An Article, which follow'd them, import'd that all the Provinces and Governments had charg'd the Instructions of their Deputies with Complaints against the enterprizes of the *Reform'd*; and the next desir'd they should not be allow'd to perform the exercise of their *Religion*, nor to keep Schools in Towns, nor in the Subburbs of Episcopal Cities: accusing the Commissioners that were sent in the Provinces in 1611, of having favour'd the *Reform'd* beyond reason, upon that Subject, under pretence of putting the Edict of 1577 in Execution. In which there was a manifest fraud in the Clergy, which did not mention the Edict of *Nantes* here; as if the Commissioners of 1611 had not been the Executors of it; or that the said Edict had not confirm'd that of 1577, in the Article of the first places allow'd in Bayliwicks. Nothing had been done beyond reason in delivering to the *Reform'd* Places for the exercise of their Religion which had been promised to them by two solemn Edicts: And the Clergy, to whom *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup> had granted as a favour, that Episcopal Cities should be exempted from being given as \* Second places of Bayliwicks, should not have dissembled that the said exception, made in their favour for the second, did confirm the General Law for the first. The next desir'd that the King should not grant Ecclesiastical Castles or Towns for the future for places of Hostage; and that the Government of *Mas d'Aginois* should be taken from *Calonges*, by reason that the Clergy pretended that the *Reform'd* had neither the exercise of their Religion allow'd there, nor a Garrison before the year 1600. In the very next the Clergy was not ashamed to desire contrary to a Law which Christianity and humanity have establish'd, that the Judges of the Party-Chambers might not be allow'd to pass in *Minorum*, in case they were divided in their opinions in Criminal Cases, under pretence that that Lenity prevented the punishment of Criminals. They desir'd that in such a Case the Cause might be remov'd to the other Party Chambers, or to the Chambers of; the Edict. So

that

\* Places in  
which the  
*Reform'd*  
were al-  
lowed to  
perform the  
publick ex-  
ercise of  
their Reli-  
gion.

that when the accus'd had reason to expect according to that equitable custom, to see an end put to their Tryal by some moderate Punishment, the Clergy thought fit to make them dance through all the Jurisdictions of the Kingdom, and to keep them always in dread, and in Fetters, until that after having pass'd through all of them, they should fall at last into the hands of a Chamber in which they might not find a sufficient number of Judges to save them from Perishing. This may serve to judge of the Charity the Roman Clergy was capable of; since they would not have it in the power of Judges of their own Religion to spare humane Blood; and to reverse a sentence, in cases in which Custom does authorise it, which ordain'd the spilling of it. They complain'd in the next place of the demolishing of Ecclesiastical places, pretended to be done by the *Reform'd* since the peace granted by the *Edict of Nantes*: The firstest example they could allege of it, was a thing which had been done above 15 years ago.

They concluded all this, beseeching his Majesty to cause, what he should be pleas'd to grant the Clergy to be Registr'd and Inviolably observ'd: So that the *Reform'd* would not have been able to subsist long if the Clergy had obtain'd their demands. And moreover in a particular \* *Cabier* of regulations which they call'd *Spiritual*, and which they humbly begg'd his Majesty to Authorize, they desir'd that the right of Burial in Churches, and in Church-Yards should be deny'd to the *Reform'd*, and to such as should be kill'd in a Duel, dying without Confession, whatever Quality they were of. This Article also shows the nature of their Charity to the *Reform'd*, which they compar'd in this place not only to persons they esteem'd to be damn'd without redemption: but to persons condemn'd by all the Laws, whose fury was the object of publick detestation. It is also observable that in all those Articles, in which they spoke of the Religion of the *Reform'd* they Transpos'd the word *Pretended*, to render the signification of it the more Odious: calling it always *Pretendue Religion Reformee*, instead of *Religion pretendue Reformee*, or barely the *Pretended Religion*.

*Conclusion  
of the  
Cath.*

*The End of the Third Book.*

T H E





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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.

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VOL. II.

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BOOK IV.

A Summary of the Contents of the Fourth Book.

*Proposition dislik'd by the Nobility. Declaration of the King, which does not cure the Evil. New Intrigues, in which the People are drawn, the Parliament and the Reform'd, who solicit to obtain another place instead of Grenoble; and obtain Gergeau; which does not please them, and they desire Grenoble again; to which the Court consents. Assembly of the Clergy. Settlement for the Pensions of Converted Ministers. Conduct of the Court, and of the Prince of Conde, who invites the Assembly of Grenoble to joyn with him.*

*Diversity of opinions. The King's Progress. The General Assembly sends Deputies to him. Those Deputies are adjourn'd to Poitiers. The Queen waves the Princes propositions, and performs her Progress without hindrance. Particular Cahier of the Assembly. General Cahier. Answers which are not satisfactory. The Deputies are amus'd, they Communicate their fears to the Assembly. Lefdiguieres keeps them in awe. They remove to Nimes, in spite of him; and excuse themselves at Court, which does not approve it very well. They are jealous of the Lords. Lefdiguieres and Chatillon are engag'd in the Interest of the Court. The Duke of Candale embraces the Reformed Religion. The Reformed are hated by the Favourites. The Duke of Epemon hates them mortally. Treaty of Union between the Assembly and the Prince of Conde, under divers reservations: which revives the Princes Party. New Declaration which confirm the Edicts after an argumented Preface. Effect of the Declaration. The Reformed are disarm'd at Bourdeaux. The Consistory discontinues the exercise of their Religion. Two Advocates acquaint the Parliament with it, which orders the usual Assemblies to be continued. The Ministers withdraw. The Consistory cites the Advocates after the Conclusion of the Peace: who appeal to the Parliament. The Consistory suspends them publickly from the Communion. Severe Decree. Passion of the Advocate General. Facts disown'd by the Ministers. Absurdities, and ridiculous pretentions. Proceedings against the Ministers. Sequel of the ill will of the Parliament. False Decree of Inrollment of a Declaration against the Prince of Conde. Propositions of Peace. Deputies and Letters, from the Assembly of Nimes. The Lower Languedoc remains peaceable. The King of England offers to be Mediator of the Peace, which the Council of France refuses. Conference and Peace of Loudun. Translation of the General Assembly to Rochel, from whence they send Deputies to Loudun. Unjust proceedings of the Court. The Assembly is almost forc'd to accept a Peace. Edict of Blois. Private Articles. Sequel. Inrollment and modification of the Edict.*

**I** Have enlarg'd upon the preceding Articles presented by the Clergy by reason that they may be look'd upon as the Plan or Scheme of the Persecution the *Reform'd* have undergone from that time, untill our days. As the Clergy thereby shew'd how little they were inclin'd to Peace and Equity, the Nobility which follow'd their inspirations and movements, did not appear better dispos'd. They proposd during the Session of the Estates, to Petition the King to maintain the Catholick Religion, according to the Oath he had taken about it at his Coronation. The *Reform'd* who were present took that proposition to be made against them, and were perswaded that the Nobility aim'd at their Religion. And indeed those that were acquainted with the nature of that Oath, which I have set down in another place can think no otherwise; since that the King promising thereby utterly to destroy all *Hereticks* declar'd to be so by the Church, the Application of it fell naturally upon the *Reform'd*, who are look'd upon as such by the Catholics. Therefore the said proposition was warmly debated, between the *Reform'd* Gentlemen who were present and the promoters of it: in so much that they were like to proceed to great extremities. The King was acquainted with it, and he hinder'd it from going any further by fair promises: and whereas peoples minds were strangely fir'd by that dispute, he issued out a new Declaration on the 12th of March, which Confirmed all the Edicts.

It began with great Elogies of the Queen's conduct during the Regency, and of the care she had taken to confirm the Edicts, in imitation of the late King, and to remedy the infractions of it, as soon as she was acquainted with them: which the King look'd upon as the true Cause, which next to the assistance of God had maintain'd his Subjects within the bounds of their Allegiance to him, and in amity among themselves. After which the King expressed that this good effect of the Queens Prudence had obliged him,

after

1165.

Propositions  
disliked by  
the Nobility.

Declaration  
of the  
King.

1615. after the Declaration of his Majesty, to intreat her to continue to assist him with her Council, *with the same authority as if the Administration of the Kingdom were still in her hands.* That by her advice he had issued out another Declaration, of the same substance with that she had published, and caus'd to be verifi'd at the beginning of her Regency to signify that it was her earnest desire to make his Subjects live in Peace and friendship, and to observe the Edicts Inviolably. In the next place he declar'd that he was sorry for what had happen'd in the Estates, upon the proposition of the Nobility; and in order to satisfy the *Reform'd*, he rejected it at first, as little necessary, or rather absolutely useless, since he was resolv'd to profess the Catholick Religion to his dying Day: but after that he excus'd it, as proceeding from the Zeal of the Nobility towards the preservation of the Roman Religion, without a design of giving offence to any body: whereupon he said that the Catholick Nobility had declar'd it to him first separately, and then altogether: That they had protested to him that they were very desirous of the observation of the Peace establish'd by the Edicts: That they had intreated him to leave the re-union of his Subjects to the Providence of God, using the usual means of the Church; being but too much persuaded by experience, that violent Remedies had only serv'd to increase the number of those that had left the Church, instead of teaching them the way to return to it. Therefore in order to remove the jealousies of the *Reform'd*, who avoided factions and ill designs, and all pretence of disturbances from those that endeavour'd to promote them, The King confirm'd anew all the Edicts, Declarations private Articles, Settlements, and other Letters and Decrees, given in favour of the *Reform'd*, both by himself and the Late King, upon the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict of *Nantes*; and order'd the same to be observ'd Inviolably.

Which does  
not cure  
the Evil

This Declaration which remain'd upwards of seven Weeks before it was verifi'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, did



1615.

did not cure the Evil the aforesaid Contestation had created. It hardly serv'd to Palliate it: And indeed it was not very likely that it should satisfy any body, considering how it was Penn'd. It was natural to suspect that a Constant solid Law could not be the Sequel of a Preface without Truth. That Imitation of *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>'s Prudence it Insisted so much upon, had never appear'd in the Queen's Conduct. On the contrary she had abandon'd all the late Kings projects; alter'd, confounded, and destroy'd all that he had done for the Peace and grandeur of the Kingdom; and concluded the Alliance with *Spain*, for which he had express'd an Invincible Aversion to his dying day. That affectation of always speaking of the Imitation of a Prince all whose Maxims had been overthrown, offended those who griev'd to see how much the Regency had disfigur'd the Government. It is odious to boast of a thing the contrary of which is notoriously known by every body: and study'd protestations of performing a Duty which one swerves from by a Thousand Actions, seldom perswade a thing which Effects contradict. Moreover every body was too sensible how many Cabals and Factions had torn the Kingdom during the Minority to relish the praises that were given to the Queen of having maintain'd it in Peace. Besides the Mystery of the Court appear'd too openly in the said Declaration; in which the Regency was continu'd during the Majority to the same Person, who upon the account of the Majority should have renounc'd it: and the Malecontents found a fair pretence to murmur, in that a King who was Major, found in body and mind, remain'd still under the directions of others; only alledging the pretence of his Majority, to secure his Mothers authority; and only made us of the Priviledg of the Age he had attain'd to put himself under the Yoke of a second Guardianship. The King was the only loser by the Declaration of his Majority, and by the Session of the Estates. The Queen remain'd Regent under another Name. Foreigners without merit whom he had advanc'd, to the Exclusion of the

315. the Native *French*, and even of the Princes, exerted all the Authority in the King's name, by the means of that Princess whose mind and heart they govern'd. The Reform'd were sensible of the Equivocation of those words, by the means that are usual in the Church, by reason that they had learned at their Cost by a dismal experience, that Massacres and dissingenuity are means much more in use in the Roman Church for the Conversion of pretended *Hereticks*, than Sermons and good example. So that peoples minds being prepar'd by those Reflections, easily took fire again at the first occasion that offer'd it self.

new in-  
trigues

The Prince of *Conde* who expected to raise his Authority by the means of the Estates, on the contrary lost the little he had left by the prevarication of the Clergy, and of their Adherents; and the Queen caught him in the same snare he had set out for her. She remained in possession of the Government in spite of him; she got the approbation of the Marriages she had concluded; she obliged the Prince to Surrender the Town of *Amboise* to her, which she had given him for his security at the Treaty of *Ste. Menchould*; and in order to tire the Patience of the *French* to the utmost, she made *Couchini* a Marshal of *France*. The Marshal *de Bouillon* had served her usefully in that Conjuncture of Affairs, in hopes that his Credit and Capacity, which appeared on that occasion, would oblige that Princess to give him a greater share in her favour. But she was unwilling to put herself into the hands of a man of his Capacity; and *Conckini* who lik'd him as a Counsellor, would neither allow him to be his Master, nor his Competitor. Therefore the Marshal finding that no more notice was taken of him than before, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and renew'd Intrigues which finally ruin'd the Queen's Affairs: but which had the misfortune at the same time to occasion the decay of the Reform'd Religion, and the Slavery of *France*. The Prince of *Conde* being very much dissatisf'd with the Estates, and yet more with the Queen, willingly gave ear to new propositions

sitions, and he judg'd that things would be dispos'd to favour new designs. 1615.

It was necessary for him to set three wheels a going to have more success in his present discontents than he had had in the preceding, which had only serv'd to discover his weakness. There was a necessity to get the People, the Parliament of *Paris* and the *Reform'd* of his side. The People was sufficiently dispos'd to joyn with the Malecontents, upon the account of their natural aversion to Foreigners. It is easie to persuade them that Foreigners have less regard for them than those that are born and bred in the same Country with them: and they excuse the excesses which ambition and avarice make their own Countrymen Commit, with more ease, than the least attempts of a Foreigner. Moreover the Deputies of the Provinces had receiv'd but little satisfaction from the Court. The King had refus'd to examine the \* *Cabiers* of the Estates before their Dissolution: a Maxim of great use to wave the Complaints of the People, not to hear them, while they are in a Capacity to solicit answers to them. The Court took but very little notice of those *Cabiers*, after the departure of the Deputies. But the Clergy, which had serv'd the Queen according to her mind, obtained almost whatever they design'd. The Deputies of the other Orders obtain'd nothing but Vain, general promises, of which they were sensible that they should never see the effects; and that the People would be oblig'd to seek out other remedies to redress their Grievances.

To which  
they in-  
gage the  
People.

\* *Petition  
and Ad-  
dresses.*

The Prince had good Friends in the Parliament, which were dissatisfied; and thought themselves bound in Duty and Honour, to redress by their Authority the Affairs which were ruin'd by the false Policy of the Court. But that perhaps would not have produc'd great effects, had not the Court given an Overture to it, by an excess of severity. The Parliament seeing how the Intentions of the well meaning part of the Estates were evaded, gave a Decree towards the end of *March*, which invited the Princes, the Peers and Officers of the Crown that sit among them, to

The Parli-  
ament.

1615.

Assemble with them to remedy the disorders of the State. The Court was very much allarm'd, and offended at that Edict. They sent for the Parliament to have an account of their enterprize, revers'd their Decree, and forbade the execution of it. But that August Court was nowise disheartned; and after several deliberations they made very grave Remonstrances to the King, and such as became a Senat that lov'd the Glory and Peace of the State. They spoke boldly upon all things that deserv'd to be observed in the present Coniuncture: and as they insisted vigorously upon the Article of the Third Estate, which the Court had rejected, they did the same upon whatever related to the advantage of the people. All their discourse in a word tended to inspire the King with maxims of an equitable Government. I should swerve from my subject, in relating all the Articles of their Remonstrances. Therefore I shall only observe that among 29 or 30 others, there was one which related to the Edicts, and which desir'd the King to preserve the Splendor and Dignity of the Roman Religion, without swerving from the Edicts of Pacification. So that the Parliament, which had formerly made so much difficulty to pass the Edict, had finally found by experience the necessity of its observation. The King receiv'd those remonstrances ill, either because they were too just to please a Court, in which the people only thought of making their fortune at any rate; or because they were too free to please such as only aimed to oppress Liberty; or finally because it was thought necessary for the King's honour, who had often declared that he would not allow any to be made to him. The Queen looked upon them as Invectives against her Regency; The Marshal *d'Ancre* as an affront offered by those that envied him; The President *Jeanin*, as a reproach of the dissipation of the Finances, which were not improved in his hands. The Dukes *d'Guise* and *de Epernon*, who were dissatisfied with the Parliament, offered their Services to the King against that venerable Senat. So that all things seemed to conspire to mortifie that Illustrious Body. The next day a Decree was given in the Council, in the King's Name, which order'd the Decree of the Parliament to be Lacerated



cerated, as well as their Remonstrances; That the Decree 1615. should be taken out of the Registers, and that of the Council put in the room of it: all this was preceded by very abusive expressions, stiling the behaviour of the Parliament unlawful; which was a treatment they were little us'd to. *Whitsun-tide* falling out while the Parliament was deliberating upon that affair, and afterwards the King's Progress towards *Pyrenees*, suspended Peoples minds, and made them forget the thing for a while: but that injury done to the most venerable Body of the Kingdom, strengthen'd the Princes Party with a specious pretence of complaint, and increas'd it by a great number of Malecontents.

The Marshal *de Bouillon* labour'd on the other hand, to prevail with the *Reform'd* by his Intrigues to joyn with the Prince of *Conde*. He flatter'd *Rauvray* who was one of their best heads, and who was one of the Deputies General, with the hopes of being sent Ambassador to the *United Provinces*; *Des Bordes Mercier*, who had been Deputy General with the promise of a Counsellor's Place in the Parliament; *Berteville*, with the assurance of the General Deputaion, which he had long aspir'd to. He blinded all those that hearkned to him, with the expectation of a great Reformation in the Government, which would secure the Edicts against the attempts of *Spain* and *Italy*; revenge the King's Death, recover the honour of the Monarchy against the prevarications of the Clergy; amend the laxity of the Finances, and deprive the Foreigners who were universally hated of their odious authority. But his strongest argument to prevail with the majority of the *Reform'd*, was the consequences of the Alliance with *Spain*; and to frighten them with the secret Articles that were agreed upon. Moreover he writ to the Court to show among other things the Reasons they had to dread the effect of those Marriages. *Jeanin* made an Answer to him upon that Article which might have satisfied the most difficult, if he could have persuaded that there was any sincerity, in the promises and words of the Court. *The Laws*, said he, *establish'd in France to live in Peace, which have been observ'd so long already, will make us look with horror on any*

*And the  
Reform'd.*

1615. *Convents that might tend to disturb it. Therefore unless some wicked and ill advis'd Subjects occasion a breach, the Peace and Tranquility establish'd by the Edicts will last for ever.* That was very fine, if the *Reform'd* could have believ'd it true. But experience made them sensible that there was no trust to be given to promises: and that while they were attack'd almost publicly by a thousand Wiles, it would have been ridiculous to imagine people did not laugh at them, when they preach'd such unlikely things to them. So that the Marshal easily found people dispos'd to believe that those discourses were no oracles; or that *Jesuit* did not hold the Maxims of the Court.

*At the Collection of the Money for the Relief of the Poor at Grenoble.* During those Transactions the *Reform'd* continu'd their solicitations, to have another place granted them instead of *Grenoble*, where they were allow'd to hold a General Assembly. While they endeavour'd to obtain another place, for fear of not being free there, the behaviour of *Lesdignieres* gave them a new pretence to refuse it. The Husband of *Mary Vignon*, whom he had kept scandalously along while, and whom he had made Marchioness *de Treffort*, was kill'd in such a manner as perswaded every body that *Lesdignieres* was the author or accomplice of his Death. That new scandal created a horror in the *Reform'd*, who could not resolve to put under the Authority and in the Power of a man capable of such actions, a great number of their most considerable Members; who should be oblig'd to pay a thousand respects to a man who was suspected to be guilty of so odious a Crime: They were afraid, with reason, that their Enemies would take an occasion from thence to accuse their Religion of being too indulgent and to remiss in their Morals. *And obtain Gergeau.* The Court being willing to gratifie them in that point, consented at last that they should hold the Assembly at *Gergeau*, where another had been held in the late King's Reign. This place pleas'd them no better than the first. Their pretence was that the preceding Assembly had been inconvenient there for want of Lodging: but the true reason was that they thought that place too near *Paris*; and that they were sensible that the Court had pitch'd upon it to keep the Assembly in Awe.

The

The Deputies General made new Petitions to obtain a more convenient place: and whereas the Court refus'd to comply it occasion'd divers imovements in the Provinces, in which some propos'd to take a more convenient place, without relying on the Curtisie of the Court to no purpose. They also propos'd a meeting at *Montauban*, there to agree about a place in which the Assembly might neither want Liberty nor Convenience. In the interim some extraordinary affairs falling out, which oblig'd *Lesdiguieres* to make a Journey to Court; and they expecting to be freer in his absence; which 'twas thought would be long enough to afford the Assembly time to form their resolutions, they thought fit to desire *Grenoble* again, and to declare publickly that they would make use of the Brief they had obtain'd the preceding year. This alteration at first created jealousies in the Court, who could not imagin it to be done without *Lesdiguieres* having given the *Reform'd* some secret assurances of not opposing them. He had shown by the manner of his assisting the Duke of *Savoy*, against whom the King of *Spain* made War, that he stood upon his honour some times. The Queen had engag'd that Prince in that War, and had promis'd by *Lesdiguieres* to assist him. But after the conclusion of the Marriages, she refus'd to execute that Treaty; by reason that she was willing in order to please the King of *Spain* to force the Duke of *Savoy* to make a Peace. However *Lesdiguieres* assisted him, notwithstanding the reiterated orders he receiv'd not to do it, and whereas he could not do it in the King's name who disown'd, it he did it in his own. The example seem'd to show, that tho he was devoted to the Court, he knew nevertheless how to disobey when he pleas'd. But after that bold action, he made his peace so soon and with so much ease, that it look'd as if the Court had conniv'd at it underhand. As for the suspicion the Court had of his being engag'd secretly with the rest of the *Reform'd*, be easily destroyed it. He assured the Court of his Services and of his Fidelity; and sent *Bellujon* there on purpose with his Instructions, and to receive their Orders. He had long resisted the removal which the *Reform'd* did solicit.

1615.  
Which they  
are not satis-  
fied  
with.

And desire  
*Grenoble*  
again.

being

1615. being as desirous to have one of their Assemblies in his power, as they were fearful of trusting it into his hands. Therefore when he found that they desired it of their own accord, he was one of the first that took them at their word: and the Court being satisfied with him gave them a new Brief, which allow'd the holding of the Assembly at *Grenoble*. But whereas *Lesdiguieres* presence was more useful to the Court at *Grenoble* than elsewhere, they put off his Journey to another time. The *Reform'd* being deceiv'd on that side, had no pretence left to go from their word: The Deputies repair'd to *Grenoble* towards the middle of *July*: and contrary to all appearances, the Prince of *Conde's* Intrigues prevailed over the credit and cunning of *Lesdiguieres*.

Assembly of the Clergy. But during those Petitions of the *Reform'd*, and the delays of the Court, the Clergy as I have already said, Assembled at *Paris*, for the renewing of the Contracts they commonly make with the King once in Ten years. But whereas they never give, any thing without receiving, they did not fail to advance their Enterprises against the *Reform'd* and to pursue the project of their Ruin which they had form'd in the Estates. It was with that Intention the Coadjutor of *Roans* made a Speech to the King on the 8th of *August*. he represented the State of the Roman Religion in *Bearn* to be so dismal and so deplorable, that for want of Priests the Catholicks could not Christen their Children there till they were 20 years of Age; and he represented as one of the greatest misfortunes, that the Ministers were paid there with the Revenues of the Church. He said moreover in order to make the *Reform'd* more odious, that the Roman Religion was favour'd more by the *Turks*, than by the *Reform'd* of *Bearn*: and those Falacies tho plainly disprov'd by the replys of the *Reform'd*, and by the knowledg of all People, were dispers'd and receiv'd as undeniable Truths. He complain'd that the Abby of *St. Anthony de Viennois* had been lately given to a young Secular, presented by an *Heretick*, and to move the more pity against that injustice, he said that miracles were perform'd about the Tomb of the late Abbot. He also return'd the King thanks about the reception of the Council of *Trent* which



which he had promis'd : but he made a little too much haste upon that Article. It is true that the King had promis'd to publish it, but it was prevented by the Troubles that began to break out : and perhaps he was glad that one of the Articles of the Peace of *Lundun*, disingaged his word, and hinder'd him from doing what the Kings his Predecessors had constantly refus'd to do. Before the end of the same month the Bishop of *Beauvais* began the same Song over again; and made strange solicitations about the affair of *Bearn*, complaining that the Catholicks were depriv'd of the use of the Sacraments both at their birth, and at their Death, for want of Priests to administer them. He was very pressing upon the affair of *Milhan* which happen'd the Winter before : and tho the Catholicks had done as much at *Belestadt* since, he desir'd that no compensation might be made of those two affairs. Nevertheless, the reciprocal solicitations of the Catholicks and of the *Reform'd*, did not permit those affairs to be seriously discuss'd. Their complaints only produc'd a delegation of Judges who neither pleas'd the one, nor the other; and whose judgment prov'd ineffectual. The Peace of *Lundun* abolish'd the remembrance of those two affairs, and the one pass'd thus in spite of the Clergy, for a compensation of the other.

In the same Assembly, the Clergy, who had no success in the conquest of Ministers, drew an ample Regulation for the distribution of 30000 Livres which they had design'd for the Pensions of those that should turn Catholicks : and being sensible that the number of those Profelites was as yet too small, to employ that little Sum, they consented that untill their zeal had made a greater progress they should give the remainder of the said Sum to others besides Ministers, provided it were only given to persons of Merit. It appears by those Regulations, that the Clergy was dissatisfi'd even with those they had corrupted, since they took so much care to hinder that Money from falling into ill hands. But notwithstanding all that, they met with no success in their pretended Conversions; and even after the affairs of the *Reform'd* were ruin'd they were forc'd to imploy their Money to other uses.

1614.

Behaviour  
of the  
Court.And of the  
Prince of  
Conde

In the mean time the Court had no manner of regard for the People, and broke their promises with as little regard, as if they had design'd to make Malecontents. They re-establish'd *La Paulette*, or the annual duty they had been oblig'd to revoke, because it had been desir'd with great Earnestness: and the Queen went her self to the *Bastille* from whence she took 800000 Crowns, which were remaining there of the fourteen Millions in ready Money, which the Duke of *Sully* had hoarded there by his good management. So that it look'd as if they had a mind to favour the designs of the Prince of *Conde*, who was preparing to hinder the accomplishment of the Marriages with *Spain*. His Discontents had remov'd him by degrees from the Court; and in that Retirement he flatter'd himself of being powerfully assist'd both at home and abroad he was in hopes that the King of *England* and the *United Provinces*, who could not be pleas'd at those Marriages, would assist him powerfully; and indeed he had receiv'd great promises of it. He expected that the Forces which were become Useless, by the Peace of *Savoy* lately made, and were upon the Frontiers of *Germany*, would assist him: and perhaps it would have prov'd so, had he had Money to buy them. But every thing fail'd him; and he found himself engag'd in a War, which he could never have got honourably out of, had not the *Reform'd* succor'd him at their own Cost. The Queen who secretly prepar'd every thing for the accomplishing of her designs, amus'd the Prince with Negotiations: and Sent *Villeroy* several times to *Coussi*, to confer with him there about the means of an Agreement. But during those Treatys they debauch'd his Ceatures from him; either by perswading them that the Prince only design'd to make his own Peace, and that it was already far advanc'd, or offering them more potent and profitable advantages under her, than they could expect under the Prince of *Conde*. Insomuch that many of them took Gratifications, or were dazled by Promises. They broke all the measures he took with Stangers, and made all his designs miscary.

None but the *Reform'd* were still able to do something for **1615** him; but they were slow to declare themselves. Their Assembly had been open'd at *Grenoble* on the 15th of *July*; and *Lefdignieres* having refus'd the Presidentship, which was offer'd to him by all the Deputies, they had Elected *De Blet*, Deputy for the Nobility of the Province of *Anjou* for their President; and *Durand* Minister of *Paris*, and Deputy for the Isle of *France*, for his Associate; and *Boisseuil* and *Maniald* for Secretaries. The Prince of *Conde* sent a Gentleman thither to invite them to joyn with him, in order to procure a good Reformation of the State; in which he promis'd to make the *Reform'd* find all the Sureties they could reasonably expect. A considerable part of the Assembly inclin'd towards that Union; and the Pretences the Prince us'd were so plausible and so Noble, that they could hardly fail of making an Impression upon many People. To pass the Independence of the Crown into an Act of the State; to secure the King's Person against Assassinations, Excommunications, and Depositions; to revenge the too long neglected Murther of the late King; to hinder the Publication of a Council against which a great King had Protested, and which was very prejudicial to *France*; to reduce Taxes and Impositions at reasonable Rates; to remove the excessive Authority of Foreigners, and to call them to an Account for the Abuses introduc'd during their being in Favour; to settle the Edicts of Pacification beyond Reach: All these were great designs, which appear'd so Just, so Lawful, and so necessary, that no body question'd but they would be attended with the Blessing of God, and that all true *Frenchmen* would unanimously favour them. But others were of Opinion, that the Assembly ought to leave the management of the Political part of those Projects wholly to the Prince of *Conde*, and to apply themselves solely to take measures for the safety of the *Reform'd* Religion. They did not question but the Prince had a Right by his Birth, to endeavour to purge the Government of all the Abuses that were slip't into it; but they did not think it proper for the *Reform'd* to ingage in it otherwise than by Prayers to God, and most humble Remonstrances to the King.

1615.

Some Provinces had given their Deputies Instructions to that Effect.

*Diversity  
of Opinions.*

The diversity of Opinions, manag'd by *Lesdiguières* for the Interest of the Court, having appear'd at the overture of the Assembly, satisfy'd the Queen, that the *Reform'd* would not be ready so soon, but that she might have time to put her designs in Execution, before the Prince and they could be in a Posture to oppose them. She had given great Causes of Complaint to the Duke of *Rohan*, whom she was Jealous of upon that Account. Therefore being desirous to oblige him by some Favour to forget what was past, she took the occasion of a difference, between the Houses of *Rohan* and *de la Trimouille*, about the Presidentship of the Estates of *Britany*, to which they both aspir'd, with such Equal Rights, that it was impossible to decide the question, otherwise than by adjudging the said Privilege to both, to enjoy it Alternately. The Duke *de la Trimouille* who was lately return'd from Travelling, design'd to appear in the Estates, and so did the Duke of *Rohan*. They refus'd to yield to each other, which concurrence could not fail of being attended with ill Consequences. The Queen being desirous to pleasure the Duke of *Rohan*, by seeming to declare her self in favour of him, either to employ him elsewhere, while she perform'd her Progress, or to oblige him in an Affair of Precedence and Honour, sent him an Order to repair to the Estates to preside there; and at the same time sent a contrary Order to the Duke *de la Trimouille*, whose displeasure she did not Value, by Reason that he was very young, not much known, and far from that degree of Credit and Power, in which the World had seen the late Duke his Father. This avail'd the Queen but little; by Reason, that her Refusal of the Government of *Poitou* to the Duke of *Rohan*, to whom she had formerly Granted the Survivorship thereof, made a deeper Impression upon him, than her pretended Favour about the Presidentship. He made no use of the Order he had receiv'd from the Court, and Presided that time by consent of the Duke *de la Trimouille*, by Virtue of an Accommodation procur'd by their mutual Friends to hinder those two Potent Families, that liv'd in Friendship at that time, from coming to a Breach.

Never-



Nevertheless the Queen, being so well satisfy'd with the then State of Affairs as to assure her self of success, resolv'd to improve it, and to do her Business before the Prince could have time to oppose it. Therefore all of a sudden, while the Negotiation of Peace seem'd to draw towards a happy Conclusion, she sent an Order to him from the King, to repair to his Majesty with all speed, to accompany him in his Progress, in Order to the Accomplishing of his Marriage. And lest he might plead Ignorance, she acquainted him with the very day he had pitch'd upon for his departure. The Prince complain'd highly at this Precipitation, and took occasion from thence, to take up Arms; but with so small a Number of Men, and so little prospect of Relief, that he was like to sink under it. In the mean time the King set forward, and continu'd his Progress slowly; tho' some of the most Judicious, and best skill'd in Affairs of State, were of Opinion that it was a Rash Resolution; by Reason that the King removing from the Center of the Kingdom, left a kind'd Fire in it, which would have time and opportunity to do a great deal of mischief, while the Court remain'd at one of the Extremities of the Kingdom the most distant from the Conflagration. The Assembly of *Grenoble*, which after all the delays occasion'd by the diversity of Opinions, had at last determin'd to try what they could obtain from the Court, before the taking any other measures, had deputed three Persons to the King, to present their \* *Cabiers* to him; and had charg'd them expressly, humbly to beseech his Majesty to consider the Prince of *Conde's* Remonstrances. Those Deputies were *Champeaux*, *Des Bordes Mercier*, and *Multeray*. *Champeaux* had the greatest share of Honour in that Deputation, by Reason that he was the Head and speaker of it: But *Desbordes* had more Credit, because he was a Man of better Parts; besides his being engag'd in the Prince of *Conde's* Interest, to which the Marshal *de Bonillon* had drawn him, as I have already said, by very fair promises. The King was gone before the Deputies reach'd *Paris*; and could not overtake him, till they came to *Amboise*, from whence, the King having heard them, adjourn'd them to *Poitiers* for an Answer.

1615.

The King's Progress.

The General Assembly sends Deputies to the King.

\* Petitions or Remonstrances.

The Deputies adjourn'd to Poitiers.

1615. This delay was ill resented by the Deputies, who lookt upon it as an instance of the little regard that would be had to their Intreaties. And indeed, one of the Propositions of the Prince of *Conde*, which they were to insist upon in the behalf of the Assembly, was either to break, or to put off the Marriages with *Spain* until another time: And instead of hearing them upon that Subject, they were adjourn'd for an Answer to a Place, where the King having perform'd half his Progress, it was not very likely that he would go back, without making an End of it.

It is true, that the Queen declar'd freely, that had it been desir'd sooner, that Journey might have been put off to another time; but that it was then too late to think upon it, that it was impossible to Retreat with Honour; That the Place was fix'd, the Day appointed, and that they were too forward on their Journey to go back. There is no Reason to believe that she spoke in earnest, or that the Impending Storm she beheld, made her sensible that she had us'd too much precipitation, and that it would have been better for her to have given some satisfaction to those that oppos'd her designs, in order to break their Measures. She was undoubtedly very well inform'd with the Intentions of the Prince before her departure. But in reality, the forwardness of the Journey affording her a good pretence to end what she had so well begun, without heeding Remonstrances to the contrary, it was easie for her to pay those with a specious Excuse, whom she had no mind to give a solid satisfaction to. The best Excuse that can be made for a Refusal, is to pretend that the Request is made too late, and that it would have been Granted, had it been propos'd sooner. The Fault then, seems rather to proceed from want of diligence in the Petitioner, than from want of good Will in the Person that refuses. However, it behov'd the Queen to show that she had Power enough to do whatever she pleas'd, in spite of half the Kingdom. Therefore she continu'd her Progress without Interruption, and without the least accident as far as *Poitiers*: But as soon as she Arriv'd there, her Measures were like to have been broke by Misfortune that could admit  
of

of no remedy. *Madame* fell sick of the Small-Pox, and the <sup>1615.</sup> Court that could do nothing without her, was oblig'd to tarry there two Months for the return of her Health.

This delay seem'd to afford the Prince of *Conde* the time to prepare himself for War, which the Queens diligence had depriv'd him of. However he could only raise a small Body of Men, which happily escap'd the Pursuit of *Marshal de Bois dauphin*, who was order'd by the Queen to observe him, and follow'd him close. He was accus'd by some of not improving the occasions that offer'd themselves to beat the Prince's Army, by reason of his Irresolutions; but others were of opinion that he was Commanded not to Ingage in a Combat with the Prince, but only to amuse him, until the Exchange of the Princesses of *France* and *Spain* were accomplish'd; because it was thought that then it would be more easie to satisfie the said Prince. But whereas the Assembly of *Grenoble* deferr'd to declare themselves, and express'd their desire to favour the Prince's Arms, more by Words than Effects. The Court did not meet so many Crosses in that Journey, as they might have done, had there been more Union or Diligence in the contrary Party, or had the Prince's Forces been as ready to take the Field, as his Declaration to appear. The Duke of *Rohan* had been powerfully sollicit'd to take up Arms, and did it at last being nertl'd that the Queen express'd no more consideration for him: And after the Peace was concluded, he had the boldness to tell her, That his Inclination did prompt him to serve her; but that finding himself despis'd, he resolv'd to show that he wascapable of something. His Friends had promis'd him Six Thousand Foot and Five hunder'd Horse, and had they been as good as their Word, he would have been able with such a Body to stop the Court, and to afford the Prince of *Conde* time to joyn with him. But the Promises that were made to him, were reduc'd to a third part, and notwithstanding his utmost Endeavours, he could not raise above Two Thousand Men. Moreover he lost a great deal of Time in making *Montauban* declare it self, and in vain Endeavours to obtain a Reinforcement from the other Cities which refus'd to give it him. So that the Queen had as much time as was necessary

*The Queen gets to her Journeys end without Opposition.*

1615. necessary to repair to the Frontiers, there to exchange the Princesses, and to bring back the King and the new Queen to *Bourdeaux*.

Particular  
Petition  
of the As-  
sembly.

\* Petitions  
or Remon-  
strances.

During the Abode the King made at *Poitiers*, he could not refuse to read the \* *Cahiers* that were presented to him by the Deputies of the Assembly, and to answer them according to his Promise at *Amboise*; and though the Answers did not appear sufficiently positive to them, yet they concluded that the present Conjunction had Induc'd the Court to make them more favourable, than they would have been at another time. There were two different sorts of *Cahiers*, the one General, the other Particular. The last contain'd Complaints and Demands upon particular, though considerable Cases, *viz.* That the King would be pleas'd to cause the Letters Patent for the Exemption of Ministers to be Registred, the Verification of which had been depending about three Years; and to send an Express Order to the Parliament, and to the Court of Aids to that end: That the King would also be pleas'd to annul the Prohibitions made by the Judge of the Provostship of *Paris*, about Erecting a College at *Charenton*, by reason that since his Majesty had confirm'd the Right of the Exercise of their Religion in that place, it follow'd of Course that they were allow'd a College for the Education of their Children: That the Chamber of Accompts of *Provence* might not be allow'd to take Cognizance of the Affairs of the *Reform'd*: That the Declaration which refer'd it to the \* Party-Chamber of *Grenoble*, in which it had been Verify'd, might be confirm'd by another obliging the Chamber of Accompts to Register it: That Poor Gentlemen and Maim'd Soldiers of their Religion, having obtain'd \* Places in Abbys, with the Maintenance of a Monk, might be receiv'd in the same as well as the *Catholicks*: That the same Privileges the King had granted to the College and Academy of *Montelimar*, might also be granted to the Academy and College of *Die*.

\* In which  
the Judges  
were half  
Catholicks,  
and half  
Protestants  
\* Oblats,  
or Secular  
Monks.

General  
Petition.

But the General *Cahier* contain'd 25 Articles, the substance of which was as follows. That the Independency of the Crown might be look'd upon for the future as a Fundamental



mental Law; according to the Article of the \* Third Estate, 1615.  
and to the Remonstrances of the Parliament: That an exact  
and diligent Inquiry might be made about the Death of the  
late King, in order to discover and punish the Authors there-  
of, according to the *Memoirs* that should be given about it:  
That the King should refuse to publish the Council of Trent,  
according to the Petitions and desires of the Clergy and No-  
bility: That as to the Article of the said Petitions, which re-  
quir'd the Observation of the King's Oath at his Coronation,  
to which the said Clergy and Nobility had refus'd to add the  
Reservation of the Edicts, notwithstanding the King's earnest  
Desire and Command, and all the oppositions made by the  
Gentlemen of the *Reform'd* Religion; Deputed into the  
Chamber of the Nobility, his Majesty would be pleas'd to de-  
clare that the said Coronation Oath did not regard the *Ré-  
form'd*; and to give them full assurances that whenever he  
should answer the Articles of the said two Chambers, he would  
reject the proposition of publishing the Council, and make  
such a Declaration as was necessary about his Coronation  
Oath. That such Ecclesiasticks as were of the King's Coun-  
cil, and others who were justly suspected by the *Réform'd*,  
might abstain from the Tryal and Cognisance of the Affairs  
of the *Reform'd* depending before the said Council. That  
the Ecclesiasticks of *Bearn* might not be admitted into the  
Council of the Country, into which the Bishops of *Oleron* and of  
*Lescar*, together with a Canon of the said place, had lately en-  
deavour'd to introduce themselves: That the Promises made  
in the King's Name at the Assembly of *Rochel* by *Rouvray* one  
of the Deputies General, about the Terms of *Preterred* *Ré-  
form'd* Religion, and the Toleration of Provincial Councils  
might be put in Execution. That in the new settlement that  
should be drawn of the Places of surety, they should employ  
those that were dismantl'd in the Provinces that had the *Loire*  
on the North: That the King would be pleas'd to declare the  
Office of *Berger* vacant, by reason of his being turn'd Catho-  
lick, and to oblige the said *Berger* to deliver it up to him, in  
order to bestow it upon a Person of the *Reform'd* Religion, ac-  
cording to the Edict; by reason that it was one of the Six  
Councillors

1615. Councillors Places created by the Ediēt in the Parliament of *Paris*, in order to be enjoy'd by the *Reform'd*: That the Sums granted by his Majesty for the Sallary of Ministers, might be augmented and better paid for the future: That the Governors of the Places of surety, might be chosen by the King upon the Nomination of the Churches: That the Nomination of the Deputies General might be restor'd upon the former settlement; insomuch that the Assembly should only be oblig'd to Nominate two which should be accepted of by the King, instead of six out of which he was to take his Choice: That the Places of surety might be left to the *Reform'd* for the space of Ten Years longer: That his Majesty would be pleas'd to continue the Protection of the Sovereignty of *Sedan*, in the same form, and upon the same Conditions his Predecessors had Embrac'd it: That the King's Council might be reform'd: That a stop might be put to the Proceedings of the Sovereign Council of *Bearn*, against the Deputies of that Country who assisted at the Assembly at *Grenoble*; since no Prosecutions were ever made against the Bishops of the Country, for meeting at the General Assemblys of the Clergy of *France*: They offer'd Reasons upon this Article, and alledg'd the Example of the last Estates General, in which a Deputy of *Bearn* assisted in the Chamber of the Clergy: And that of the Assembly of the Clergy then sitting at *Paris*, into which the Bishop of *Oleron* was deputed. They maintain'd that this Rigour had never been practis'd against the Deputies of *Bearn*, that had assisted in other Assemblies; and they cited the Example of the late King, who being but King of *Navar* and Sovereign of *Bearn*, had assisted in Person at such Assemblys: That the Country of *Bearn* might be allow'd to summon a National Synod in their Turn, like the other Provinces; and finally, that the King would be pleas'd to have a regard to the Prince of *Conde's* Demands.

*Answers.  
Position.*

The Particular \* *Cahier* receiv'd a pretty favourable Answer: And though there were several Articles in the General Petition which the Court could have wish'd the Assembly had not inserted in it, because they related to the Government, the Reformation of which did not belong to them,

them, yet they answer'd it: But it was only by making plausible Illusions pass for a solid Satisfaction. The Court had made fair Promises at the Assembly of *Rochel*, in order to its Dissolution, which were forgotten, as soon as ever it was dissolv'd, so they promis'd many things upon these new \* *Cahiers*, which they never design'd to perform: They accepted the good Intentions of the *Reform'd*, about the Independence and safety of Kings; observing nevertheless that it was an Affair which did not belong to the Assemblys. They promis'd to make a more exact Inquiry into the Death of the late King. They declar'd that the *Reform'd* enjoying the benefit of the Edicts were not compris'd in the Coronation Oath. They granted that the Ecclesiasticks should withdraw out of the Council, whenever the Affairs of the *Reform'd* should be treated of there. They refus'd to allow their Religion any other Title than that which was contain'd in the Edicts: But they drew a Form of Attestation which Ministers might use, to attest the Religion of such as should stand in need of it. It was conceiv'd in these Terms; *I Minister of the Church Establish'd in such a Place according to the Edict, do hereby certifie, that such a one is a Member of the said Church, &c.* underneath which a Notary was to add, *Before Us, &c. has appear'd such a Minister, above Nam'd, Living at, &c. who has acknowledg'd the Writing and Signing of what is above written, and that it contains nothing but the Truth, &c.* The *Reform'd* Advocates, were allow'd in speaking of their Religion, to Name it by the Title specify'd by the Edict, instead of calling it *pretended Reform'd*. They promis'd the Creation of a new Office, to supply the place of *Berger*. They continu'd the Protection of *Sedan*. They granted that the Deputies of *Peau* should be allow'd to assist both at the Ecclesiastical and Political Assemblys of the *Reform'd*, which should be allow'd by the King. But they gave no favourable Answer to the other Articles that related to that Principality; nor to those that mention'd the Augmentation of the Sums granted for the Salary of Ministers; or the Nomination of Governors and Deputies General, and the keeping of the Places of surety. So that at the bottom, that which was granted had more appearance than effect in it; whereas they refused whatever was most important and most solid.

1615.

The An-  
swers of the  
Court give  
no satisfac-  
tion.

They amuse  
the Deput-  
ies.  
\* Resolutions.

These Answers were made on the 12th of September: And the Deputys to whom they had been partly Communicated, acquainted the Assembly that they had no reason to be satisfy'd with them. Their Reasons were that the Jesuits Preach'd at Court, and declar'd openly that the Marriages which the Court was going to Accomplish, had only been resolv'd upon in order to Extirpate *Hereticks*; and that when Complaints were made to the Chancellor about it, he barely answer'd, That there was no heed to be given to what the Jesuits said, since they did not Govern the State; which was no satisfactory answer to Persons who were sufficiently Inform'd of the Power the Jesuits had over the Consciences of Sovereigns and their Ministers. The Assembly was also very much troubl'd to find that though the \* *Cahiers* were Answer'd, yet the Deputys were not dismiss'd, their Journey being daily put off under some pretence or other, which gave them reason to believe that the Court design'd to amuse them, to prevent their forming any Resolutions before the King's Departure from *Poitiers*, where the Princess his Sister remain'd long and variously Sick. Finally to get rid of their Importunity, upon their earnest desire that the Answers to their *Cahiers*, which they were assur'd were favourable, might be deliver'd to them, they were told that the King would send them to the Assembly by *Frere* Master of Requests. This *Frere* had been sent to *Grenoble*, to observe the Motions of the Assembly, and to be directed in all things by *Lefdiguieres*. But when the Deputies departed from the Assembly to go to the King to present their *Cahiers* to him, *Frere* left *Grenoble* at the same time, to give the Court an account of the State in which he had left Affairs there. He pretended that the design of his Journey was to dispose the Council to give the Assembly satisfaction about their Demands: But the Deputies soon discover'd that his Intentions were very different from it, and that he inspir'd the Court with the Delays and fair words they were amus'd with. The Truth is that *Lefdiguieres* had order'd him to assure the Queen of his good Intentions, and to let her know that she might safely continue her Progress, without troubling her self about the Resolutions of the Assembly.

This



This Answer convinc'd the Deputies that the Court design'd to pay them with Illusions as they us'd to do; and the precaution that was us'd to send the Answers to the \* *Cahiers* they had brought by a Man who had his dependence on the Court, to be deliver'd by him to the Assembly it self, made them sensible that they design'd to use the *Reform'd* at *Grenoble* as they had done at *Saumur*; and that *Frere* would be order'd not to deliver the said Answers till after the Nomination of the Deputys General, to Command the Assembly expressly to break up, and to Authorise the Inferior Number against the Plurality of Voices, in case they should refuse to Obey. However the Court being inform'd that this way of proceeding might be attended with ill consequences, finally comply'd with the earnest Solicitations of the Deputys, and deliver'd the said Answers into their Hands. But that did not cure the evil, since they found that nothing was granted them that could be looked upon as a favour, and that only such things were left to the *Reform'd* as could not be taken from them. The keeping of the Places of Surety indeed was allow'd them for six Years longer; but it was visible that the Court did it more by Compulsion, than out of good Will, because they could not help it; besides they were of opinion that their Demands were but reasonable in desiring it for Ten Years, at a time when so many just reasons of fear render'd the renewing of their Sureties so necessary. The Assembly being inform'd of the Proceedings of the Court by their Deputies, remain'd under the same Apprehensions: And lest *Lefaignieres* should second the Commission of *Frere* by his Authority, they resolv'd to remove from a place in which that Lord had an absolute Power, and kept an Awe upon them, which look'd very like Slavery. They soon discover'd that it was in vain to expect any Protection or favour from him; and that his Engagements with the Court upon the Account of his Grandeur, surpass'd his Affection for the publick good, and that which in Justice and Conscience he ought to have had for the *Reform'd* Religion. All his Councils, all his Prudence, all his Intrigues only tended to divide the Members of the Assembly; and all the Demonstrations of his Good Will, were reduc'd to this Con-

1615.  
The De-  
puties Com-  
municate  
their plans  
to the As-  
sembly.  
\* Petition  
or Address  
(..

Lef-  
aignies  
keep a  
great stir  
over them

1615. clusion, That they ought to Obey, and to leave the Management of Publick Affairs to the King's Council. But the *Reform'd* seeing the Conclusion of an Alliance, of which they were perswaded that the secret Articles oblig'd the Court to oppress them, look'd upon such an advice, to be Just like that of sufering their Throats to be cut, without defence.

The Assembly re-  
mains in  
Nîmes.

Thus the Assembly, which for some time had had a mind to come out of Captivity, resolv'd absolutely upon it, when they were inform'd that *Frere* was to come back from the Court along with the Deputies: And having founded the Intentions of the City of *Nîmes* by *St. Privat*, who reported to them that they wou'd be very well receiv'd there, they resolv'd to remove thither. *Lesdigueres* being inform'd of their Design, endeavour'd to break it by Remonstrances, in which he employ'd all his Cunning: But he obtain'd nothing but Thanks for his good Will; and the very next Day the Deputies prepar'd themselves for their Departure. He was extremely nett'd at their expressing so little regard for his Reasons; and perhaps the more yet because it would show that he had been too lavish of his Promises to the Court, and that he had not so much Credit among the *Reform'd* as he pretended. So that in the first heat of his Anger, he resolv'd to stop the Deputies, and caus'd the Gates of the City to be shut; and *Chaussepé* a Minister, one of the Deputies of the Province of *Poitou* was stop't at one of the Gates as he was going out, only with an intention to take the Air. But after he was cool'd a little, and had reflected on the Consequences of that Violence, he consider'd that his best way was to allow what he could not hinder; and to cause the Gates which he had order'd to be shut inconsiderately, to be open'd again. He only forbid the Deputies of *Dauphiné* to follow the others; and acquainted the Court with the Departure of the Assembly.

Against  
his Will.

On the other hand, as soon as the Deputies came to *Nîmes*, being desirous to Justifie their Conduct, they acquainted the Court that they had been forc'd to remove from *Grenoble*, upon the Account of a Contagious Distemper which began to Reign there, of which even some Members of the Assembly were Dead. The Deputies that were sent with these

these Excuses were receiv'd and us'd as favourably as if the 1615.  
Court had not been in the least concern'd at their Escape out of the constraint into which such a Man as *Lefdiguieres* might have kept them. They seem'd to approve the Reasons of the Assembly, and acquainted *Lefdiguieres* that he would do well, to suffer the Deputies of his Province to follow them. This seem'd to be done on purpose to express a perfect consent to the Removal of the Assembly: But the real Motive of it was, to have People there, who not daring to disoblige *Lefdiguieres*, would of necessity follow his Inspirations and Orders; and would serve for Spies to give him a faithful Account of all Transactions there. Moreover in Order to put the Assembly in a place where they might have no more Liberty than they had at *Grenoble*, the Court Resolv'd to remove them from *Nimes*; and Order'd *Frere* to transfer them to *Montpellier*. This seem'd to be done for the Interest and Honour of the King, to the End that the Assembly, which was only Lawful by his Permission, might seem to receive from him the appointment of the place where they might continue their Deliberations. But the secret Motive of the Council, was that *Montpellier* was at the disposal of a Lord, from whom the Court expected as great services as from *Lefdiguieres*. It was *Chatillon*, Grand Son to the Famous Admiral. That Consideration, and his own Merit had acquir'd him a great deal of Credit among the *Reform'd*. He was of a Mild Temper, and was an Enemy to Troubles and Confusion, but he had not the Zeal of his Grand-Father for the *Reform'd* Religion, in which his only Son was so ill Educated, that he did not tarry for his Father's Death to turn Catholic. Moreover he was Ambitious; and the Court knowing his Foible on that side, flatter'd him with the hopes of a Marshal's Staff, which was given him some years after, as a Recompence for his having abandon'd the Affairs of the *Reform'd*. So that he was a Man like *Lefdiguieres* in two Respects; First in holding a great Rank among the *Reform'd*, and Secondly, in being accessible to Hopes and Rewards. The *Reform'd* still confided in him, as they made it appear several years after it, by Intrusting him with their Affairs in the

1615. the Circle of the Lower *Languedoc*. There had been an Example not long before, how much he was lik'd on both sides The Government of *Aiguemortes* having been taken from *Rambures*, the *Reform'd* had made great Complaints about it; and the Court not being inclin'd to restore it to him, whatever Promises they had made about it, by Reason that they were desirous to maintain *Berticheres* in that Post, whom the Churches were not pleas'd with, they were oblig'd to agree upon a third Person to keep the Place, until the Case were decided. *Chatillon* was propos'd: The Court accepted of him, and the *Reform'd* agreed to it. But soon after that, in Order to put a stop to the Jealousies which the Enterprises of the Court upon divers places belonging to the *Reform'd* might Create in them; *Rambures* gain'd his Cause and was Restor'd.

The Assembly  
mistakenly  
misstrust  
the Lords.

The Assembly had not as yet laid aside the Confidence the *Reform'd* had repos'd in *Chatillon* till then, but they had already a general diffidence of the Fidelity of those Eminent Persons, who only know how to Obey Sovereigns, and who never joyn with their Inferiors, unless it be to Command them; who never unite the Interests of their Party to those of their Fortunes, and who look upon the Services of the People, and the Recompences of Kings as things that are equally due to them. They had Learnt at *Saumur*, that the *Reform'd* Lords were capable of promoting their private Interest, at the Cost of others; and that the common Cause may become the sport of their Ambition, and of their Intrigues. Those diffidencies were increas'd at *Grenoble*, from whence the Assembly departed very much dissatisfy'd at the Behaviour of *Lefdiguieres*: Therefore they refus'd to put themselves in the Power of another, who might put them to the same hardships, and so remain'd at *Nimes*; pretending, that they were afraid of displeasing *Lefdiguieres*, by putting themselves at the Discretion of *Chatillon*; as if they design'd to show, that they confided more in the one than in the other. However, those two Lords us'd all their endeavours to hinder the Assembly from joynning with the Prince of *Conde*: And as they had Creatures among them; they delay'd the Conclusion of the

Lefdiguieres  
and Chatillon, are  
ingag'd in  
the worst  
Cause.



the Treaty a long while. The Prince of *Conde* tempted them both to joyn with him, and sent some Gentlemen to them, with Reasons and Offers to perswade them. But it was to no purpose, because they expected greater and more speedy advantages from the Court, than they could possibly expect in following the Prince, who had not manag'd his Affairs well, and who seem'd almost reduc'd to the necessity of submitting to the Mercy of the Court. 1615.

But an unexpected Accident broke all their Measures, and made them lose the Fruit of their Intrigues and Pains in the Assembly. The Duke of *Candale*, Eldest Son to the Duke d'Espernon, being dissatisfy'd with his Father, from whom he had endeavour'd to take the City and Castle of *Angoulême*, threw himself into the Party of the Reform'd, and Embrac'd their Religion publicly at *Richelieu*. They receiv'd him with great Demonstrations of Joy, and of greater hopes for the future. They gain'd one of the most considerable Houses in *France* by it: The Example of it might prove Fortunate, and invite other Persons of Quality to do the same: So that they omitted nothing to express their Respect and Esteem for him. The Assembly of *Nîmes*, paid him great Honour, and made him General of the *Cevennes*, and gave him so great an Authority over them at the very first, that he broke through all the Oppositions of *Chatillon* and *Lesdiguières*, and made them Resolve to declare themselves in favour of the Prince. But that was all the Good or Ill he did, while he was Reform'd. The Duke his Father was not Tractable in point of Religion. He had begun to hate the Reform'd from the time of his being in favour with *Henry* the III. It seem'd to be one of the Proprieties of their Religion, to be expos'd to the hatred of Favourites; perhaps, because they were not so willing as others, to bend their Knees before those Idols, which the Capricio of Princes, or of Fortune Rais'd above them; and that they complain'd highly of the profusions that Ruin'd the State, to enrich those Objects of an unruly Favour. I will say nothing in this place, of the Cardinal de *Tournon* under *Francis* the I. Of the Constable of *Montmorency*, under *Henry* the II. and under his Children.

The Duke  
of Candale  
Embraces  
the Re-  
form'd  
Religion.

His Locality.

The Re-  
form'd are  
hated by  
the Favourites.

1615.

dren; of the Duke of Guise Father and Son under the same Kings, and under *Henry* the III. But at least the Dukes of *Jyrrs* and of *Epernon*, Favourites to that last King, had ever express'd an invincible Aversion towards them: And under *Lewis* the XIII. the Marshal *d'Ancre*, and the Constable *de Luines*, shew'd the same Passion to destroy them. But besides this General Reason of Hatred against the *Reform'd*, he had another which was Personal, because they suspected his having had a Hand in the Death of *Henry* the IV. Some look'd upon him as an Accomplice to the Conspiracy which succeeded so fatally against the Person of that Prince: And those who spoke with most Modesty about it, made no scruple of saying, that sitting next to the King, he might easily have warded the second Stab that was given him, had he been so pleas'd: So that, whenever the *Reform'd* mention'd the Revenging of the late King's Death, and the making of an exact Enquiry after those that had a Hand in it, he was in the Right to take the thing upon himself, and to believe that they aim'd at his Head. Therefore the Duke being inrag'd to see his Son inag'd in the Religion and Party of the *Reform'd*, took so much Pains and Care, display'd the Marks of his Tenderneß, and of his Anger so properly, made Use of Hope and Fear with so much Art and Power, imploy'd the Promises and Illusions of the Court so effectually, that his Son Embrac'd the Roman Communion again, with as much Levity as he had quitted it; so that after some years Travel in most parts of *Europe*, not forgetting to Visit *Rome* and *Italy*, he return'd into his Fathers Favour again.

The Treaty of Union between the Assembly and the Prince of Conde.

During these Transactions, the Treaty between the Assembly and the Prince of *Conde* was agreed upon, and Sign'd on the 10th of *November*. After the usual Preamble before all such Acts, containing Protestations of only taking Arms for the King's Service, against those who Abuse his Name and his Authority, and of having no design to depart from their Allegiance: The Treaty importet, that the End of that Union was, to provide for the safety and Preservation of the King's Person: To make an exact Inquiry after all those that were concern'd in the Death of *Henry* the IV. To hinder the Publication

lication of the Council of *Trent*, as a thing which derogated 1615.  
from the King's Authority, the Rights of the Crown, the  
Liberties of the *Gallick* Church, and the Edicts of Pacifica-  
tion: To oppose the ill Consequences which the Marriages  
concluded with *Spain*, might produce: To Reform the Coun-  
cil, in removing from the Government such as were men-  
tion'd by the Remonstrances of the Parliament: To provide  
for the Performance of the Edicts, Declarations, Letters,  
and Briefs Granted to the *Reform'd*; and to see justice do e  
to the People of the Principality of *Bearn*: To restore such  
to their Employments as had been, or should be dispossest'd  
of the same upon the Account of their Religion: To hear-  
ken to no Treaty unless by a mutual Consent; and not to  
abandon each other, until they had receiv'd satisfaction up-  
on all their demands. The whole concluded by a Promise of  
keeping a constant Correspondence together; and to im-  
part to one another all the Resolutions, and Advices that  
might be taken for the Publick Good.

Nevertheless, the Assembly had intermix'd some Articles,  
which limited the Princes Power in some Measure. They  
retain'd the direction of the Forces, and Sums the *Reform'd*  
were to furnish, by the Authority, and with the Commis-  
sions of the Prince, who should deliver them in Blanc; and  
be receiv'd by none but persons belonging to the Assembly.  
They also reserv'd to themselves the Power to dispose by  
way of Commission, by Letters Patent from the Prince deli-  
ver'd to them in Blanc, of all Places, and Governments, Offices  
of Judicature and of the Public Revenues, which should be-  
come vacant during the War: And they oblig'd themselves  
to cause those Commissions to be Converted, if possible, by  
a Peace, into Warrants for Life. They desired, That provis-  
ions should be made for the safety of the Provinces that  
should be the Theatre of the War; either by yielding to  
them some of the Places they were in hopes to Conquer;  
or by giving them others instead of those they might lose.  
They added, That the Prince should not be allow'd to make  
any Innovation in the places belonging to the *Reform'd*;  
That such among the *Reform'd* as should be oblig'd to quit  
C c their

1615. their Habitations upon the Account of the War, Should be receiv'd for their safety into Places held by the Prince or his Adherents, and that they should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion in the same, as also in the Armies in which they should have Forces; and that those Refugies should enjoy the Estates of those that should quit the Places Conquer'd by the Prince, or that should be turn'd out for refusing to Obey him.

Which re-  
solves the  
Princes  
Party.

The Prince promis'd every thing, because his Affairs were in an ill Posture, and that in case the *Reform'd* had fail'd him, he would have been forc'd to fly out of the Kingdom, or to submit to the Pleasure of the Court. Tho' the Queen had a good Army and was very well serv'd, yet she was frighten'd, when she was told at *Bordeaux*, that the Prince was happily got out of so many Defiles and Rivers, and that the Royal Army Commanded by the Marshal *de Bois Dauphin* had not been able to stop his passage, and that he was coming to tarry for him in the Way to his Return. She had yet less Reason to despise him, when she found that the *Reform'd* were joyn'd with him, Reinforcing his Army by the Duke of *Soub'se's* Forces; and assisting him in other Places by considerable diversions. The Duke of *Sully* himself imbrac'd that Party after many Irresolutions, and increas'd the Prince's Army by his Forces, by his Friends and by the Towns he possess'd in *Poitou* and elsewhere: But that was the only Action in which he shew'd some Resolution, from the time of his Disgrace at Court until his Death. The Duke of *Rohan*, who was neither well Attended, nor well Obey'd, Seiz'd upon the Town and Castle of *Leitoure*; by the Intelligence he held with *Fontrailles*; which neither the Duke of *Guise*, who Commanded the Royal Army in those Parts, nor yet the Political Assembly of the Upper *Languedoc* that was held at that time, in the Neighbourhood thereof, but refus'd to meddle with those Differences, notwithstanding the earnest solicitation of the General Assembly, could prevent.

Letters,  
Declarati-  
on which  
confirm the  
Soluti.

The Court being exactly inform'd of whatever pass in the Assembly at *Nîmes*, receiv'd a particular Account of what they had done in favour of the Prince of *Conde*; so that they had



had time enough to prepare a Declaration upon that Subject, 1615. which gave the *Reform'd* a fair pretence to remain quiet in their Houses. It appear'd the very same Day the Treaty was Sign'd between the Prince and the Assembly : As if the Kings Intelligence had been so Critical, as to know before hand the day on which it was to be concluded ; or that chance had order'd the Minute for the Remedy, at the very hour of the Disease : The main End of the said Declaration was to keep those of the *Reform'd*, within the bounds of their Allegiance, who were not yet departed from it ; and to bring back such as had joyn'd themselves with the Male-contents ; and to render those inexcusable who should refuse to lay down their Arms, after having been earnestly invited to it. Therefore the Declaration was very full ; and all the pretences that could serve to excuse the Resolutions of the Assembly were refused in it, with a great deal of Art. They enlarg'd at first upon the King's Kindnesses, and the care he had taken, as well as the Queen his Mother, to cause the Edicts to be observ'd ; and to remedy the infractions thereof : Therefore they alledg'd, that the *Reform'd* ought to have kept within the Bounds of their Allegiance out of Gratitude, and in remembrance of the favourable Usage they had receiv'd from the Late King ; Especially, at a time when the King's Minority ought to Excite the Virtue, Courage, and Fidelity of his good Subjects to maintain the Authority which God had given him, as the Basis of every Man's safety, as well as that of the Publick. In the next place, they complain'd that this way of proceeding of the King, had not produc'd the Effect that was expected from it upon all people ; That several sided with the Prince of *Conde*, some through Ambition, and a furious desire of raising their own Fortunes by the disorders and ruin of the State ; Others out of simplicity deceiv'd by the false Impressions which they had receiv'd from turbulent Persons ; who endeavour'd to perswade them that they would be persecuted, unless they put themselves in a Posture of defence ; telling them that there were secret Articles in the Treaty of the Marriages with *Spain*, which contain'd a Conspiracy to drive them all out of the Kingdom, or to ex-

*After a  
very Argu-  
mental  
Preface.*

1615. terminate them. They said that this Imposition, or surprize that was put upon them, render'd their Fault excusable, and made them fitter Objects of Pity than of Chastisement. In the next place, they endeavour'd to prove, that this Terror was vain, because those Marriages were concluded by the ways of Honour, as it's usual among great Princes; from whence it follow'd, that *Spain* could not require Conditions of the King, which would have made Desarts and Solitudes in the Kingdom; which the King did confess must have prov'd the consequence of such an *Unjust and Cruel Usage towards the Reform'd*, as it was Publish'd by some, with an ill design. They added, that nothing had been done with an ill Intention, in promoting of those Alliances; that all had been Communicated to the Late Count of *Soissons*, to the Prince of *Conde*, and even to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who were present in the Council in which those Affairs had been deliberated; and that they did not oppose it; That the said Marriages had not created the least Jealousies, or Suspicions in other Sovereigns, after they had been inform'd of the King's good intentions; yet that some People would needs perswade the World that he was so inconsiderate, as to consent to make *France* the Theatre on which that Bloody Tragedy was to be Acted, and to decide the difference of Religion by Arms; tho' nothing could be farther from his thoughts, since it was his Opinion, that the decision of that Controversie ought to be left to God, who would at his own time Use the best Remedies to Reunite all Christians to the Catholic Church, which the King look'd upon to be the best, and in which he was resolv'd to Live and Dye. After which they prais'd the Zeal and Loyalty of those that had refus'd to take up Arms against the King; who had on the contrary offer'd their Services to him, and had resisted the Sollicitations and Threatnings of the others. They cry'd up the Number and Quality of those Loyal Protestants, among which there were considerable Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities, and even Places of surety. They likewise Exaggerated the Rebellion of the others, who had harden'd themselves against those Examples; who endeavour'd to de-  
bauch



bauch the Peaceable from their Allegiance; endeavouring to perswade them, that they would be forc'd to take up Arms at last, or expose themselves to Ruin, by suffering those to perish that had taken them up already; which his Majesty hoped would not prevail upon those Loyal Persons. Finally, those Assemblies were Styl'd Unlawful and Conventicles, which favour'd the taking up of Arms, as being compos'd of suborn'd Persons, who without Order or Power, and often against the Commands and Orders of their Superiors adher'd to the propositions of the Factious, for their own Ends to the prejudice of the Worthy Persons of their Religion. This long Preface was followed by a Declaration from the King, That he would not impute the Faults of some particular Members to the whole Body; for which Reason he confirm'd all the Edicts, saying, That they had been observ'd till then; Commanding at the same time, that in case they had been infring'd in some Places, it should be forthwith Remedy'd. Secondly, in consideration of the Fidelity of an *Infinite Number* of the Reform'd, among which there were Persons of great Quality, who deserv'd singular Marks of his Affection, he pardon'd all those who had taken up Arms, and that they should enjoy the benefit of the Edicts as well as the others, provided they return'd to their Allegiance, within a Month after the Publication of his Declaration in the Bayliwicks: That they should declare the same at the Registry of the next Court within their Precinct, and restore the Places they had taken in the same Condition, in which they were before those Troubles; which being done, and they not relapsing into a New Infraction, he would take them under his Protection, and grant them a full Pardon for all that was past. Finally, he condemn'd as disturbers of the publick Peace, all those who should persist in the Rebellion after the expiration of a Month; he depriv'd all the Cities and Corporations of all the Favours, Immunities and Privileges that had been Granted them; and did forbid all Governors, and Lieutenants General to let them enjoy the Liberties mention'd in the Edicts; which they should render themselves unworthy of by persevering in their Revolt.

This

1615.

Effect of  
the Decla-  
ration.

This Declaration produced the Effect of all other Declarations of that kind, That is, It left every Body in their former Opinion. Those who had not taken Arms, either because they had no prospect of safety in it, or because they expected more favour from the Court than profit by the War, remain'd quiet for the most part. Those who had taken them, only laid them down by a Treaty. Many refus'd to Ingage in it for fear of a greater evil, or out of simplicity, imagining all the Words of an Edict to be so many Truths. Nevertheless those who did reflect on the Intrigues begun against them by *Spain*, so many Years before the Death of the late King; upon the Propositions that had been made to him so often to destroy the *Hereticks*; upon the Maxims that were introduc'd in the Council since his Death; upon the Passion of those who were intrusted with the Management of Affairs; upon the Projects form'd by the Clergy, in the Estates, and in the Assembly that succeeded them; upon the Divisions the Court had sown among the *Reform'd*; upon the Illusions wherewith they had paid all their Demands; in a word, upon all the Proofs they had receiv'd of the Ill will of the Council, and of all the *Catholicks* towards them: Those I say did not suffer themselves to be deluded by the Specious Arguments of the Declaration: And the Remembrance of the Enterview, for which under the Reign of *Charles* the 9th. the same place had been chosen for the same Powers, who had now had a new Meeting there, under pretence of the Exchange of the Princesses, created no small Jealousies in them. A Queen of the same Name; the like Conjunction of Affairs; a strict Alliance with a Crown that was an Enemy to their Religion, gave them cause to fear that something was concluded there against them, according to the Bloody Maxims which the Duke of *Alva* had then inspir'd to the Council of *France*. It is reported that the *Reform'd* Ministers being prejudic'd by those Suspicions Preach'd in sundry places, that Persecution was at hand. The *Catholicks* on their side express'd their Zeal a little too much; and spoke publickly of a War of Religion, as if it had been resolv'd upon. The Sermons of the Jesuits were particularly Animated by the same Spirit that is observ'd in their  
private



1615.

private Conversations ; and divers marks appear'd in sundry places of the Notions they inspir'd their Penitents with at their Confessions. And yet it is most certain that Religion was not the real Motive of that War. It was a pure Affair of State, into which none but the Lords on the side of the *Reform'd* did ingage with a small number of their Creatures ; the People, several intire Provinces, and almost all the Cities remain'd within the bounds of their Allegiance. So that the Declaration spoke the Truth upon this Subject, in saying that the greatest number of them remain'd Peaceful and Loyal.

But the King's return to *Bordeaux*, after the exchange of the Princesses, and the Declaration of the Assembly of *Nîmes*, in favour of the Prince of *Condé*, were attended with very ill Consequences. Although the number of the *Reform'd* there was very inconsiderable compar'd to the Catholics, and moreover most of them Merchants, whose Genius and Profession is not inclin'd to War, the Sheriffs thought fit to disarm them after the King's Departure. This Precaution only served to fling them into a strange Consternation and Despair. They fancy'd that the Catholics had a design to be rid of them by a Massacre ; and that their Arms were only taken from them to dispatch them the sooner. The *Reform'd* had already been us'd ill in several parts of the Province, but particularly at *Mus à Agenois*, where they had been accus'd of favouring the designs of the Duke of *Rohan*, and to have held Intelligence with *Calonges* one of his Captains, in order to deliver up the Place to him. From whence they concluded that the *Reform'd* being every where suspected of holding a correspondence with the Prince of *Condé*, according to the Resolution of their Assembly, their Enemies would make use of that pretence to exert a thousand Violences against them : And that it was not safe for them to remain without Arms at the Mercy of so Mutinous and so Seditious a People, as those of *Bordeaux* were. Therefore the Consistory being assembled at *Begle*, the usual place in which they perform'd the publick Service of their Religion, about a League distant from the City, resolv'd to discontinue the said Exercise, for fear of exposing the whole Church to a Massacre, which would be easily executed they being all Assembled together.

The Re-  
form'd  
disarm'd  
at Bor-  
deaux.

The Cons-  
istory dis-  
continues the  
Publick  
Exercise  
of their Re-  
ligion.

1615. ther. The Service of the said Church was perform'd at that time by two Forreigners, *Cameron* and *Primrose*, Learned Men full of Zeal and of great Credit, who seconded the Resolution of the Consistory. But there were two Advocates of the Parliament among the Elders, call'd *Saint-Angel* and *Auvergnat*, who oppos'd it, and us'd their utmost Endeavours to hinder it. Nevertheless the Authority of the Ministers prevail'd. Whereupon the said Advocates, whither out of fear of losing their Practice, in case they should consent to a Resolution which shew'd a diffidence of the sincerity of the Court; or whether they held any secret Intelligence there; or lastly whither they design'd to distinguish and set a value upon themselves by some extraordinary proceeding, accus'd the Consistory before the Parliament, and represented the said discontinuation of the Exercise of their Religion as a very odious Enterprize tending to fill the Minds of People with Aliarms and Jealousies; as also very injurious to the Magistracy, that had taken the *Reform'd* under their Protection, and had promis'd them a Guard for the safety of their Assemblies. The truth is, that the said Resolution struck a Terror every where: And the People supposing that the Consistory had powerful Reasons to fix upon that Expedient, look'd upon this proceeding as a sign that they did not confide in the Protection promis'd by the last Declaration. And that there was no relying on that Phantasm of the Publick Faith, so often violated.

Two Advocates declare it to the Parliament.

1616. The Parliament receiv'd the Deposition of the two Advocates; and on the 5th of *January* of the following Year, they made a Decree, Commanding the *Reform'd* to continue the said Exercise as they were wont to do at the usual place, on pain of being Punish'd as Criminals of leze Majesty. But they did not think it safe to Obey; since that being depriv'd of Arms to defend themselves, they would be expos'd to the Mercy of Friends and Foes, both at the place of their Worship and by the way. They did not think the Guards that were promis'd them sufficient to defend them against the Troops that serv'd the Prince, or those that were in Arms for the King, or the Seditions that the Indiscreet Zeal of the Catholicks might excite against them. But then they were afraid

This Parliament ordains the Continuation of the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion.

fraid of exposing their Ministers to the Indignation of the Parliament by their Disobedience. Therefore they thought fit to remove them from the City to secure them ; and accordingly they did send the one to *Tonneins* and the other to *Royin*: So that the said *Reform'd* of *Bordeaux* having no longer any Ministers to perform Divine Service, had a lawful pretence by their absence to discontinue the same and to keep at home. But after the Peace was made, the Church having recall'd their Ministers, and reassum'd their former Exercises of Religion, the Consistory Assembled as they us'd to do ; and the first thing they did, was to call the two Advocates to an Account for what they had done in that Affair. *Saint-Angel* was more obstinate and passionate than the other, who hearken'd to Reason, and at last submitted to the Censures of the Consistory at the Request of his Friends. So that all the Indignation of that Assembly fell upon *Saint-Angel*, who would never submit. But before he was abandon'd by his Companion, the Consistory cited them both to appear before them, according to the forms prescrib'd by their Discipline. *Saint-Angel* had alledg'd in order to excuse his opposing of the two Ministers, that the Discontinuation of the Publick Exercise of their Religion, would prejudice the Right granted by the Edicts, to which the Church would seem to renounce, by interrupting the course of the Assemblies. But when he found himself press'd by those that brought the Citation of the Consistory to him, he concluded that they would laugh at his Pretence, in case he should appear, and that they would lay some Mortifying Censure upon him. For that reason he refus'd to obey the said Citation ; and in order to secure himself and his Colleague against the Censure, he appeal'd to the Parliament : But he did it with so much Violence and Inconsideration, that he exposed himself to the utmost Degree of Publick Indignation. He accus'd the Ministers of High-Treason there ; and upbraided them with their Foreign Extraction: He endeavour'd to represent them as Men infected by the Maxims of their own Country ; according to which they made no difference between Absolute Authority and Tyranny. He complain'd of the Elders that had Cited him, without leaving him a Copy

1616.

The Consistory cited both the Advocates after the Conclusion of the Peace

They appeal to the Parliament.

1616. or Act of the Citation; as if he had been ignorant how different Ecclesiastical Formalities were among the *Reform'd* from Civil Proceedings. He publish'd the Speech he made to the Parliament, when he presented his Petition; and the Ministers reply'd to it, by Printed Apologies, in which he was severely us'd. His Request was granted; and the Consistory order'd to cease their Prosecution. Whereupon the Ministers enter'd their Protestation, and appeal'd to the \* Party-Chamber which was then at *Nerac*.

\* A Chamber composed of Calvinick and Protestant Judges.

The Consistory suspends them publicly from the Communion

In the mean time as the recourse *Saint-Angel* had had to the Parliament, and the Prohibitions he had obtain'd were esteem'd contrary to the Liberty of Exercising the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which was granted by the Edict of *Nantes*, the Consistory did not think themselves oblig'd to suspend their Proceedings: They Condemn'd the Advocates to a publick Suspension of the Communion; and the said Judgment was pronounced against them the very next Day after the signification of the Order they had obtain'd from the Parliament. They were treated in the Act of that Censure, as Contemners of God, Rebels to the Consistory, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Church. This Affront transported *Saint-Angel* beyond all measure: And whereas at that time he still drew *Auvergnat* after him, they appeal'd from that Judgment as an Abuse; they presented new Complaints to the Parliament; call'd the proceeding of the Consistory Illegal; desir'd a Decree against *Cameron*; and leave to inform against the Authors of that Affront; that the Secretary of the Consistory might be oblig'd to produce the Books in which they enter'd their Acts, the better to know what they had done. They obtain'd all: The Secretary was prosecuted to produce the Books: And after all the Delays and Evasions he could contrive, he was finally oblig'd to produce them at the Register-Office of the Parliament. *Cameron* was Cited, and appear'd to demand a Removal: About a Month was spent in these Transactions, without regard to the Removal demanded by the Ministers: A Decree was given conformable to the Desire of the Advocates: The Censure was revers'd being Abusive; the Consistory was commanded not to use the like

Proceedings.

A severe Decree,



Proceedings for the future ; *Cameron* was Condemn'd to a small Fine : And because *Saint-Angel* had the Impudence to complain that he went in danger of his Life, he was receiv'd under the Protection of the Parliament, and was allow'd to Inform against those that had threatned him. Yet though the Decree was so favourable, he was allow'd no Costs.

*Du Sault*, Advocate-General, spoke in that Affair in Terms which require my giving an Abstract of his Discourse in this place, because it shows a Passion without bounds, and without the least Moderation, in which he proceeded so far as to alledge things as Matters of Fact, which were ever deny'd by the Ministers ; and to maintain as Infallible Maxims, Propositions which are opposite to Common Sense. This was his Character in Affairs of Religion ; and he has given proofs of that unruly Passion to his very Death. He open'd the Cause from its first Original ; and affirm'd that upon *Saint-Angel's* Request the Ministers were summon'd before the Council-Chamber ; in which they clear'd themselves by Oath of any Intention to leave the City ; that they promis'd to continue their Preaching at *Begle*, although there were no Body to hear them ; That the Court at that time did Command them not to retire from *Bourdeaux* ; that they were receiv'd under the King's Protection ; that the Sheriffs were order'd to guard them safely both in going or coming, and the Ministers injoyn'd to produce the Witnesses they had of the Threatnings made against them. The Ministers maintain'd the clean contrary ; that they had promis'd nothing, far from Swearing any thing ; that they made no Reply when the pleasure of the Parliament was declar'd to them. That their silence was not of the Nature of thoe which could be Interpreted as a Consent, since it was forc'd, and that it was impossible for them to speak without Transgressing the Respect that was due to the Deputies of the Parliament, and without exposing themselves to the hazard of being secur'd, by declaring that they could not Obey. They said also, that the safeguard that was offer'd them was not sufficient : That the putting of them without Arms into the Hands of the Sheriffs, who were only attended by Catholics in Arms, was to expose them to the

*The Advocate-General's Passion*

*The Ministers disown the things alledg'd by the Advocate-General.*

1616. Mercy of those that occasion'd their Fear ; That tho the said Guards had not been compos'd of suspected Persons ; yet they were not capable to defend them against all the Parties they might chance to meet in their way ; That *St. Angel* himself being more frightned than the rest, cry'd out in a full Assembly, when the said Convoy was propos'd, and *who shall secure the Guards ?* Intimating, that they were not capable to secure others from a Danger, they could not avoid themselves.

After divers Reflexions upon the Course of the Proceedings, *Du Sault* pretended that *Cameron's* Appeal was not allowable ; by reason, that it was a Case in which the Government was concern'd. He said, that the End of the Suspension pronounc'd by them, which was suppos'd to be in order to the Amendment of those that were Condemn'd to it, was a meer Chimera ; that the said Judgment was an Attempt against the Authority of the Court ; That it was a manifest abuse of Censures contrary to the Holy Decrees ; which was a very absurd Observation, from an Advocat General against the *Reform'd*, who did not trouble themselves to observe in their Discipline what he call'd the *Holy Decrees*, which are the Canons of the Roman Church, and the Decrees of the Popes. Nevertheless, it was upon that weighty Observation he laid the stress of his Argument, to prove that this was a Case reserv'd to the Parliament, as an abuse tending to interrupt the Course of a Lawful Proceeding. He Added, contrary to the Faith of the Edicts, and contrary to the Common Practice, that the Benefit of Appealing to the \* *Party-Chambers* was not allow'd to Foreigners ; and he pretended, that the Parliament had often adjudg'd it so : Which might be true, without being Just ; by reason that the said Parliament, notwithstanding that it was Just to preserve and allow those Chambers the Extent of Jurisdiction that was Granted them by the Edicts, did nevertheless lay hold of all occasions to dispute it, and to inroach upon it by a thousand Attempts.

\* Chambers  
bres Mi-  
parties, in  
which the  
Judges  
were half  
Catholicks  
and half  
Protestants.

In the next place *du Sault* coming to the Merits of the Cause, endeavour'd to prove that neither the Consistory, nor *Cameron* had any Right to Excommunicate, having neither

Ridiculous  
Protestants.

ther Jurisdiction; nor Orders: And the better to inhanche this gross pretension, he added that the Liberty of Conscience which the *Reform'd* profess, dispences every one of them from all Laws and Censures, either of theirs or of the Roman Church; and that their Discipline extended only on such as were willing to submit to it. He added with the same Spirit, that their Suspension was not the Suspension of a Sacrament, because their \* Communion was not a Sacrament: And whereas *Anverghat* had acknowledg'd his Fault, and submitted to the Consistory; he affirm'd that his Submission did no wise prejudice *St. Angel* whose Suspension contain'd an intollerable Error, being pronounc'd against a Man who had done no ill; who had done nothing but what was good; who had done nothing but what he was oblig'd to do, in acquainting the Court with the Resolutions of the Consistory. After which he cited the 35th of the particular Articles of the Edict; and affirm'd, as if he had never read it, that the said Article allow'd Ministers to be Sued, and Cited in Cases, in which the King or State were concern'd: From which he concluded that this was the Case, since the Consistory proceeded against a Man, and would Censure him, for applying himself to the Court. In this he committed at least two Faults equally Gross and Malicious: The one in corrupting the sence of the Article, which mentions nothing of prosecuting the Members of a Consistory, in cases in which the King or State are concern'd; but exempts them from being call'd as Witnesses before Justice, to depose what has been reveal'd in their Companies or Assemblies, by scandalous Persons that are Summon'd there, or by the Elders and others of which they are compos'd, unless in Cases in which the King, or State are concern'd. The other in applying the said Article to *St. Angel*, who had only drawn the said Censure upon himself by a spiteful Calumnious Accusation, which he had prefer'd to the Parliament against the Ministers; tho not Ignorant at the same time, that in case he had a just cause of Complaint against them, and sufficient Reasons not to apply himself to the Assemblies and Synods, he ought at least to have summon'd them before  
their

1616. their proper Judges, and to have made his Application to the Party-Chamber. This may serve as an Example, to show how disaffected Parliaments knew how to abuse the Edict: And it is easie to Judge by their unjust Explications of it, and their manner of applying it, how they perform'd the Execution thereof.

It was upon these Foundations the Decree was given, and that after the usual Informations, *Primrose* and *Cameron* were Summon'd Personally; and that for non-appearance, the citation was converted to an Order for Imprisonment, and that after the usual delays they were Cited to appear within the space of three days. They were not Idle on their sides during these Rigorous proceedings: But in Order to stop the Violence of a Parliament, which the *R-form'd* were ever Jealous of, they apply'd themselves to the King, from whom they obtain'd a Decree, with a Warrant to Summon *St. Angel* before the Council, within the space of six Weeks; injoyning the Ministers also to appear there; together with a Suspension of all the Proceedings in the mean while. As for *St. Angel*, he got nothing by this extraordinary way of proceeding: And while he Tormented the Ministers of *Bordeaux*, by Wranglings, and Disputes which did not permit them to Publish his Suspension, another Minister did it for them. *Hesperien* came to Preach at *Begles* and publicly pronounc'd the said Censure. In the mean time this Affair cool'd in the Council; and time having freed the Ministers of this Trouble, they continu'd their Functions in the Church of *Bordeaux*, from whence *Cameron* was remov'd about two years after, to be Professor in Divinity at *Saumur*. However the Parliament being dissatisfy'd, at their not having been able to obtain their Ends of them in the preceding Affair, omitted none of the occasions that offer'd themselves to Trouble them: I will relate one Example of it, and no

\*Chamber-Mispart: in which the Judges are part Catholics, and part Protestants.

more. The following year, some Persons accus'd of Piracy, being put into Prison, were deny'd a removal to the \* Party-Chamber, under pretence that the Privilege of the Edict did not extend to Pyrates. Perhaps other Judges would have us'd them with less severity than that Parliament, that had



had ever signaliz'd it self, by Violences against the *Reform'd*, 1616. who were look'd upon by them, as Guilty and Convinc'd of what ever was laid to their Charge. But the said Parliament retain'd their Cause, and Condemn'd them to Death. They submitted to it with so much Constancy, and receiv'd it with such Signs of Christian Resignation, that *Cameron* thought himself oblig'd to Honour their Memory with a short Relation of what past at their Death. It was a kind of Reflexion upon the Parliament, to Write a Book in Praise of Persons who were Condemn'd to a shameful Death by them. Moreover there were some strokes in it, which reflected directly upon them, because the *Reform'd* thought that they had Violated their Privileges. Therefore they reveng'd themselves upon the Work, until an occasion offer'd it self to be Reveng'd on the Author; and the Book was Condemn'd to be Burnt Publickly by the Hang-Man.

After the Prince of *Conde* had taken Arms, the Court did not fail to Proclaim him a Rebel, and to publish the usual Edicts in such Cases against him and his Adherents. The Parliament of *Paris* to whom the said Declaration was sent refus'd to pass it; by reason that the Prince had too many Friends in that Senat, and that the Pretence of his Arms was grounded on the same Abuses, that had occasion'd the Remonstrances of the Parliament, which were so ill receiv'd. So that after diverse Contestations, the Plurality of Voices declar'd against the Verification of the said Declaration; and a Decree was made upon that Subject, by which the Court declar'd, that they neither *could*, nor *ought* to Register the same. The Party which follow'd the inspiration of the Court and of the Favourites, caus'd the Words *nor ought* to be omitted out of the Extracts of the Decree which were Publish'd. And soon after it they had Credit enough, to forge another Decree of Inrollment without any Exception, which was found in the Register, in the room of the first. We may easily imagine, that this bold Falsification of a Solemn Decree, in a Case of such consequence, was highly represented. It created great disputes among the very Members of the Parliament, who proceeded on both sides to invectives

*A False  
Decree of  
Inrollment  
of a Decla-  
ration a-  
gainst the  
Prince.*

and

1632. and Protestations. The Prince resented it highly, as he had reason to do; and being at that time in a better Condition to speak than he had been at first, he complain'd of it by a Declaration full of the Marks of his displeasure. He took occasion from thence to make New Demands; one of which was to punish those that were concern'd in the Falsification of the Decree.

Nevertheless, when all things seem'd to be in the greatest Confusion, they were disintangl'd all of a sudden; and a Peace was talk'd on before the end of the Year. The Queen having gain'd her ends, by the King's Marriage, Judg'd a Peace necessary to enjoy the Fruits of that Alliance, to disarm and divide her Enemies, and to maintain her Authority and her Creatures. On the other Hand the Prince seeing the Marriages were accomplish'd, and that his Arms would prove ineffectual in that point, finding himself moreover sufficiently formidable to make an advantagious Peace, forgot his Promises and Treaties of a sudden, and only thought of clearing his own Affairs. The Duke of *Vandome* who declar'd himself, and rais'd Arms for him in *Bretagne*, and the Duke of *Nevers* who likewise rais'd Men without declaring himself, render'd him the more considerable: The one by seconding him by a Potent Diversion; and the other, because he had the power to do it, in case the Court refus'd to buy his Forces at his own Rate. The most obstinate were sensible, that it was impossible to dissolve the Marriages, not yet consummated indeed, by reason of the infancy of the Parties, but Celebrated with all the Forms, for the performance of which *France* and *Spain* had interchangeably given Hostages. Had the Infanta of *Spain* been receiv'd ill in *France*, *Spain* had a Daughter of *France* in their Power, on whom they might Revenge themselves. Thus all things inclin'd to a Peace; and Public good seldom being the True Motive, but the pretence of Princes, it was the thing that was least thought on during the Treaty. The very Assembly of *Nimes* sent Deputies to the King, to beseech him to grant a Peace to his Subjects; and those Deputies were receiv'd as if the Court had had no reason to complain of those that sent them.

The

The Truth is, That they were not look'd upon as Deputies from a General Assembly; because it was not held in a place allow'd of by the King, and that the Court was unwilling to look upon their Resolutions as those of all the *Reform'd*, of which a considerable Number disown'd them. Those Deputies presented Letters to the King from the Assembly, in which they justify'd their Conduct in Terms which show'd that they did not think it Criminal. Those Letters were Pathetick and Eloquent. The Apology they made for the *Reform'd* was grounded upon the just fear they had conceiv'd, seeing the Distempers of the State increas'd, the Remedies reject'd, the Remonstrances of the Prince of Conde and of the Parliament, hardly taken into consideration. *We have seen, said they, in the said Letters, your Sovereignty Disputed, and brought into question, the Independency of your Crown undecided; so that, We whose Subsistence, next unto God, depends on the firmness of your Scepter, had Reason to think it high time to look about Us, when we found that Endeavours were us'd to shake the very Foundations of it.* Soon after continuing to alledge the Reasons that had oblig'd them to Arm: *We have seen, added they, Armies Rais'd on all parts, and have heard several speaking the very sense of their Hearts, presaging the Felicities of Your Majesties Marriage, by the Design of our Ruin; as if that Alliance were to be Cemented by the Blood of your most Faithful Subjects, which we concluded they would no longer defer to spill, than till their Practices on our Patience had open'd a way for them to do it.* They added to those Complaints of the Threatnings against them, the Contempt that had been express'd towards the Assembly; the Refusal of an Answer to the \* *Cahiers* that were presented at *Tours*; the removing of the most considerable among the *Reform'd* out of their places; the advancement of their greatest Enemies. They desir'd the King to apply proper Remedies to all those hardships, which he himself might reap the Chief Advantages of. They excus'd the Refusal of the Assembly to repair to *Mompellier*, by the same Reasons that had induc'd them to remove from *Grenoble*, which his Majesty had been pleas'd to approve of,

1615. namely, that they did not enjoy their full Liberty there. They also declar'd that the Assembly had hinder'd those of the Lower *Languedoc* from taking Arms which the Dukes of *Monmorency* and of *Vantadour* could Witness for them. After which they concluded with the usual Protestations of Obedience, and with hopes that for the future they should have more favour and Justice done them.

The Lower  
Languedoc  
remains  
jealous.

It is most certain, that the lower *Languedoc* had no share in the Troubles, whither it were that it proceeded from the care of *Lesdiguieres*, who had taken his Measures with *Alincourt* Governor of the *Lionnois*, and with the Dukes of *Monmorency* and of *Ventadour*, to preserve that and the Neighbouring Provinces in quiet; or that the Assembly were desirous for their own safety to hinder the War from breaking out so near them; or finally, whither a reciprocal fear had oblig'd both the Reform'd and Catholicks to remain in quiet. It is no wonder that two Enemies who do not know one another sufficiently to know the weak side of each other, or that know one another too well to despise each other, should remain in Peace, notwithstanding the opposition of their Interests, by reason that they mutually dread each other. *Berteville* who was one of the Deputies that brought those Letters, made a Speech to the King partly suitable to the substance of the said Letters. The King answer'd, That he was willing to grant his Subjects a Peace without the Intercession of any Body. The reason of this Answer was, that the King of *England* was desirous to have a hand in this Treaty. That Prince had promis'd the Prince of *Condé* a considerable Supply before the beginning of the War: But whereas he was not much inclin'd to Arms, and that a Controversy pleas'd him better than a Battle, he contented himself with the Quality of a Mediator. The Prince of *Condé* desir'd that the *English* Ambassador might assist at the Conference. The Marshal de *Bouillon* also desir'd it.

The Council  
of France  
refuses the  
said Mediation.

The Assembly of *Nîmes* was of Opinion, that the Treaty would be more solemn and solid, by the Mediation of a Foreign Prince, out of respect to whom all Promises would be better kept. But the King's Council would allow no Mediator; being sensible that he who interposes in that Quality be-



between the Sovereign and his Subjects; deprives him commonly of the acknowledgement and merit of what he grants at the request of another. Therefore the Ambassador was only allow'd to come to the Conference as a Witness: The Prince of *Condé* and his Adherents agreed to it; but King *James* neither got much Honour by it, nor the Cause he design'd to Favour, much Advantage.

*Loudun* was pitch'd upon for the place of the said Conference, which was open'd on the 10th of *February*. The King's Commissioners repair'd thither; and the Prince of *Condé* gave notice to those of his Party to do the like, or to send Deputies. But he troubled himself no farther with their Interests, than was just necessary for the advantage of his own. The *Marshall de Bouillon* found his account in it, by reason that the Court was willing to favour him so much, as to oblige him not to renew the Troubles. The Dukes of *Rohan*, and of *Sully* got nothing by it. Nay, the first was neglected to that degree, that he was not so much as summon'd to appear at the Conference, in which he came without being Invited thither. But it was not long before he shew'd the Prince of *Condé*, how sensible he was of that slight. The Duke of *Sully* contributed considerably towards the Conclusion of a Peace; and it would have been very difficult to have perswaded the Reform'd to it without him. Yet he was never the more favourably us'd for it in what related to his own particular Affairs; and he received no manner of favour beyond the General. The Reform'd were not mention'd until all the rest were satisfy'd; after which the Prince of *Condé* obtain'd some things for them, lest he should seem to forsake them quite, after having receiv'd so proper and so necessary a succor from them. But the Court did not forget their old Maxim, which was to grant them nothing but what they could keep in spite of them; and to favour them as little in the rest as possibly could be.

The Conferences lasted about three Months at *Loudun*, during which time the Assembly of *Nîmes* obtain'd leave of the King to remove to *Rochel*, to be nearer to the place of the Treaty. Thus from a Conventicle which was look'd upon as a private

1615.

1616.  
Conference  
and Peace  
of LoudunThe removal  
of the  
General  
Assembly to  
Rochel

1615. lar, disown'd by the rest, and unlawful, it became a General, Authoriz'd Assembly. The Prince of *Condé* fell dangerously sick during these Delays. His Illness chang'd the face of Affairs; and Projects were forming already of what was fit to be done, in case he should die. The Queen who seem'd to be most concern'd in that Accident, because the Prince was the only Person who could dispute her Authority, nevertheless dreaded the Death of her Enemy, because she foresaw that it would break of the Treaty of Peace; which would expose her and her Creatures to new Dangers, and the State to new Confusions. So that the Prince's Recovery was look'd upon on both sides as equally advantageous to all; and the fear of his Death had dispos'd every body to put an end to those Tedious Conferences. He became more tractable himself while he thought he should Die, and thought he was oblig'd in Honour and Duty to end a War before his Death, which he had occasion'd: He persisted in the same Sentiments after his Recovery, being desirous of rest. The most difficult having made their Conditions, the Assembly of *Rochell* only remain'd dissatisfy'd. *Sully* undertook to prevail with them to receive the Conditions his Majesty was pleas'd to grant them. In order to which he repair'd thither with the *English* Ambassador, who joyn'd with him in order thereunto. The Assembly was better united than they had been at *Nîmes*: And whereas their Resolution of joyning with the Prince of *Condé* had only been carry'd by two Voices, their Opinions prov'd more uniform about the Sureties they thought necessary for the execution of the Treaty of Peace: So that *Sully's* undertaking prov'd pretty difficult. Nevertheless he succeeded in it, because he omitted nothing that could perswade, making use of Reasons, of Authority, and even of Money, which often proves the most convincing of all Arguments. He prevail'd with the Assembly to send Ten Deputies to *London* with a Power to accept the Conditions that had been agreed upon with the King's Commissioners. However they only granted them that Power, on Condition that they should have leave to continue their Session until the Verification of the Edict were past; That the Armies should be actually Disbanded; That *Tartas* should

The Assembly sends Deputies to London.

should be restor'd to them ; which place the *Reform'd* pretend-  
ed had been taken from them by Surprise : and that Com-  
missioners should be dispatch'd forthwith ; to put the Edicts  
in Execution in the Provinces. 1616.

But *Sully* at his return, far from receiving Thanks for his pains, was disown'd for having ingag'd so far in the Prince's Name ; and in order to show that he had done nothing without Authority, he was oblig'd to produce his Instructions. The Reason of this disavowal was that the Court would not consent to the Continuation of the Assembly after the Conclusion of the Treaty. However that difficulty was remov'd by obtaining leave for the Assembly to remain at *Rochel* until a time prefix'd ; and that the said delay should be employ'd by them in the Nomination of Deputies General. *Sully* drew an Instrument upon that Subject, which was at first approv'd of by all Parties only altering a few words. Moreover the Assembly sent a new Power to their Deputies to Authorize them to approve it : After which the King's Commissioners retracted, and would alter the Instrument in several things. This Game was play'd twice or thrice : *Sully* was disown'd, and then own'd again in what he did : The Writing was agreed to and alter'd so often, that those who were imp'oy'd about it had no longer any Patience. The Reason which made the Commissioners so difficult, is that the principal Persons being satisfy'd, the Court had a mind to use the Assembly haughtily, and to oblige them to receive what they would give them with submission. They were sensible that the Lords would not renounce the Advantages they obtain'd, to better the Condition of the People.

Finally the Prince being inform'd by *Sully* of the Difficulties which delay'd the Conclusion, put an end to them like a Prince who consider'd no body but himself. He whisper'd something to *Villeroy* ; and soon after did the same to *Sully* : After which he declar'd that *Villeroy* had granted what was desir'd ; and at the same time he Sign'd the Treaty, without allowing any body time to answer him. This abrupt Conclusion vex'd the Deputies of the Assembly extreamly ; but they could find no Remedy ; They discover'd by several Instances that

*Disingenuity of the Court.*

*The Assembly is almost compell'd to accept a Peace*

1616. that it was a design'd thing, to oblige the Assembly to receive whatever Conditions the Lords had thought fit; and that they had only been desir'd to send Deputies out of Formality. On Tuesday Morning before they had Sign'd, even before their having given their Consent to what the others had concluded, Orders were sent to the Minister who was in his Pulpit, to acquaint the People that the Peace was made, and to exhort them to return God thanks for it. This made those murmur, who knew that there were difficulties undecided; and made them judge that it was a forc'd Peace, which they were oblig'd to accept of for fear of falling into greater Inconveniences. And indeed the *Marshal de Bouillon* himself forgot the Interests of the Common Cause, because he had secur'd his own. He Exclaim'd higher than any Body against the Assembly, though they had only follow'd his Motions. He declar'd that he would look upon those to be Enemies to the State, who should refuse to sign the Peace. Moreover he was accus'd of having engag'd himself to the King's Commissioners by writing to March against the Assembly, and to make War against them, in case they should disown what their Deputies had done, or should continue their Session beyond the Term granted to them. The Duke de la Trimouille his Nephew who was Young and Easie, and who did not tread long in his Father's Steps, did the same in Imitation of his Uncle. But the *Marshal de Bouillon* design'd thereby to show, that he was the Moving Spirit of the Party; that his Advice was sufficient to incline them to War, and his Threatnings to make them accept a Peace. The Assembly gave him no cause to proceed to Extrems against them: They submitted to the Treaty; they did Nominate Deputies General: And *Berteville* to whom the Marshal had given hopes of obtaining that Deputation, was Elected according to his Promise; *Maniald* was joyn'd with him: After which the Assembly Dissolv'd it self, without staying until the time that was granted them.

Edict of  
Blois.

This Treaty was thus publish'd, and Intitl'd, An Edict given at *Elois* in the Month of *May*. It contain'd 54 Articles, among which those that had a relation to the Publick Good were soon Converted into Illusions, by the turn of Affairs that follow'd





follow'd soon after. Most of them only contain'd such things as are commonly employ'd in general Pardons. The Third Article was in favour of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, which was to be restor'd in all Places where their Worship had been Interrupted during the Troubles. Their Ministers were maintain'd in the Liberty of their Functions; in the Injoyment of their Estates; and in the Possession of their Houses, of which the Restitution was order'd. The Fourth was a weak Injunction to make Inquiries into the Death of the late King, under pretence that the King was inform'd that his Officers had been remiss in it, notwithstanding their having receiv'd express Orders about it from the Queen, both by word of Mouth and in Writing; and the King promis'd to Write to all the Bishops of the Kingdom, to cause the Decree of the Council of *Constantia* to be publish'd in their respective Diocesses, which speaks of the Life of Kings and Sovereign Princes. The Fifth revers'd a Decree of Suspension of those which the Parliament of *Paris* had given in favour of the Independency of Kings, provided that such things as were Imported by those Decrees should remain unperform'd, which had not been put in execution yet; which related to the Assembly of the Princes and Officers of the Crown with the Parliament, in order to the Reformation of the State. That is, the King revers'd those Decrees in Terms which seem'd only to reverse the Suspension of them. The Sixth presupposing that the Court had gone a great way in answering of the \* *Cahiers* of the Estates General, promis'd that they would proceed in it without any Discontinuation. The King engag'd himself by the Seventh to Examine the Article of the \* Third Estate: But he did not oblige himself to pass it into a Law. The next Imported that the King would give no more considerable Places to Foreigners: But he destroy'd the said Promise at the same time, reserving to himself the Power of bestowing them on such, under the pretence of singular Merit, or of great Services. Some others follow'd these in Course which seem'd to be useful to the State; but were couch'd in Terms as Illusory as the preceeding. The Fourteenth confirm'd the Edicts and all that related to them. The next Created a new

Office

\* Remon-  
stances  
and De-  
mands.  
\* The Com-  
mons.

1616. Office of Councillor in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be given to one of the *Reform'd* in the room of that of *Berger*, who had only chang'd his Religion on condition that he should not be dispossest of the said Office. The Sixteenth restor'd the free Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion, in all places where it had been Interrupted upon the account of the Troubles. The Seventeenth allow'd the Proceedings of the Prince of *Conde*, and of his Adherents both Catholicks and *Reform'd*: Even of those who compos'd the Assembly of *Nîmes*, which was at *Rochel* at the time of this Edict. The Twentyfourth only related to *Rochel*. The Forty seventh ordain'd the Restitution of the Places which had been seiz'd by the Adherents of the Prince: And whereas *Tartas* had been taken by Surprize from the *Reform'd*, the King order'd the present Restitution of the same, before they should proceed to the Restitution of the others. But in order to punish the People, as it is common for the folly of the Great ones, the King re.establish'd some old Impositions which he had occasion for to pay the Peace he was oblig'd to buy.

Private  
Articles.

There were also private Articles, which were no less important than the General ones. The last promis'd 1500000 Livres to the Prince of *Conde* and the Lords of his Party. The Court had no mind they should be seen by the Parliament, for fear of Contradictions. Therefore they were sent to them Seal'd up; and the 53 of the General Articles, was very positive in ordering them to be put in Execution. The First maintain'd the *Gallick* Church in its Liberties. The Second disown'd the pursuit of the Clergy for the publication of the Council of *Trent*; and promis'd that it should have no Effect. The Third excepted *Leitoure* from the Article about the Restitution of Places; because there was a Dispute between *Fontrailles* and *Angalin* about the Captainship of the Castle. The Dispute was begun before the War; which was the reason that *Fontrailles* favour'd the surprising of the said place by the Duke of *Rohan*, who turn'd out his Competitor. He made a shift to maintain himself in it until the year 1620, and then only quitted it upon good Terms. In the mean while, the Article Import'd that  
until

until the decision of the Dispute, the King would deposit it **1616.** into the Hands of an Exempt of his Guards, or some other *Reform'd* Officer. The Fourth regulated a very particular Affair. *Villemereau* Councillor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and *le Maitre*, one of the Masters of Accounts of the said Court, had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion. The Courts which they belong'd to, had hinder'd them from Exercising their said Employments upon that Account. The *Reform'd* took it very much to heart; and seeing that *Berger* did not lose his place, tho' he was turn'd Catholic, they pretended that the others ought not to be us'd worse, for embracing the *Reform'd* Religion. The Catholics urg'd, that the Number of *Reform'd* Counsellors was Limited to Six by the Edict; and that therefore *Villemereau's* place ought to be taken from them; or at most that they could only pretend to keep it in compensation of that of *Berger*. The *Reform'd* on the other Hand, pretended that the Edict only Limited the Offices they were to have of necessity; but that it did not bar their Access to all others, which they were declar'd capable of by the Edict. So that *Berger's* place could not be taken from them without injustice, since it was one of the Six allow'd them by the Edict; nor yet, that of *Villemereau*, which he had not render'd himself incapable of according to the Edict, by turning to their Religion. This Article decided the thing in their behalf; which was the most considerable point in favour of them in the Treaty; thereby gaining a New Office in the Parliament, and another in the Chamber of Accounts, which is one of the most considerable Courts of the Long Robe.

The Fifth confirm'd the Exemption of the \* *Tailles*, which had been Granted to Ministers, by a Declaration of the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1612. which had not been Verify'd. The Seventh abolish'd the Remembrance of the Sedition of *Milbau*; and put the Catholics under the Protection of the *Reform'd* for their Safety. The Eighth did the same about the Affair of *Belestat*, and put the *Reform'd* under the Protection of the Catholics. The Tenth restor'd the place of Master of the Ordinance to its former extent, in favour of the Duke

\* *As Land Tax and heavy Imposition upon the Pease*

1616. of *Sully*, from whom they had retrench'd something of it to vex him. The other Articles contain'd some favours Granted to some particular Persons. Moreover, the *Reform'd* also obtain'd a Brief for an augmentation of 30000 Crowns for the keeping of their Garrisons, and for the Salaries of their Ministers, besides what the King had already allow'd them more than his Father.

*Enroll-  
ment and  
Modificati-  
ons of the  
Edict.*

The Verification of that Edict was not delay'd long. The Court of Aids pass'd it on the 8th of *June*; but with several Modifications; Principally upon the 14 of the General Articles, and the 15 of the Private ones. The Parliament did not do it until the 13, after reiterated Remonstrances. They Modify'd the 14th Article and the following, which they declar'd should be no President for the Future. That which stopt these two Courts in the 14th Article, was not the Confirmation of the Edicts which they had so often Verify'd: But the Briefs that were mention'd in it, which being unknown to them, gave Cause to suspect that the King promis'd immense Sums in it to the *Reform'd*. They oppos'd it so much the more Vigorously, by reason that they were not Ignorant that Kings often make such Gifts, in hopes that they will have no Effect. It costs them nothing to make such Grants, by reason that they are sensible that they will not pass in the Courts in which the Letters of it are to be Verify'd. But in this occasion, the Queen was willing the thing should pass, by reason that she was desirous to expect a more favourable Conjunction, to retract her promise. This was an Edict, like to those in which nothing is refus'd; which they are resolv'd to keep no longer, than while they may revoke them with safety. In the mean time the Parliament and the Court of Aids refus'd to pass those Briefs, without examining the Contents, or Use of the Sums which might be mention'd in them. The Parliament made great Oppositions to the Article which related to *Villemereau*; and the *Reform'd* were never fully satisfy'd upon that Subject; because a War was declar'd against them before it was determin'd. The Chamber of Accounts did not Verify the Edict, until the 28th of the Month; and as to the Article about *le*

*Maitre*



*Maitre*, they said, that before he should be allow'd to enjoy 1616.  
the Benefit of that Article, he should clear himself of some things he was accus'd of; as it had been ordain'd by the Chamber, by a Decree of the 23d of *March*. Thus an End was put to the War; and the State beheld the Renovation of a Peace, of which the Sweets prov'd as Short as Flattering.

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*The End of the Fourth Part.*

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V O L . I I .   B O O K V .

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*The Summary of the Contents of the  
Fifth B O O K.*

**A** *Declaration upon the Coronation Oath. The Prince Authorizes himself at Court. The Queen puts him into Prison; which occasions great Disturbances. The Reform'd make themselves Masters of Sancerre. A Declaration upon the Edict of Peace. The Duke d' Epernon makes War against Rochel. Privileges of that City. Pre-  
tences.*

sences of the Duke. Rochel has recourse to the King, and makes an ill Defence. The Duke retires after reiterated Orders. Importance of his Enterprize. The Circle Assembles at Rochel, and summons a General Assembly: Which is not approv'd of by every Body. The Deputies of the Circle are ill receiv'd at Court. Reasons to prove that the Assembly is necessary. Extremities to which the Male-contents are reduc'd. The King's Temper. The Original of the Fortune of Honoré Albert de Luines. Some question'd whether he was Nobly Born. Character of his Confidants. Death of the Marshal d'Ancre. Alteration of Affairs, and confirmation of the Edicts. Luines Marries into the House of Rohan. The Assembly of Rochel deputed to the King, and receives an order to break up. They obey and resolve to protect the Churches of Bearn. Their \* Cahiers. National Synod of Vitre. Deputation to the King. Letters to the General Assembly, and their Answer. The Churches of Bearn and of Auvergne are disturb'd. The Count of Sancerre commits Hostilities against the City. The Churches of the Province of the Country of Foix, and those of Provence ill us'd. Leave given to Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies. Places of Bailiwicks establish'd but not exactly. Rogueries committed by the converted Moors. The Bishop of Lucon retires from the Queen. The Jesuit Cotton out of favour, Arnoux succeeds in his place. A Sermon Preach'd at Court by him. The Answer of the Ministers of Charenton, to an Information exhibited against them. Writings on both sides. The Bishop of Lucon Writes against the Ministers. Assembly of the Clergy. The Bishop of Macon's Speech. The Jacobins turn'd out of Mompellier. They refuse to admit a Jesuit Preacher there. The State of Bearn ill represented. The Effect of this Speech. A Decree Authorising the Jesuits to Preach at Mompellier. A Decree of restoration of the Ecclesiastical Lands in Bearn. Reunion of that Country to the Crown; which is oppos'd by the Estates, La Force and Lescun. Deceit of the Court. A Dissertation upon this matter: Discontinuation of Hommage: Inconveniencies of the Dis-union, and Advantages of the Re-Union. By whom the Union is pursued. Motives of the

Oppo.

\* Petitions  
and Re-  
monstrances.



*Opponents, and their answer to the Dissertation. Publication of the Edict of Re-union. The Clergy obtains the Decree of restoration of Church Lands, which declares, That the Deputies have been heard, and the Writings seen. Subtily of the Clergy. A Violent Speech. The Bearnois endeavour to ward the Blow. Remonstrances of Lescun. Libels. The State of Religion in Bearn. Lescun obtains only Words. Those of Bearn persist in their oppositions. Writings in favour of them. Why the Clergy refus'd to take the reimplacement themselves. An Answer to the Writing of the Bearnois. The Sequel of the Answer. Injustices against the Reform'd throughout the whole Kingdom. Enterprizes upon the Cities of Surety. The free Exercise of Religion hinder'd in sundry places. Injustices of the Parliaments. Jesuits. Burials. Answers to the \* Cahiers. Illusory Remedies.*

\* Petitions,  
or Address-  
ses.

**W**HILE the Prince of Conde was still uncertain whether he should go to Court there to gather the Fruits of the Peace : The Queen who was unwilling he should have the honour of procuring some Advantages to the Reform'd, from whom he had receiv'd such good Services, granted them a Declaration suitable to the Answer the King had already given to their \* Cahiers, about his Coronation Oath. It import-  
 ed that though the King had sufficiently evidenc'd his Intentions, by the Confirmation of so many Edicts, nevertheless being inform'd that some Reform'd still entertain'd Suspicions, by reason of what was happen'd between the Deputies of the Nobility in the Estates General, he was still willing to give them farther Proofs of his good Will towards them ; and in order to remove all their Scruples about the Propositions made in the Estates ; he declar'd that it had never been his Intention to include in his Coronation Oath those of the Reform'd Religion, who liv'd in the Kingdom under the benefit of the Edicts, Secret Articles and Declarations given in favour of them : And that in order to their better observation for the future, he confirm'd them a-new. This new Edict was dated the 20th of July, and was verifi'd within a few Days after.

\* Petitions,  
or Demands

But :

1616.

The Prince  
Authorizes  
himself at  
Court.

But the Publick Tranquillity did not remain long undisturbed: And the very Conditions on which it was obtain'd gave an occasion to renew the Troubles. The Prince of *Conde* had bethought himself, during the Treaty of Peace, to make two new Demands, after all the rest were granted to him, which gave the Queen a great deal of Vexation. The one was, That the Queen should take from the Marshal d' *Ancre*, with whom the Duke of *Longueville*, Governor of *Picardy*, could not agree, whatever he had left in that Province. The other was, To grant him to hold the Pen in the Council; which was the power of Signing the Decrees of the Council, the Weekly State of the Finances, and the Accounts of the Exchequer: That is, he desir'd an Authority, which would be so much the greater in the Affairs of the State, the Quality of first Prince of the Blood, being joyn'd to that of first Minister. The Queen had Spies at *Loudun*, which had given her an account of those Propositions of the Prince; before *Villeroy*, who had engag'd himself to obtain the approbation of that Princess, had acquainted her with it. She thought that those Novelties had been Inspir'd to that Prince by that Minister, who had been favourable to him all along in the Treaty; as if he had design'd to Imploy his Credit against the Marshal d' *Ancre*, who design'd to ruine him. But as soon as he had spoken to the Queen, she immediately granted the Prince new favours, though she had express'd a great deal of Repugnancy to it to her Confidants. The Reason of that Alteration was, that *Villeroy* hinted, That in case the Prince should make an ill use of that Power, contrary to the Queens Intentions, it would be in her Power to secure him whenever she thought fit. Nevertheless this Expedient, which the Queen improv'd so well soon after, did not reconcile *Villeroy* with the Marshal a' *Ancre*, who put him out of favour in a short time. However he was restor'd to his Places again, as soon as that Favourite was Dead; but he did not live long to enjoy them. The Prince coming to Court, after some Delays, soon saw a Croud of Courtiers attending on him, and even the Marshal himself sneaking before him, to secure himself against the Publick Hatred. The Queen seem'd at first cordially reconcil

cil'd to him, and the Prince of *Conde* who was satisfy'd with 1616.  
 the degree of Authority he had obtain'd, sincerely desir'd on  
 his part to live in good understanding with her: Inſomuch that  
 he took the Marshal *d'Ancre* into his Protection at the Queens  
 Request, and promis'd to ſecure him againſt all Inſults. But  
 that occaſion'd ſo many Complaints and Reproaches againſt  
 him, from thoſe who had aſſiſted him during the Wars,  
 and who were all Enemies to the Marshal, that he choſe ra-  
 ther to retract the Protection he had promis'd him, than to  
 loſe ſo many Certain and Uſeful Friends, for one Man, who  
 was odious to the whole Kingdom. Whereupon the Marshal  
 was oblig'd to remove from the Court, and to retire into  
 his Government of *Normandy*. The Queen was extremely  
 concern'd to ſee her Authority fallen to that degree, that it  
 was not in her Power to maintain the deareſt of her Crea-  
 tures, without the Aſſiſtance of the Prince: But it receiv'd a  
 conſiderable Addition, when ſhe found her ſelf at the Mercy  
 of a reconcil'd Enemy; for whom the whole Court had al-  
 moſt abandon'd her. Therefore, according to the Advice,  
 of which ſhe had receiv'd the Overture from *Villeroy*, ſhe  
 put him in Priſon. This Enterpriſe as bold as unexpected,  
 would have been greater, and perhaps would have ſecur'd  
 the Authority of that Princeſs for a long time, had ſhe dar'd  
 to reſolve three or four days ſooner, to ſeize the other three  
 principal Heads of the Cabal with him, who were all come  
 inconfiderately to expoſe themſelves to be ſeiz'd upon. But  
 ſhe durſt not undertake it, not being prepar'd for it; and  
 thereby ſhe loſt the benefit of the Prince's Imprifonment;  
 by reaſon that the others having reflected on their preceding  
 Imprudence, expos'd themſelves no longer as they had done;  
 That at the firſt Notice they receiv'd of the Prince's Priſon;  
 they all made their eſcape as well as they could; that they  
 took up Arms again for their common defence, and that  
 they never laid them down, until the Marshal *d'Ancre's*  
 Death, and the Queens Retreat had chang'd the State of  
 Affairs.

In the mean time this Imprifonment occaſion'd great Alie-  
 rations. The Inhabitants of *Paris* reveng'd it upon the

1616. House and Rich Furnitures of the Marshal *d'Ancre*, which the Queen suffer'd to be pillag'd for three days together, for fear of exasperating those Riotors by opposition. The *Reform'd* did rise in divers parts; and dreading that Affair would be attended with general Consequences, which might bring all those into Question, that had been concern'd in the last Troubles; they took some measures to avoid being prevented. This first Act of Authority done in the King's Name since his Marriage, renew'd all their Former Fears; and taught them to judge by what had been undertaken against the first Prince of the Blood, after a Solemn Treaty, what the Court might be capable of doing to the Prejudice of the Edicts, against odious people, whose Ruin had been Sworn for so many years. Among other things which those diffidences put them upon Acting, they made themselves Masters of *Sancerre*, a City that had been Famous ever since the long Siege and cruel Famine they endur'd under the Reign of *Charles* the IX. They lookt upon it as one of the Places of Surety, and had possess'd it as such, under the Title of \* Marriage with that of *Thouars*. But the Count of *Sancerre* Lord of the Place, animated with the same Spirit as all the other Catholic Lords, who had made sundry such undertakings in divers places, being unwilling to leave his City in the Power of the *Reform'd*, had found the way to re-establish himself in it, and to get the upper hand there. Count *de Marans* his Eldest Son lived there, in order to keep all things in the State his Father had settl'd them: But the Inhabitants turn'd him out, alledging, that since the said City had been surpris'd from them, they had a right to retake it. Moreover, the only thing in debate in this Affair, and in all others of the same Nature, was barely the Guarding of the said places. They neither disputed the Revenues, nor Rights of Fief with the Lords; but they pretended, that there ought to be no Garrison settl'd by them in the same, and that those kind of places were to be left to the Guard of the Inhabitants. The Affair was carry'd before the Council, which at any other time would undoubtedly have favour'd the Lord against the City, because their design was to make the *Reform'd* lose their

The *Reform'd*  
seize *San-*  
*cerre*.

\* Places  
that were  
annex'd to  
others.



their places of Surety, beginning first by those of Marriage, 1616. and by such as they held against the Inclination of the Catholic Lords. But the Court had other Prospects at that time. They were unwilling to increase the Party of the Male-contents by vexing the *Reform'd*. Therefore they deposited the City and Castle of *Sancerre* into the hands of the Inhabitants, to be Guarded by them, until farther Orders: For which Letters Patent were Granted to them. The same reason induc'd them to publish a Declaration on the 30th of *September*, which confirm'd the Edict of *Blois* and the Treaty of *Loudun*. The pretence of it was, that all the Lords who had left the Court, after the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Conde*, had only done it out of Fear that they design'd to revoke it: And they added farther, as if it had been certain that they had had no other reason for it, that they had assur'd the King of their good Intentions; and had express'd to him with Respect, that they only desir'd to live in quiet. All this was Invention, and it only tended on their part to take their time and measures: And the Queen made use of it with great Policy to perswade distant Provinces, that the Affairs were in a fair way of Accommodation; and thereby to destroy the Correspondencies that might be form'd there against her Authority. The Duke of *Sully* who was come back to Court again after the Peace, and who was call'd to Council, was against that Declaration, which he neither look'd upon to be sufficient to bring back the Male-contents, nor Honourable for the King; because that the Lords who were gone would have time to shew the falsity of what it contain'd, before it could make such Impressions in the Provinces as the Queen desir'd: But the Court was in hopes of the contrary, having so often experienc'd the Credulity of the People, that they did not question, but they would be deluded by those specious Protestations.

The Duke *d'Epemon* was one of those, the Marshal *a'Ancre* was Jealous of, because his haughty Humour did not permit him to humble himself before him. Therefore, seeing his Enemy recall'd to Court, and more in favour than ever; the Old Ministers turn'd out, and the Queen's Creatures put

*Declaration upon the Edict of Peace*

*The Duke d'Epemon makes ill use against Richel.*

1616. in their Room; the Bishop of *Lucon* Secretary of State; and *Manget* Keeper of the Great Seal, he was afraid lest the hatred of the Favourite might prove prejudicial to him. He resolv'd to put himself in a posture of defence, in case any should dare to Attack him: But his Pride not allowing him to joyn with the other Male-contents, because he could not have the Chief Command among them, he was forc'd to seek another pretence to take up Arms. *Rochel* afforded it to him. He pretended, that important City was one of the Dependencies of his Government. The City on the contrary pretended an immediate dependence from the King; not to be oblig'd to suffer any Souldiers but their own Inhabitants; or to have any Governor but their Mayor, whom they Elect'd yearly. Their Pretence for it was, that having formerly been under the Power of the *English*, they had voluntarily submitted to *France* on that condition. The Truth is, that the most Ancient Historians confess, That they obtain'd so many Privileges, and such advantagious Conditions, that they tended as much to put them at Liberty, as to change their Master. The only Objection against them was, that having been taken since by the *English*, and afterwards retaken by the *French*, they were no longer to be consider'd in the State in which they were put by the first Treaty, but as having receiv'd new Conditions, when retaken by force by the Kings of *France*. The Duke d'*Epemnon* made use of that Pretence: And the Council also us'd the same, when they resolv'd to ruin the Power of that City, which so many Privileges daily increas'd. But they reply'd, that the Inhabitants had not violated their Treaty, when the said place was taken by the *English*; that having only been forc'd to submit to a Superior Power, without Fraud or Treason, at a time when the King was not in a Condition to succor them, they had not forfeited their first Conditions; that the *English* after the taking of it had left them their Privileges; That the *French* not having retaken it by Storm, and against the Will of the Inhabitants, could not deprive them of them; that the City had contributed towards its return under the *French* Dominion, both by the Affection the Inhabitants had preserv'd

Privileges  
of the said  
City.

preserv'd for it, and the little Assistance they had given the *1616.*  
*English*; Whereby it was evident, that they had lost nothing by being restor'd to the Power of their Lawful Sovereign; and that they were restor'd to it with their former Advantages. They added, that the Kings of *France* had confirm'd all their Privileges, several times since their being retaken; and moreover had augmented them by New Concessions: Whereupon they laid a great stress upon what happen'd to *Lewis* the XI. a Prince who having oppress'd the Liberty of his Kingdom in many things, was not of a humour to do that for a City that had lost her Freedom, which did not belong to it by an evident indisputable Right. He made his Entry in *Roche*l on the 24th of *May* 1472. He Swore before *Gaubert Cadot* who was Mayor of the Place, to preserve all the Privileges of the City, which are all set down in the Act. The King was upon his Knees before the Crucifix during the Ceremony, and oblig'd himself to succor the City in case of need, even with his Person, and to Death *inclusively*. We may say, that the said Oath is the most perfect Abridgement of the Fundamental Obligation of a Sovereign towards the Preservation of his Subjects. After this Oath was taken, the Mayor *Cadot* took the Oath of Allegiance to the King in the behalf of the whole City.

This did not hinder the Duke of *Epernon* from taking up Arms, under pretence to force the said City to pay him those Devoirs they refus'd him; and to obtain satisfaction for some Injuries he pretended to have receiv'd from them. He complain'd, that the *Rebels* had surpris'd the Castle of *Roche*fort, which he pretended to be in his Government, and that they had put a Garrison in the same. He Publish'd a very severe Manifesto, and full of Invectives against the *Re-form'd* in General; and at the same time march'd against *Roche*l with 6 or 7000 Men, and committed some Spoils about it. The City did not expect those Acts of Hostility; whither they thought that the Duke would not dare to proceed to an open War against a City that was Powerful of it self, and seconded by all the *Re-form'd* Party; or whither they expected a speedy Relief from

1617. from the adjacent Provinces in case of being attack'd. This was the Reason that they were unprovided, that they made an ill defence; and that the World beheld with Astonishment that formidable City, which had been attack'd in vain by so many Kings, reduc'd to suffer the Incursions of a Private Person, without being able to free the Estates their Inhabitants possess'd in the Country from the Pillage of his Soldiers. Their Recourse was to the King, to whom they made their Complaints against the said Duke: And whereas the Court was otherwise employ'd at that time, and that they were desirous to see the Duke lay down his Arms, those Complaints were hearken'd unto, and the Duke was order'd to leave the *Rechelois* in Quiet. However, he did not desist at first. *Bouffé* who was the first that was sent to him, could not prevail with him to give over his Enterprize; and was even constrain'd to throw himself into *Rochel*, to acquaint the Inhabitants that the King disown'd the Dukes proceeding, and to give them leave to take up Arms for their defence: Which however, could not hinder him from being suspected of double Dealing. *Vignols* being sent sometime after him, to renew the same Orders to the Duke, found him better dispos'd. The Duke, properly speaking did not lay down his Arms: But he withdrew his Forces from the Territories of the *Rechelois*; and his Excuse for his so easily granting what was desir'd of him at that time, was that he was sufficiently Reveng'd by the devastations he had committed. He Writ very boldly to the King to excuse his Enterprize, considering that he was a Man who had much to fear, and who was not belov'd.

Rochel  
applies it  
self to the  
King and  
makes an  
ill defence.

Importance  
of his En-  
terprize.

The Glory of that Expedition has been mightily cry'd up in the History of his Life; and that Exploit mention'd in it, as if it had been the first Cause of the Siege, Cardinal *de Rocheliu* laid before the said City; because, *say they*, That the success he obtain'd in that small War, made the Court sensible, that since they could not defend themselves against the Forces of a private Person, it would not be impossible for the King's Forces, taking a favourable occasion to reduce them to reason. But the Truth is, that the said Action is



too much Honor'd in it. It neither answer'd the Noise the Duke had made, nor the Threatnings of his Manifesto. He ought not to have laid down his Arms, without having first dismantled that Proud City, and made it a lasting Monument of his Vengeance, and of his Power. Nevertheless, all this dwindled to the Pillaging of Peasants, and destroying of the Estates of some private Persons: Which a Band of Thieves might have done as easily as a Regulated Army. After which, he retir'd home, having only seen the Walls of the City at a distance: Very well pleas'd to cover his Retreat with the King's Authority, who had laid his Commands on him to lay down his Arms. Therefore, the *Reform'd* had some Reason to turn the said Expedition into Ridicule, and to relate in the form of extraordinary News, That *the Duke d'Epernon had made his Entry before Rochel.*

But during this small Trouble, *Rochel* having implor'd the Succor and Council of their Neighbours, Assembled the Circle, according to the Regulation made at *Saumur*; that is some Deputies of the Provincial Council of five Neighbouring Provinces, to deliberate about the means to repel the Duke *d'Epernon*. Those Deputies observing great Marks of a good understanding between the Duke *d'Epernon* and *Vignolles*, and little or no Effect of what had been promis'd; being moreover dissatisfy'd about the Conduct of the Court, which gave good Words, but came to no performance; suffer'd themselves to be perswaded by the Marshal *d'Bouillon* to do something extraordinary, in order the better to mollifie the Court and the Duke *d'Epernon*. The Duchess of *Bouillon*, who seconded her Husband pretty well, passing in those parts, under pretence of going to *Turenne* by his Order, solicited those who had a respect for him so powerfully, that the Circle resolv'd to Convene a General Assembly at *Rochel* for the 15th of *April*; and that they sent Deputies to the King, to ask his Leave in order thereunto. The Marshal had a great interest in that Affair. As he was one of the Male-contents, who had made a New League against the Marshal *d'Ancre*, he had been declar'd a Criminal of State; and

*The Circle  
Assembled  
at Rochel.*

*And Gen-  
eral As-  
sembly.*

1617. and according to the Maxims of the Court, he was none of the least Guilty, since that besides his Religion, and his being Esteem'd the *Primum Mobile* of that Cabal, it was very well known, that he endeavour'd to strengthen his Party abroad, when he requir'd Money and Men. Therefore, he was also desirous to make an Interest at home, to the end, that in case his other Measures should fail, he might at least be able to make his Peace, or to save his Person, by the Credit of a General Assembly.

This Convocation did not please every Body. Many thought it unnecessary, because the Court promis'd to see Justice done to *Rochel*, and that in Effect, the Duke *a'Epernon* began by degrees to perform what he had promis'd, and not executed. They added, that it would be dangerous; that it would displease the King, who seeing it form'd at a time when the Troubles began to be renew'd in his Kingdom, would think that it was held against to his Service. They said, that it was conven'd contrary to the Settlements, which did not allow a Province which had no Grievances to desire it. They endeavour'd particularly to insinuate, that *Rochel*, upon whose particular Account it was desir'd, would abandon the rest of the *Reform'd*, as soon as they had receiv'd satisfaction from the Court. These were the sentiments of those who preferr'd Tranquillity to all things; and especially of the *Reform'd*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, who commonly were more inclin'd to Timorous, Slow Councils, than to bold precipitated Resolutions. But the others repiy'd, that if the King had receiv'd ill Impressions concerning the designs of those who desir'd the Assembly, it was necessary to remove them by the good Resolutions they should take in it; that a General Assembly being capable to reunite all People to the desire of a Peace, was the best expedient that could be taken to procure it, and above all to obtain it from the King's Clemency, by most humble Supplications; that nothing was done contrary to the Settlements, considering the Just Cause of Complaint they had; that the strongest of all Laws, in a time of Confusion and Disorder was Necessity; and that *Rochel* would

would not abandon the common Cause, for the particular Offers that were made to them. 1617.

However, the Deputies of the Circle were not well receiv'd at Court; from whence they departed without obtaining the permission they desir'd. Besides, the usual reasons the Court had to dread Assemblies, they had some that were particular for this. The Troubles were so great every where, that they could not Authorise a General Assembly, without being guilty of Imprudence; by reason, that whatever side they inclin'd to, they were capable to give the upper hand to the Party they should Embrace; and perhaps form one apart, which might take the advantage of the Weakness of the others. It was generally believ'd, that the Duke of Vendome design'd to put himself at the Head of the Reform'd; and it was publickly discours'd, that he kept a Man on purpose at *Rochel*, to Treat in his Name with the Assembly. There was no time to make Rome Relish that Permission, the Council of which had taken such an Empire over that of *France*, that they regulated all their proceedings. The Queen had been oblig'd to give the Cardinal de Joyeuse ample Instructions before the Assembly of *Saumur*, to excuse the favour she had Granted to the Reform'd upon the account of Necessity; either in confirming their Edicts by a Solemn Declaration; or by allowing them to Assemble at a time, when they could draw such advantages by their Union. It would have been difficult to use those Reasons at present, which might have pass'd for good at that time, because they could not have been insisted upon, for fear of discovering the Weakness and Confusion of the Government. The shortest way was to refuse the permission desir'd by the Deputies of the Circle, in hopes that those who did not approve that Assembly, would have Credit enough, to persuade the rest to have patience. Nevertheless, that Refusal aggravated matters instead of suppressing them; and it did not hinder them from inviting the Provinces to send their Deputies to *Rochel* on the appointed day, so that as they persisted in the Resolution to hold the Assembly without leave, in case they could not obtain the consent of

*The Deputies of the Circle are not receiv'd at Court.*

1617 the Court, they thought fit to Publish their Reasons about it.

Reasons to  
prove that  
the Assem-  
bly is neces-  
sary.

Therefore they Publish'd a kind of Manifesto, in which they observ'd, that people were in Arms every where; that the two Parties, who aim'd to destroy each other, pretended equally the King's Service; which might occasion the Ruin of the State, and of the Churches, unless a distinction were made a what the Real Service of the King consisted, in order to side with that; that particular Persons, apt to divide themselves, according to their Interests and Inclinations, were not proper Judges to decide that Question; that its General Assembly was more capable to do it; that the Edicts of *Nantes* and of *Loudun* were daily violated as to what related to the Churches; that the Deputies General having made their Complaints to the King about it, without having obtain'd the least Redress, there remain'd no way to Remedy the same, but by a General Assembly; that the Commissioners promis'd by the Court in the Assembly, which was held at *Rochel* at the time of the Treaty of *Loudun*, had not been in the Provinces, or at least, that whatever was favourable to the Catholicks having been Executed long since, nothing had been perform'd of those things which were advantagious to the Churches; that the Court had refus'd the so often promis'd Creation of two Offices of Masters of Requests for the *Reform'd*; that a Fort had been demolish'd in one of the Suburbs of *Gergeau*, in Order to render that Town of Surety Useless to the Churches, and to deprive all the *Reform'd* between the *Seine* and the *Loire* of a secure Retreat; that they had refus'd to put a *Reform'd* Governor in *Sancerre*, according to *Henry* the 4th's Promise; that *Fontrailles* having promis'd to go to Mass, provided he were maintain'd against *Angalin* in *Leitoure*, which render'd him incapable of Commanding there, because it was a Place of Surety, of which the Governour ought to be a Protestant, his Proposition had been heard, and that *Angalin* was not re-establish'd, altho the Change of Religion of his Competitor had remov'd all the difficulties of that Affair; that the Parliament of *Paris* had suppress'd the Place of *Coudrai*, which



which was one of the Six allow'd by the Edict to the *Reform'd*, under pretence of that of *Villemereau* which they had gain'd; which show'd, that they would not admit them without distinction into Employments; that *la Ferté Vidame* had been taken by Surprise from the *Vidame of Chartres*, a *Reform'd* Lord, at whose Charge a Garrison had been put into it, tho' he had never been suspected, nor a Rebel; and that no regard had been had to his Petitions; that the *Switzers* of the *Reform'd* Religion that were Quarter'd at *Poitiers*, had been forbidden to go to Church; which was look'd upon as a step to do the same to the *Scots* and *Switzers* of the Guard; that instead of protecting the Duke of *Bouillon* against the Arch-Dukes, he had been declar'd a Criminal of State; which alone requir'd a General Assembly, in Order to consult about it: That the Council had resolv'd the reunion of *Navar*, and of the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown, to have a pretence to introduce the Edict of *Nantes* there, contrary to the Edict of *Loudun*, and that which had been Publish'd in consequence thereof; that the said Union was attended with several Inconveniencies; *Viz.* that the Ministers, and the Colleges would be depriv'd of their Subsistence; that the Presidentship in the Estates of *Bearn*, would be given to the Bishops; that *la Force* would be depriv'd of the Government, and his Son of the Survivorship; that the Garrison of *Navarreins*, an important City, provided with Cannons, and Munitions would be disbanded, and that the said City would thereby remain expos'd to the Surprise of the *Spaniards*. They added to all this, considerations upon the Enterprize of the Duke d'*Epemon* against *Rochel*; and from all those Subjects of Complaint, concluded that the Assembly was necessary to redress them.


Those Reasons were so much the stronger, by Reason that the Court had been inform'd of those Injustices by the Petitions of the Deputies General, who had not been able to obtain an Answer to them: Another Consideration likewise, made them exceedingly more weighty. The Party of the Male-contents was reduc'd almost to the utmost Extremity. They had but one Town left; and the Duke of *Mazenne* was Besieg'd in *soissons*, and no longer in a Condition to defend himself

Extremity to which the Male-contents are reduc'd.

1617. himself, had he been vigorously press'd. They were afraid, that the Marshal *a'Ancre* after this, being Proud of their Defeat, and moreover an Enemy to the *Reform'd*, would inflict a Punishment upon them for the Resolutions taken at *Nîmes*, which had reduc'd him upon the very Brink of the Precipice. But his unexpected fall remov'd the pretence of those Terrors. When Fortune seem'd to have plac'd him, above the reach of his Enemies, a Tragical End was preparing for him, by means which he never could foresee, nor prevent. The King was hardly minded at Court. He was young, and of a Weak Constitution. He Lov'd Hawking and Music, and pass'd his time in those little Amusements, leaving the sole Authority of the Government to the Queen his Mother. He was nevertheless Jealous of his Power even to Excess, though he neither understood it, nor could enjoy it. During the whole Course of his Life, he never could exert it himself, nor suffer it into the Hands of another. It was equally impossible for him, not to raise his Favourites to a vast degree of Power, and to endure them when Possess'd of that Grandeur to which he had rais'd them himself. By making them Rich, he put them in a State to displease him. The Excess of his Complaisance for them, was as it were the first degree of his Hatred: And I question, whither an Example could be found in his History of any Favourite, whose Death, or Ruin he was concern'd for. But his Sentiments were conceal'd in his own heart: And whereas he only Communicated them to few, those who are of Opinion, that there is always a Mystery in the Conduct of Princes, accus'd him of a Black and profound Dissimulation. To say the Truth, the reason of his silence was, that he neither confided in himself, nor in others; and that he had a great deal of Timorousness and Weakness. Most of those who have spoken of him, acknowledge that he had Courage; and that he did not lose his Judgment in danger; that he lov'd and understood War; that he was a good Scholar; but that he was not capable of Reigning.

*Original  
of the For-  
tune of Ho-  
nore Al-  
bert de  
Luines.*

There was a Man about him, whom no-body was Jealous of, because his parts were too mean to be fear'd. He was

was suffer'd with him as a Man, who amus'd him with the 1617.  
 pleasure of Hawking, which those who had the Authority   
 were very well pleas'd to see him imploy'd about, to the  
 end that they might do what they pleas'd. They say, that this  
 Man begun to insinuate himself into the King's Favour, by  
 a present he made him of two \* Wary Angles, taught to Fly  
 at small Birds in Hedges. This Animal is not much larger  
 than a Sparrow, and is naturally addic'ted to peck others,  
 and to keep them from his Nest: So that Application and  
 Care may easily form him for that small War; to which he  
 is naturally inclin'd. This Present Inchant'd the King, who  
 took a great deal of Pleasure to see those little Birds imitate  
 those of a higher Flight. They diverted him at all times.  
 In Rainy Weather he made them fly in his Chamber, or in  
 some Gallery. He affect'd to go often to Ma's to the Capu-  
 cins; their House being conveniently Seated to afford him  
 that pleasure; by reason, that his way thither was through  
 the *Thuilleries*, a Royal Garden, in which he met with Birds,  
 which he caus'd to be taken by those Wary Angles. He had  
 a little Net set up at the End of the Hedge, into which those  
 Birds being thus pursued, never fail'd to Intangle them-  
 selves; and he took abundance of pleasure to see them pluck'd  
 by those little Animals, which he often carried himself upon  
 his Finger, with Bells and Varvells like Hawks. And lest  
 that Pleasure should fail him sometimes for want of Birds,  
 he caus'd abundance to be taken and bred, which he never  
 set free again, but to be taken by those Wary Angles. Whereas  
 the Reader may perhaps never find in any other Book, which  
 were the beginnings of the greatest Fortune that ever a  
 Subject was rais'd to: I thought I might make this digres-  
 sion to oblige him.

The Person I am speaking of was *Luines*, a Man almost  
 unknown, and even during whose Favour, some question'd  
 whither he was born a Gentleman. It is certain at least  
 that he was very Poor: And 'tis reported, that when he  
 came first to *Paris* with *Brantes* and *Cadexet* his two Bro-  
 thers, they had but one Cloak amongst them, which they  
 wore by turns, two of them remaining at home while the  
 other

*It has been  
 question'd  
 whether he  
 was a Gen-  
 tleman*

1617. other was in the City, or at Court about their common Affairs. No Body thought him capable to perswade the King to any thing but the Pleasures of Hawking : But they were mistaken ; and *Luines* having found the Ascendent he had over the King's Mind, made use of it to destroy the Marshal & *Ancre*s. Whither he were put upon it by the Male-contentes who had gain'd him ; or whither he were Animated by the *Spaniards*, who dreaded the Marshal's growing so Powerful, as to have no longer occasion for them ; or whither he design'd to raise his Fortune upon the Ruins of that Wretch, he took the advantage of the King's Foible which he knew ; and stuff'd his Head with Jealousies and Vexations, against those who abus'd his Authority and Treasure. Three Men serv'd *Luines* in that design : *Deagean* a Suttle, Violent and Ambitious Man, who was first Clerk to *Barbin* the Queen's Creature, betray'd his Master, and came every Night to give the King an Account how they play'd with his Power. *Marcillac* an inconsiderable Person, who Traffick'd for his Service, seconded in the day time by his Discourse, what the other had advanc'd. *Desplans*, a Souldier in the Guards, had a share in the said Conspiracy. *Deagean* was the only Man of Parts among them : But he had too much Genius for *Luines*, who in order to be rid of him, bounded his Fortune to a Place of President in the Chamber of Accompts of *Grenoble*, where he sent him to reside, under pretence of watching the Conduct of *Lesaiguières*. The King being perswaded by those Agents of *Luines*, who among other things, never fail'd to acquaint him with the Murmurs of the People against the disorders of the Government, was at a Loss which way to rid himself of his Wardship. He had a mind to Fly to *Meaux*, there to Summon his Subjects from all Parts to his Assistance. Some propos'd to him to go to the Parliament upon some Pretence ; and there to cause the Marshal to be seiz'd in his Presence, and to give an Order for his Tryal. But *Luines* either Dreading the King's Weakness, or the Queen's Authority, chose to have him Seiz'd in the *Louvre*. The King gave Order to *Vitri* to do it, who apparently had receiv'd secret Orders from *Luines* about it, to whom the

King

The Character of his Conspirators.



King having sent him back again, to know his Pleasure, he carry'd the thing farther than it was design'd. He caus'd him to be kill'd on the 4th of *April*, under pretence that he had leave so to do, in case he made any resistance. Yet he made none, but only express'd his Astonishing by some Words, when *Vitri* acquainted him that he was his Prisoner. But this Action of *Vitri* was justify'd, and that Service made him a Marshal of *France*.

1617.  
Death of  
the Marshal  
d'Ancre.

The State of Affairs was quite Alter'd by that Death. The Queen being penetrated with Grief, was depriv'd of all Authority. Her Creatures lost their Places; those she had remov'd from Court were recall'd: The Male-contents submitted themselves; and the King Granted them a General Pardon in the Month of *May*, in which acknowledging that they had only taken Arms for their safety, against the Insolent, Violent and Pernicious designs of the Marshal d'Ancre, who imploy'd the King's Forces contrary to his Intention to ruin them; that after his Death, they return'd immediately to their Allegiance, and that they had implor'd his Pardon very submissively, he revok'd the Declaration that had been given against them, Abolish'd the remembrance of what was pass'd, confirm'd the Treaty of *Loudun*, and the Edict of *Blois*, and Order'd that all his Subjects, as well Catholics as Reform'd should live in Peace, under the Benefit and Authority of his Edicts. After which the favour of the New Favourite was exerted against the Miserable Remains of the Marshal's Family, even to Inhumanity. His Lady was Executed for pretended Crimes, of which she was found Guilty, more upon the Account of the hatred of the Public, than by any solid Proofs. *Luines* was Adorn'd with his Spoils, and saw himself so great-all of a suddain, that he was Astonish'd at his own Fortune. He made use of his Authority in a manner yet more Odious than the Marshal d'Ancre, whom, to say the Truth, he neither surpass'd in Birth or Merit. His Favour was only for himself; he enjoy'd it amidst Seditions, and Civil Wars; and he engag'd himself into Foreign Cabals, to the great detriment of his Country.

Alteration  
of Affairs.

1617. I must also add, that in order to maintain his Credit, he Marry'd the Daughter of the Duke de *Mombazon*, of the House of *Rohan*. This perswaded the Duke of that Name, that he would be consider'd by that Favorite, who was Honour'd by his Alliance. But the Duke being come back to Court, after the Treaty of *Loudun*, had reconcil'd himself sincerely to the Queen, who had receiv'd the Excuses he made to her about his taking Arms very favourably. All that he had obtain'd by the Treaty was the assurance of the Government of *Poitou*, provided he could obtain the Duke of *Sully's* Demission; because there was an Article in the Edict which promis'd expressly that the King would Grant no more Survivorships. When he had obtain'd the Demission, he was oblig'd to come to Court in Person to obtain his Letters Patent for the same. He did it boldly enough; tho he thereby expos'd himself to the Mercy of Persons, of which some hated him Mortally; and the others were very Faithful. Nevertheless, it prov'd to his Advantage; and the Queen gave him his Patents, which the change of Affairs hinder'd him from injoying. Yet notwithstanding, he apply'd himself to the Service of that Princess with so much Fidelity, that he made an End of Ruining himself at Court; and that far from drawing an advantage by the Alliance of that New Favorite, he created an irreconcilable hatred between them. It will be necessary to know the particulars, which were the Motives or occasions of the following Wars.

The Assembly of Rochel sends Deputies to the King.

During these Transactions, the Deputies of the Provinces that were Invited to *Rochel*, were got thither for the most part; and that Assembly created equal Jealousies on all sides, by reason that the State being divided into several Parties, no body knew which they would joyn with. But the Marshal's Death, and the Queen's Exile having appeas'd the Troubles the most specious Reasons of the Assembly were remov'd. They sent Deputies to the King upon this unexpected alteration, to Congratulate the recovering of his Authority. Those Deputies did not see the King, who refus'd to treat them as Deputies

Deputies from a Lawful Assembly : But after that the Answer he sent them was not disobliging. The King refer'd to hear them when the Assembly should be Dissolv'd ; they were desir'd to behave themselves as good Subjects ought to do, when they have something to desire of their King ; to draw their \* *Cahiers* : To separate forthwith ; and to retire into their Respective Provinces : That upon that Account the King would favour them in all things that were reasonable and just. Therefore they broke up at the return of their Deputies, according to the Advice of the Wisest, who remonstrated to them with a great deal of Vigor, That it behov'd them to show by that mark of Obedience, that they did only Assemble when they had just reasons to fear ; but that they dissolv'd of themselves as soon as ever those fears were dissipated. They Inserted an Article in their *Cahiers* which related to the Churches of *Bearn*, desiring that no Innovations might be made in that Principality, either in Church or State. But they show'd yet better how much they concern'd themselves in the Affairs of that Province, by an Act they made, which oblig'd all the Churches to assist those of that Province, *in case of Oppression and Necessity, by some Alteration of the State, either in the Ecclesiastick or Politick part*, if those Churches implor'd the assistance of those of *France*. They order'd the Provinces of the Upper *Languedoc*, and of the lower *Guyenne*, to Assemble by their Deputies with those of that Sovereignty, if necessary, to endeavour to prevent their being oppress'd. They writ to the great Lords to Intercede for the *Reform'd* of *Bearn*, and they exhorted all the Councils of the Provinces to recommend them to the Deputies General. The Affection they express'd for those threatned Churches prov'd useles. And the King's very Answer to the Article which spoke in their behalf, destroy'd by one word which was Inserted in it on purpose, all the hopes of their being favourably us'd. The King promis'd to preserve all his Subjects of the Country of *Bearn*, both Catholicks and *Reform'd* in the Possession of their *Ancient Privileges* ; and to maintain Peace and Union there as among the other Subjects of his Realm. The Equivocation

1617.

And receives an Order to break up.

\* Petitions and Demands.

They obey and resolve to protect the Churches of Bearn.

1617. of the word *Ancient* was a plain Argument, that the Council design'd to look upon the present State of *Bearn* as a Novelty: And to restore the Catholicks there to all the Advantages they had lost, by the attempt they had made against their Lawful Queen.

Their Propositions.

The Assembly Inserted in their \* *Cahiers* some other important Articles; viz. Concerning the Exemption of the Ministers, and the Declaration given upon that Subject, which the Court of Aids still refus'd to verifie; the Necessity of *Reform'd* Associates for the Instruction of Criminal Causes; the discharge of certain Offices which were impos'd upon the *Reform'd*, tho' they thought they could not Officiate them without wounding their Consciences; concerning the Privilege of *Reform'd* Magistrates and Officers, not having discharg'd their Trust in their Offices, to be prosecuted in the Chambers of the Edict, and before no other Judges; and several others, to which they receiv'd Specious Answers; but without Effect. Besides all these Articles there was an Instruction which they charg'd the Deputies General with, to beg of his Majesty to put the Prince of *Conde* at Liberty. This was the only effect produc'd by the Sollicitations of the Princess his Mother, who was at *Rochel*, and who endeavour'd to oblige the Assembly not to break up before they had obtain'd his Deliverance. Nevertheless they were oblig'd to give over that pursuit, because the State of Affairs was not dispos'd towards it, and that the new Favourite was not in the least inclin'd to put a Prince at Liberty, who would soon get the better of him in the Management of Affairs.

National Synod at Vitré.

While the Assembly was still in being, the National Synod assembled on the 18th of *May* at *Vitré*. The Principality of *Bearn* had obtain'd leave in the preceeding Synod to Convene it: But all things were alter'd since that time; and that which was lookt upon then to be useful towards the preservation of that Province, seem'd to be of ill consequence against their Privileges, as soon as it was known that the Council did propose to re-unite it to the Crown. In submitting to the same Discipline with the other Churches of the Realm, they seem'd to act against their own pretensions, that they could



could not be subjected to the same Laws with the rest of the Kingdom; and by making but one Body Ecclesiastick with the rest of the *Reform'd*, they afforded a reason to say that it was not inconsistent with their Privileges, to be united to the other Provinces depending of the Crown, as part of one and the same Body Politick. Those Reasons were approv'd of. The Synod excus'd them from submitting to the Discipline of the other Churches, and to the National Synods, during the present Conjuncture. But they allow'd the Deputies of that Country to assist at their Deliberations, and to give their Votes, unless some of them desir'd the contrary. So that they appear'd in that Assembly as Deputies not of subject Churches, but of Churches that were Ally'd by the Communion of the same Doctrine.

Immediately after the Overture of the Synod, they deput-  
ed four Persons to the King, with Letters fill'd with the usual Submissions and Protestations of Obedience and Loyalty. They also writ to the Assembly of *Rochel*, to give them an account of what they had done; and to express their Intention to remain in perfect Union with them. The Answer of the Assembly was made in the same Terms; and moreover contain'd an Article, by which they demanded of the Synod the Contribution of certain Sums for the General Affairs. This Contribution, which was to be rais'd out of the Sums granted for the Salaries of the Ministers, appear'd dangerous as to the Consequences of it: but whereas there was Money due to them, and that the Concessions of the Treaty of *London* had made the Churches pretty easie, they would not refuse all, and granted something at the Request of the Assembly. In the mean time the Deputies were well receiv'd at Court; and came back to the Synod with Answers capable to satisfy them, had fair words been sufficient to redress the Evils they complain'd of. The King writ very obliging Letters by them, in which he prais'd the Loyalty of the *Reform'd*, and gave them assurances of his Protection for the future; and to maintain whatever was promis'd by the Edicts, in case they persever'd in that Conduct.

Deputati-  
on to the  
King.

Letters to  
the Gene-  
ral Assem-  
bly; and  
their An-  
swer.

1617. That would have been very well, if while they were exhorted to be Loyal, the Court had not at the very same time labour'd openly by a thousand Vexations and Injuries to tire their Faith and Patience. Besides the dread which the Prosecutions of the Clergy created among the Churches of *Bearn*, those of *Auvergne* were also very much tormented. They had not as yet been able to enjoy the benefit of the Edict there peaceably, by reason that the Catholics had oppos'd it. There were potent Families in that Province who were altogether inclin'd to a League, and who thought it a point of Conscience to hate the *Reform'd*, and to Persecute them without Mercy. They us'd them Cruelly in all respects; and the *Reform'd* were not in a Condition to resist them, because their Number was inconsiderable. The Court might easily have put a stop to those Violences, had they been well inclin'd; but it is easie to judge of their Disposition in that respect, by the little care they had taken to redress the Wrongs done to the *Reform'd* of that Province: The Synod gave expresse Orders to the Deputies General, to make earnest Solicitations to obtain a redress for those Afflicted Churches; and to press the Court to send Commissioners thither, in order to regulate those long Differences by some Decisive Decree: which had already been desir'd often to no purpose.

The Count  
of Sancerre  
exerts  
Hostilities  
against the  
City.

Moreover the War continu'd between the City of *Sancerre* and the Count *de Marans*; who did the Inhabitants all the harm he could. He proceeded on his part to Surprises, Outrages, and Assassinations: And he was accus'd of having lately caus'd Captain *Bouchard*, in whom the City repos'd great Confidence, to be Murther'd. So that the City had two great Affairs in hand; the one to preserve their Privilege of being a City of Surety which was disputed, and the other to defend themselves against the Hostilities of the Count. As they had a greater Extent of Ground than Riches, they were soon drain'd by the great Expences they had been oblig'd to make; and they could not hold out much longer, without being assisted. Therefore they had recourse to the Liberalities of the Synod. The Churches of the Country of *Foix* were reduc'd to the same Misery of late Years. They were forc'd from Ju-  
risdi-

Churches  
of the  
Country of  
*Foix*

jurisdiction to Jurisdiction, about the Quality of Places of Surety : which the Cities in which they perform'd the Exercises of their Religion had had till then : So that they had troubles upon that Question in the Parliament, in the \* Party-Chambers, and in the Council of State. This was a subtilty of the Council, either to weaken the *Reform'd*, by taking from them several Towns they held by that Name, the Title, or Quality of which was disputed by their Enemies upon divers pretences; or to put them upon some desperate Resolution, by these Proceedings, in order to have a plausible occasion to complain of their Behaviour. For that reason the Court affected, whenever they renew'd the Permission of keeping them to slip in some Equivocal Terms in the Briefs; to the end that being favour'd by that Ambiguity, they might say, that those they design'd to take from them were not compris'd in the same.

1617.

\* In which  
the Judges  
were part  
Catholicks  
and part  
*Reform'd*.

*Provence* was also expos'd to great Vexations. The *Reform'd* were very much divided there; and the Catholicks took an occasion from those Discords which they themselves had sown, to do them all manner of Injustices. That Province overwhelm'd the General Assemblies and the National Synods, with Complaints, which the Members of one and the same Church brought in there against one another: And the Deputies of those Different Parties, often mutually disputed the Right of their Deputation. Nevertheless there were so few Churches in that Province, that they were not able to furnish the Number that was necessary to divide it into two Assemblies; and that it had been propos'd some times to annex them to those of *Dauphine*, to make but one Synod of them. So that their own weakness render'd their Union the more necessary, by reason that they weaken'd themselves still the more by their Division. The Synod recommended all those Affairs to the Deputies General; and did not forget the *Edict* of Exemption which the Ministers had been amus'd with for five Yearstogether, without their Deputies having been able to get it into their hands, to pursue the Verification of it, which the Court did not press in the least.

And those  
of *Pro-  
vence* ill  
us'd.

1617.

Permissi-  
on given to  
the Mini-  
sters to as-  
sist at Po-  
litical As-  
semblies.

The Synod allow'd Ministers to assist at Political Assemblies, which had been forbidden by the former Synods. The reason of it was that those who had given an occasion to make that Prohibition being either Dead or Revolted; and the Discontents of the Duke of *Bouillon* being cool'd, there was no reason to exclude the Ministers from those Assemblies, in which they might sometimes prove useful by their Zeal and Prudence. But the Synod at the same time desir'd the Political Assemblies to Exempt the Ministers from Deputations to the Court; whither it were that they look'd upon themselves as Persons that were odious to those that Govern'd; or whether they thought the Intrigues of the Court not suitable to the Profession of the Evangelical Ministry; or whether they thought that as they were Persons dedicated to Preach the Truth, it was not fit to Expose them to the Temptations, which till then, had render'd the Air of the Court so fatal to Men of their Character. The Synod also Nominated four Deputies to assist at the General Synod the States General of the *United Provinces* did propose to Assemble, to determine the Disputes of the *Arminians*, which were call'd *Remonstrators*; and of those who call'd their Doctrine a Novelty, which were call'd *Counter-Remonstrators*, or *Gomarists*. But the Council of *France* did not approve that Deputation, as I will relate in another Place.

Places of  
Bailiwicks  
establisht  
with little  
Exactness.  
Towns or  
Villages in  
which the  
Publick  
Exercise of  
the Re-  
form'd Re-  
ligion was  
to be per-  
form'd in  
the said  
Bailiwicks

Moreover it appears by the Acts of the said Synod, that until then the settlement of the \* Places of Bailiwicks had been made with little Exactness. They had sometimes been desir'd in Places that were so inconvenient, that they had built no Churches in them. The Truth is that the Catholicks had not as yet bethought themselves to maintain, that the Right of performing the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion in those Places, was lost by a Prescription of some Years. Therefore the *Reform'd* were Allow'd to resume the use of them when they pleas'd, notwithstanding their having left them as it were in suspense for sometime: And sometimes also they Transferr'd the said Privilege from one place to another, by a kind of Concession, which the Commissaries, or Judges of the said Places did not refuse to Authorize by their Ordinances. Thus *Tingri* being



being given for a Place of Baillywick in the Province of *Champagne*, that Right remain'd long without Effect; by reason that *Lorraine*, in the Neighbourhood of which the said Town was settled, and from whence it was hop'd that the *Reform'd* would repair thither to hear Sermons, could not furnish a sufficient Number of People to maintain a Church there. Therefore the Synod being unwilling to lose that Considerable Right, order'd it to be Transfer'd to *Langres*, where there was more likelihood of forming a Considerable Church.

It likewise appears by the same Acts, that some *Moors* being invited to remain in *France*, upon the account of the Edict the late King had Publish'd on their Behalf, when they were turn'd out of *Spain*, stopt in the Places that had been assign'd to them. Though the Edict only allow'd such to remain in the Kingdom as should embrace the Catholick Religion, yet several of them Embrac'd the *Reform'd*. But whereas for the most part those that remain'd were only such as had nothing to carry away, it was not Conscience that inclin'd them more to one side than the other: It was only a prospect of subsisting one way or other. As their Conversion was only Interest, it soon degenerated into Publick Roguery. The Poor being neglected in the *Roman* Church, whereas the *Reform'd* had the Reputation of assisting them with more Order and Charity, all the Beggars turn'd Converted *Moors*; and running from Church to Church to surprize Alms, they reduc'd the Consistories and Synods to take measures to secure themselves against this sort of Plundering. The Catholick Zeal did not murmur at that time to see the *Reform'd* Religion prefer'd to the *Roman*: And they did not envy this Honour to the *Reformation*, because they could not deprive them of it without Expence. The same Zeal being refin'd in our Days, has not been able to endure things to remain upon the same Foot; they chose rather to let the *Jews* and *Mahometans* remain in their Errour, than to permit them to embrace Christianity by Embracing the *Reform'd* Religion. However these pretended *Moors* being very troublesome to the Churches, the Synod I am speaking of resolv'd to apply proper remedies to it. They order'd People to Watch the Conduct of these *Converts*,

and

*Rogueries*  
of the Con-  
verted  
*Moors*.

1617. and to take certain Precautions, by giving them Testimonials, to prevent those Impostures.

*The Bishop  
of Lucon  
retires from  
the Queen.*

During these Transactions *Luines*, who knew the King's Easiness by Experience, suffer'd no Persons of any Genius to be near his Person, nor any of those who had had any In-  
gagements with the Queen. The Bishop of *Lucon*, so famous since under the Name of *Cardinal de Richelieu*, was one of the Creatures of that Princess, and one of those whose Wit and Parts were most capable to inspire Jealousie in a Favourite. Therefore *Luines* was so far from suffering him to live at Court, that he would not so much as allow him to remain with the Queen. The Bishop being sensible that he was obnoxious, remov'd out of the Kingdom: But yet being unwilling to give over his hopes altogether, he retir'd to *Avignon*, where he thought himself secure under the Pope's Authority. Nevertheless the better to remove all manner of Suspitions, he feign'd to renounce Politicks, and to apply himself for the future in things more suitable to his Profession. In order to which he took up Controversie, and Writ against the *Reform'd*; taking an occasion so to do from the Affairs I am going to relate. *Luines* also remov'd from the King *Cotton* the Jesuit, who had been all along engag'd in the Queens Interest, and who endeavour'd to perswade the World, that this sudden Retreat from the Court was only the effect of his disgust of the World, though it was only the effect of a very Mortifying

*Disgrace  
of Cotton  
the Jesuit.  
Arnoux  
succeeds  
him.*

Disgrace. But *Luines* put in his room a Man of the same Society, who being oblig'd to him for his Promotion, seem'd to him a fit Instrument to manage the King's Inclination to his Advantage. But he was cruelly deceiv'd; and this Villain paid him for his good Will, like a true Jesuit: So that he also was forc'd to retire at the end of some Years. Thus the King left the Management of his conscience as well as of his Kingdom to the discretion of his Favourites; and changing his Affection according to their Pleasure, he allow'd them to Reign into the most secret parts of his Confessions and of his Thoughts. This Jesuit was *Arnoux*, known at Court by Conferences and Sermons, which had gain'd him some Esteem. Amongst the Sermons he was most noted for, he Preach'd one at *Fontaine*

*A Sermon  
Preach'd  
at Court  
by him.*

*bleau*

bleau before the King, in which he attack'd the Confession of Faith of the *Reform'd*, and maintain'd that the Passages cited in the Margin were falsely alledg'd. This Accusation could not fail of being taken notice of, in a Court in which there were abundance of Officers and Lords who did profess the *Reform'd* Religion. So that upon the Disputes occasion'd by the said Sermon, the Jesuit who had not advanc'd this Proposition with an Intention to retract it, gave a Memoir of the Falsities he pretended to observe in the said Quotations to a *Reform'd* Gentleman who desir'd it; and the said Gentleman gave it to *Du Moulin*.

The Ministers were not as yet reduc'd to suffer every thing without making a defence: Moreover they were firm and vigorous in their Repartees; and particularly when they met a Jesuit in their way they never fail'd to speak of the Merits of his Sect. Therefore *Du Moulin* who had a Sprightly Wit, a Fruitful Imagination, a heart full of Zeal, and who, as it has been own'd by his very Adversaries, did Write with as much Politeness as Force and Ease, was not long before he Answer'd the Jesuit, having first Consulted *Montigni*, *Durant*, and *Mesprezat* his Colleagues in the Ministry. They gave it the Title of, *Defence of the Confession of Faith of the Reform'd Churches of France, against the Accusation of Arnoux the Jesuit, &c.* which they Dedicated to the King. They mention'd with some Vigour in the Dedication the Services the *Reform'd* had done to the State; and they us'd the Jesuits in it, in the same manner as all Persons of Honour had us'd them till then. They did not forget the last Estates held at *Paris*, and the Controversie that had been m v'd there concerning the Independency of Kings, who, they said, had lost their Cause by the Faction of the Clergy. *Arnoux* and the Jesuits being nettl'd at this Letter, caus'd a great deal of Noise to be made about it: So that almost as soon as the Book appear'd they inform'd against the Work, against the Author, and against the Printer. The Lieutenant Civil, or Common Judge having first taken Cognizance of it, that Affair was soon after remov'd before the Parliament, which occasion'd a Dispute in point of Jurisdiction between the Great Chamber,

The Ministers of  
Charenton's Answer.

Against whom Informations are given.

1617. and the Chamber of the Edict : The first pretended to retain the Cause, as being a Civil Cause ; and the last would have it Try'd before them, as being an Affair of Religion. This Contestation was determin'd by a Decree of the Council, bearing Date July the 20th, which refer'd the Cause to the King : And within a fourth Night after it, another Decree was made, in which the King forbad the Dedicating of any Book to him without his expresse leave ; suppress'd that of the Ministers, forbad the reading of it, or to keep it, under certain Penalties ; and order'd the Provost of *Paris* to Prosecute the Printer.

*Pamphlets  
on both  
sides.*

This Decree dictated by the Jesuits, only serv'd to set a greater value upon the Book. Divers Pamphlets were dispers'd on both sides upon that Subject ; among which there was one which acknowledg'd *Arnoux* the Jesuit to be the Aggressor, and that pretended that it was a Crime in the Ministers to have dar'd to defend themselves. So that according to the Maxims of that Writer, the Condemnation of the Ministers could only be look'd upon as an Oppression of Innocence, so much the more Unjust that though those who had been attack'd had been punish'd, the Aggressors had not so much as receiv'd a slight Reprimand. It was against this Book of the four Ministers that the Bishop of *Lucon* resolv'd to Write. He insist'd particularly upon their Letter, and endeavour'd to prove, that they had fill'd it with falshood. He made all his Efforts to justify the last Estates : But he did it by Reasons which he knew to be false better than any Body ; which most of those that had been concern'd in what past, there could easily have convinc'd him of. That manner of Writing was an effect of his fear. It was the Stile that best pleas'd the Jesuits, whom that Bishop was then as loth to offend, as he despis'd them since, when he found himself in a more prosperous Fortune.

*Assembly  
of the Cler-  
gy.  
The Bi-  
shop of  
Macon's  
Speech.*

About the time the Synod was at *Vitre*, the Clergy was Assembled at *Paris*, and vigorously prosecuted the Project they had form'd in the last Estates in Order to the Ruin of the *Reform'd*. The Bishop of *Macon* made a Speech to the King on the second of *June*, at the Head of the Deputies of that Body :



Body : And it is easie to Judge by the Style of it, that the 1617.  
 Catholicks were no longer inclin'd to use the *Reform'd* equi-  
 tably. He call'd the *Reform'd Monsters*, and compar'd their  
 Church to *Agar*, styling it a *Concubine*. He acknowledg'd that  
 the Clergy dissembled with them, and only Tollerated them for  
 the sake of Peace. He maintain'd that the Catholick Churches  
 were happier under the *Turks*, where the free Exercise of  
 their Religion was allow'd, than in those Places where the  
*Reform'd* were Masters. His Complaints were ground'd par-  
 ticularly upon Three Points. The first was, that the Bishop  
 of *Mompelier* having been desirous to introduce *Reform'd Ja-*  
*cobins* into the Monastery the Friars of that Order had in the  
 said City, by the Consent, as he said, of the Old ones, of  
 the General of the Order, and by the Authority of the Parli-  
 ament of *Thoulouse*, the Inhabitants instead of allowing that  
 Alteration, had not only refus'd to receive the New ones, but  
 had turn'd the Old ones out of the City. But the Bishop did  
 not say what had induc'd the Inhabitants to do it. The Bi-  
 shop of *Mompelier* had for a long while occasion'd continual  
 disorders and disputes there, and had offended the *Reform'd*  
 by the boldness of his Enterprises. Whither it were then,  
 that they were afraid that these New Friars, under pretence  
 of an Austere Reformation, might be induc'd with a more se-  
 ditious Spirit, and consequently more capable to second the  
 said Prelate in his designs ; or whither it were that remem-  
 bering the Original of that Order, which had Signaliz'd it  
 self from its first Formation, by a thousand Massacres, and  
 who had acquir'd the Government of the Inquisition in *Spain*  
 by such Qualifications, they were afraid these New comers  
 might introduce this Spirit of Fury and Cruelty in *Mompe-*  
*lier*, and might have secret Instructions from their General  
 tending to that End ; Whither, I say, it were for the first,  
 or last of these Considerations, the *Reform'd* refus'd to admit  
 such Guests. They involv'd the Old ones with the New,  
 by reason that the one having given their Consents to the In-  
 troduction of the others, it was evident by that, that they  
 were animated by the same Spirit.

*Jacobins*  
 turn'd out  
 of Mont-  
 pelier

The second cause of Complaint was, that the same People  
 had

*They re-*  
*sist the*  
*of the*  
*of the*  
*of the*

1617. had refus'd to suffer a Preacher in their City, whom the Bishop had pitch'd upon to Preach there in Advent and in Lent. The Governour had undertaken to obtain their leave for it; and after having us'd Perswasions he had imploy'd Commands. But the reason the *Reform'd* urg'd was that the said Preacher was a Jesuit, and that the Members of that Order endeavouring to imbroider every thing where ever they came; it was but just to keep them out of Cities, in which the *Reform'd* had so much Interest to hinder Seditions and Disorders. It was so evident that the Jesuits only sought to introduce themselves in those Places, to Plot something against the Repose of the *Reform'd*, that apparently their Reasons could not fail of being understood and approv'd of by all those who were not prejudic'd by Passion. Moreover, there was a General Reason, which oblig'd the *Reform'd* to oppose all the Alterations the Catholicks endeavour'd to make in the Places of Surety; which was, that one of the Conditions granted with the Places of Surety, import'd that no Innovations should be made there. So that the Bishop of *Mompelien's* Enterprises were Unjust; since they were two important Innovations, the one to introduce a New Reform of Friars into that City, and the other to call a Preacher thither of a suspected Society, which had no right to send any. Yet the said Bishop was *Fenouillet*, for whom *Sully* had obtain'd the said Bishoprick, as I have related elsewhere.

*The State  
of Bearn  
falsely re-  
presented.*

The Third Complaint was the Use that was made in *Bearn*, of the Estates that did formerly belong to the Ecclesiasticks. He spoke about it in the most Violent terms; as if it had been a Horrid Sacrilege, to apply to the Use of the *Reform'd* Churches Estates which had been so lawfully confiscated and taken from those that did formerly possess them. To move pitty the more, he desir'd that Mass might be re-establish'd in above one hundred Parishes of that Principality, affirming with as much boldness, as if he had spoken the Truth, that out of thirty persons there, there were five and twenty Catholicks. This was notoriously false; and I need not give a farther Proof of it in this place, than that in our Days after the Alteration of Religion, occasion'd in that Province

by

by Oppression during the Civil Wars; by the Establishment of several Monasteries, that had seduc'd many Families; by whatever the Art, Violence, Promises and Threats of the Catholics, and the Inconstancy and Weakness of the People had been able to contribute towards it, there still remain'd more *Reform'd* there than the Bishop calculated by his Speech. Of about 33000 Families which Inhabited in *Bearn*, there were reckon'd about seven thousand of them professing the *Reform'd* Religion Ten years ago. But the Clergy seldom leave their Affairs imperfect, when after having put them in a pretty good condition, they only want an Imposture to make an end of them.

Nevertheless, this Speech prov'd effectual; and the Turn he gave to his Remonstrances was very well relish'd by the Court, which was resolv'd to satisfy him, even before he had been heard. He had the boldness to say, that he did not desire his Majesty to cross the Seas, to drive the Enemy of the Christian Name out of the *East*; but only that he would be pleas'd to restore an intire Liberty to some Catholick Churches of his Kingdom, which he pretended were oppress'd by the Injustice of the *Reform'd*. This was the Character of that Prelat's Eloquence, that he fill'd his Discourse with little Allusions, among which some happen'd to be well apply'd. That which he made in this Place, alluding to the Crusado's undertaken to Conquer the Holy Land, and particularly to that of a Prince of the King's own Name, who was Canoniz'd in recompence of his having ruin'd his Kingdom, by those Wars beyond Sea, flatter'd the King agreeably, who aspir'd to imitate his Predecessor. Besides, the Tacit Comparison he made of the *Reform'd* that enjoy'd Ecclesiastical Estates in *Bearn*, with the *Muhom-tans* Possessors of those Places, to which an Ignorant Zeal leads so many Pilgrims, pleas'd all those who were prejudic'd against the *Reform'd* with a Blind hatred, and already resolv'd to Sacrifice them to the Passion of the Clergy. So that the Bishop did not fail to obtain part of what he desir'd.

*The Effect  
of that  
Speech.*

A Decree was made by the Council of State, on the 10th of November following, which allow'd the Catholics of *Mompel'ier*

*A Decree  
authorizing  
the Catholics  
to Preach  
in Mompel'ier.*

1617. *pellier* to have Jesuit Preachers, and such others as the Bishop should think fit to send thither: Declaring that the King by his Briefs never design'd to deprive the Catholicks that inhabited in such Cities as were held by the *Reform'd*, of the Liberty of having such Secular, or Regular Preachers as the Diocesan should think fit to call thither: which was said by way of Interpretation of the Answers the King had given to \* the *Cahiers* of the *Reform'd* in 1611. and 1612. which they made use of to keep the Jesuits out of the Places of Surety. The truth is that this Interpretation was Contradictory to the Answer: But they began to introduce a certain Policy into the Council, which makes a sport of the Credulity of the People, and which finds a way to destroy the most formal Laws, and those that are most clear, under pretence of Interpreting them. This singularity was also observ'd in the said Decrees, that the King did not so much as order the said Preachers to observe the Edicts, and to abstain from such Terms in their Sermons as might give Offence. Neither did the said Decree prove sufficient to introduce the Jesuits into considerable Places; and the *Reform'd* oppos'd the said Innovation, as long as possible they could.

A Decree  
of Restauration of  
the Ecclesiastical  
Estates that  
had been  
formerly  
confiscated  
in Bearn.

But the Bishop's Speech had a more speedy and greater effect, as to what related to the Affairs of *Bearn*. They obtain'd a Decree of Restauration, which gave a beginning to the Civil Wars, which only ended by the so long and so earnestly wish'd for Ruine of the *Reform'd*. Therefore I will enlarge a little upon this Subject, tho' there are some things in it which seem to be beyond the bounds of my Chief Design. In order to which I will repeat in this place, that the Affairs of *Bearn* had been very much discuss'd in the Chamber of the Clergy during the Session of the last Estates; and that their Deputies had chiefly demanded two things, of which the one tended to the other, and serv'd as a Degree to arrive to it: The first was the Re-union of the Principality of *Bearn* to the Crown: The second the Restauration of the Ecclesiastical Estates, which had been Confiscated about three-score Years before by the Authority of Queen *Jane*. The Council resolv'd to begin by the Re-union, as being that which  
admits



admits of the most plausible Reasons, and which concern'd no 1617.  
 Body particularly. Nevertheless the *Bearnois* judg'd other-  
 wise of it; and being perswaded that the Clergy only stir'd  
 in it, for their own advantage, or to oblige the Court in one  
 thing, in order to obtain other favours from it in Recom-  
 pence, they us'd their utmost Endeavours to ward that blow  
 which they believ'd to be fatal to the Liberty of their Coun-  
 try. *La Force* was their Governor, a Man of Sence and  
 Courage, who had Noble Places, and a great deal of Experi-  
 ence; and who was much better pleas'd with being Governor  
 of an Independent Principality, which was only considerable  
 by its Sovereignty; than with a small Country which would  
 be inconsiderable, being once mix'd with the other Provinces  
 that were United to the Crown. Therefore he did not fail to  
 represent the Consequences of that Affair to the *Bearnois*, and  
 to second their Endeavours with great Courage and Vigour.  
 He was nevertheless accus'd of having only been difficult to sa-  
 tisfie in that matter, to make himself the more considerable;  
 and that his only aim in opposing the Court was to be Indem-  
 nify'd for what he was to lose by that Alteration.

But there was another Man of great Authority in *Bearn* in  
 whom the *Reform'd* who were the strongest there, repos'd a  
 great deal of Confidence. It was *Lescun* a Councillor in the  
 Sovereign Council of the Country; a Sprightly, Resolute,  
 Vigorous Man, who had Courage, Learning and Eloquence:  
 And the *Bearnois* held him in great Veneration for that gene-  
 rous Love for his Country, and for the Publick Good, of which  
 we find no more Examples, unless it be in Ancient Histories.  
 The Court on the contrary made him pass for a Factious Tur-  
 bulent Person: And took a pretence to make him perish as a  
 Perturbator of the Publick Peace, by reason of the Undefati-  
 gable Zeal he express'd for the Welfare of his Religion, and  
 of his Country. It is by those Rigors that all those who have  
 aim'd at Despotick Power, have stild in all Hearts the Seeds  
 of that Vertue, which was formerly the Noblest Character of  
 the Hero's: Those were us'd by them as Criminals of State  
 who look'd upon a Man of Honour to be oblig'd above all  
 things to preserve the Privileges of his Countrey: And they  
 were

Re-union  
 of that  
 Country to  
 the Crown;  
 which is  
 oppos'd to  
 the Estates.  
*La Force*

And Lescun.

1617. were sensible that Men would lay aside that greatness of Soul, formerly so much Reverenc'd, finding it only attended with Disgrace and Misfortunes: And that all such would be sent to the Gallows, or to the Block to whom Antiquity would have rais'd Triumphal Arches and Statues. This *Lescun* was deputed to the Council, after the Clergy had caus'd the *Bearnois* to be summon'd there to be present at the Tryal of the Restauration of the Ecclesiastical Lands they pretended: But he was imploy'd at the same time in the Prosecution of both those Points; and he was amus'd long at *Paris*, without being expedited. Finally whether the Court was aſham'd to try those Affairs in his presence, and that they were at a loss about his Titles, Remonstrances, and Reasons; or whither they were not as yet fully resolv'd about it, at a time when the Kingdom was threatn'd with a thousand other Troubles, he was sent back again: And to remove all manner of suspicion of their designing to try the business after his departure, they return'd him the Pieces he had produc'd; and they made a Verbal promise to him that they would not end those Suits without first giving him notice of it, and without hearing him.

*Deceit of  
the Court.*

Nevertheless they broke their Word to him: And in the sequel they made use of the Writings he had produc'd, as a pretence to say that they had heard his Reasons and seen his Papers. Therefore at the beginning of *December* in the Year 1616, in order to prepare People to receive the Edict that was publish'd some Days after it, they put out a pretty fine Dissertation, upon the particular Question of the Re-union of *Bearn* to the Crown. It presuppos'd that the said Re-union had already been made before by *Henry IV.* When he did re-unite *Navar* by a solemn Edict, in the Month of *July* 1607. the general Terms of which extended the same Re-union to all the Estates that did belong to him, before the Crown fell to him: So that the thing in Debate was not properly the Re-union of *Bearn*; but, to put the said Re-union which was already made in Execution. The Author of it pretended that it was granted upon Right, and confirm'd by several Examples; That King's did contract a kind of Marriage with the Kingdom that fell to them; That the Re-union of their

*Dissertation upon  
this matter.*

their other Estates with that Crown, was as a Gift which they <sup>1617.</sup> were oblig'd to make to it upon the account of that Marriage, which became part of that Crown; That several Kings before *Henry IV.* had done the like; and that the Case of *Bearn* was the same. And as one of the main Reasons the *Bearnois* alledg'd against those Examples, was that they only related to moving Estates, and such as paid Hommage to the Crown of *France*; whereas *Bearn* was an Independent Principality; They refused this Pretension by a long Chain of Contrary Proofs. The first was drawn from the Ancient Division of *France*, whereby it appear'd that *Bearn* had been part of the Kingdom of *Aquitain*. The second was taken from the Privileges the *Bearnois* possess'd in *France*, where they were reputed Natives; and were not oblig'd to take Letters of Naturalization, to enjoy the Prerogatives of *Frenchmen*. The third was grounded upon the Prince of *Bearn's* having paid Hommage to the Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Aquitain*; That the same Princes had often appeal'd from the Judgment of their Barons to the Parliament of *Guyenne*, and from thence afterwards to *Paris*; That by some Passages of the fifteenth Book of the Registers of *Innocent III.* it did appear that the Duke of *Aquitain* had Commenc'd a Suit against the Vice-comte of *Bearn*, as a Lord to his Vassal. They alledg'd for the fourth, That the said Principality had been sometimes under the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*; and they added finally, That when the Lords of that Country had refus'd to pay Hommage for it, War had sometimes been declar'd against them to constrain them to do it.

They granted that there was a Prescription of many <sup>*Suspension*</sup> Years in favour of the *Bearnois*: But then they said, That it <sup>*of Homage*</sup> could be no Plea for them, by reason of this Despotick Maxim, That no Prescription can avail against the Rights of the Crown, which are sacred, and can never be Alienated. A Maxim very opposite to Natural Right, which ever prejudices in favour of Liberty; and which wills that Servitude should be Establish'd by great Titles, but that they should be Abolish'd by short Prescriptions. Moreover they grounded the Nullity of the said Prescription, upon

1617. its proceeding from the Suspension of the Rights of *France* in favour of a King of *Navar*, who having been depriv'd of part of his Dominions, and reduc'd to retire with all his Court in *Bearn*, had not been prosecuted for the said Hommage, upon the account of his Zeal for the Service of *France*, for fear of adding Affliction to the Afflicted. They deny'd that ever the said Province was Infranchis'd by *Charles Martel*, as they pretended. They alledg'd the Example of the Re-union of *Bretagne*, which had been done notwithstanding the pretensions of the People who thought their Country Independent of the Crown; and who had formerly given the Name of

\* *Ill Clerk.* \* *Maulerc* to one of their Dukes, Nam'd *Peter*; because that not understanding his Rights, he had acknowledg'd himself a Vassal of *France*: So that they claim'd a Right, deriv'd from an Injustice committed against the *Brittons*, even contrary to the Articles of the Treaty made with them when *Charles VIII.* Marry'd their last Dutchess, to do the same to the *Bearnois*. These are the Maxims of those who pretend to change the Nature of things by saying, *I will have it so*. What they have done once, whither justly, or unjustly, becomes an Example for the future; and whereas they have done it maugre the Complaints and Murmurings of the Parties concern'd, they have acquir'd a Right of doing the same as often as new Occasions offer themselves.

Inconveni-  
ences at-  
tending the  
dis-union;  
and Ad-  
vantages  
of the Uni-  
on.

In the next place they endeavour'd to prove, That the withdrawing of *Bearn* from the rest of the Crown would be liable to a Thousand Inconveniencies; that considering what had happen'd to *Navar*, by the Invasion of the *Spaniards*, who had Usurp'd it from a Prince who was too weak to defend it, every body ought to desire to see *Bearn* Incorporated in a State potent enough to defend it; That its situation at the Foot of the Mountains which serve for a Barrier to the two Kingdoms, requir'd to be united to that on the side of which it was seated. Moreover that they had no Intentions to ruine the Privileges of that Principality, nor to meddle with the Sovereignty of their Laws; That it was necessary to create a Parliament there not as in a Conquer'd Country, to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience: but to honour it



as a Country in which *Henry the Great* was Born; That there were many Examples in Antiquity of Honours done to places that were remarkable by the Birth of great Princes; That it was necessary to preserve the old Laws and Customs of the *Bearnois*; and to dismember some Lands that were under the Jurisdiction of the other Parliaments, in order to afford a larger Extent of Jurisdiction to that which should be Created in *Bearn*. They added to all this, great Elogies of *Marquemont*, Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, who had seconded this Proposition in the last Estates. They represented that Re-union as very advantageous for the whole Kingdom of *France*, which would thereby be freed on that side of forcing Incursions; and for the Country of *Bearn* it self, who would become a sharer in the Glory and Happiness of the rest of the Kingdom. Finally in order to render the *Reform'd* Odious, as if the Opposition did only proceed from them, and from a Spirit of Faction, the Author spoke of that Re-union, or Conjunction as of a thing which the *Bearnois* earnestly desir'd; and he begg'd it of the King in their Names in very pressing Terms.

Nevertheless the *Bearnois* in general were very distant from that Thought; and the major part of the Catholicks concurr'd with the *Reform'd* in the Design to prevent that Important Innovation. There were none but the Clergy seconded by the House of *Grammont*, which was at odds with *La Force*, and some others either too Credulous, or prejudic'd by Bigotry, or such as expected to raise their Fortunes by such an Alteration, who further'd that Enterprize. No body was ignorant that the Clergy were the Authors of the aforesaid Dissertation; and none look'd upon them to be so well inclin'd to the Publick Good, as only to design the advantage of others. Moreover there was something very singular; in that the design of that Re-union had been Inspir'd by the Council of *Spain*, which endeavour'd it with all their might: Imagining perhaps that those People who are naturally hot and presumptuous would never suffer their contractual Laws to be Violated, without taking up Arms to maintain them: Or that the *Reform'd* Churches of *France* would never behold the ruine of those of that Province without renewing the Civil Wars. It is

By whom  
the Re-union  
was promoted.

1617. most certain at least, that during the delays of that Affair, *Spain* did powerfully excite the Council of *France*. They furnish'd the Reasons and Proofs which were alledg'd against the pretensions of the *Bearnois*, and which were visibly taken out of the Titles of Convents, or *Spanish* Historians; out of the Registers of *Barcelonna*, the Archieves of the Metropolitan Church of *Tarracona*, and other places. Several Libels which were dispers'd upon that Subject, which seem'd to be Printed at *Avignon*, were nevertheless brought from *Spain*. It was easily prov'd by the way by which they were brought; and even without that it was easie to judge at the first reading, that *Spain* had a hand in them. The Stile of the *League* was apparent in them, which in all their Writings mention'd the King of *Spain*. One of those Libels, after having admonish'd the King not to suffer himself to be persuaded out of it, added these Words. *What would the Prince of the Church say? What would the Catholick King say? What would the Emperor say?* Which sufficiently shew'd that those Forreign Powers had a hand in it.


Motives  
of the Op-  
ponents.

Persons of Judgment easily saw, that the Promises of preserving the Rights and Privileges of that little state were nothing but an Illusion: Since the method they observ'd to effect the said Re-union violated their most Essential Rights; which consisted in not being members of another Body, but to be a Body a part, although in the Hands and under the Authority of the same Master. Besides, according to the Constitution of that Principality, no Law could be made there, nor revers'd unless by the Approbation of the Prince and the Estates. Whereas the Prince would make that Re-union, like an absolute Master, contrary to the desire, and in spite of the opposition of the People: which was properly to trample upon the Law, which they call'd Fundamental and Contractual. As for the *Reform'd* they were very sensible that the Council would not stop there; That this first step was only a Tryal, to reduce the *Reform'd* Religion in *Bearn*, on the same Terms as it was in the rest of the Kingdom. The Policy of our Days would not allow such Countries as were not united to the Crown

Crown at the time of the Edict of *Nantes*, to enjoy the Privileges of that *Edict*, because they could not be design'd to be comprehended in it at that time: But yet under *Lewis XIII.* it would needs have it, that at whatever time the said Re-union was made, it was sufficient to introduce the *Roman Religion* there according to the Edict, in the same Splendor in which it was thereby Establish'd elsewhere. So that the *Reform'd* of *Bearn* seeing Religion and Liberty were equally concern'd in that Affair, omitted nothing to Ward a blow which would occasion the ruine of both. Whereupon their Enemies upbraided them as being guilty of a very shameful, or very Criminal Inconstancy, in having formerly desir'd their Churches to be United to those of *France*, in order to make but one Body in the National Synods, and in the General Assemblies; whereas they now express'd so much Repugnancy to become Members of the same Body Politick with the rest of the Kingdom. But that Reproach did not move them, by reason that the said diversity of Sentiments had been produc'd by the diversity of Conjunctions. They had desir'd to be United with those Churches, in order the more to engage themselves in the Communion of their Doctrine: And they oppos'd the Union of their Country to the Crown, as a thing which would serve to introduce the General Oppression of their Consciences and of their Persons.

Therefore they answer'd the Dissertation I have already mention'd, applying themselves more to destroy the Conclusion, than to refute the Arguments one after another; which were compos'd of those kind of Probabilities, which become Demonstrations in the Cause of the strongest; but yet which do not hinder People in point of Politicks to be ready to maintain the contrary, when their interest requires it. This Pamphlet under the Name of a Gentleman of *Navar*, maintain'd that the greatest Princes had ever been pleas'd to preserve the Titles of their Ancient Possessions, as Monuments of the Grandeur of their Predecessors; That some of them still retain'd the Titles of Kings of *Jerusalem*, and Princes of *Antioch*; That *Henry III.* himself after having lost the Crown of *Poland*, had kept the Title of it; That the Republick of *Venice*, tho' de-

And their  
Answer to  
the Disser-  
tation.

1617.  depriv'd of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, would not suffer the Arms of that Sovereignty Carv'd upon a Column before the Church of *St. Mark* to be ras'd out ; That those who were least favour'd by Fortune took as many Titles as they had Castles. That those who propos'd the Re-union of *Navar*, and of *Bearn* to the Crown, seem'd on the contrary only to be desirous to extinguish the Title of King of *Navar*, as if it were inconsistent with that of King of *France* ; that though it were true that according to the General Acceptation of the World the greatest draws in the least, yet that it did not follow that the Glorious Name of *France* should Abolish that of *Navar*, and reduce the State of it into a Province, by destroying their Rights and Privileges ; That it lessen'd the Authority of Kings to change their Kingdoms into Provinces ; That the Treble Crown of the Popes, and the Thiara of the Kings of *Persia*, shew'd sufficiently that it is an honour to wear several Crowns ; That the King of *Spain* did not confound his Kingdoms ; That the Emperor though elevated above other Princes, was not asham'd of the Titles of King of *Bohemia* and of *Hungary* ; That it was true that the King of *France* bearing the Name of those two Crowns, preserv'd the Right of Lawful Sovereign over both ; but that in case all the Laws of the Kingdom were violated ; it signify'd nothing to retain the bare Title of it ; That God having made the Fundamental Laws of Monarchies, they cannot be Trampled upon without Sacrilege. That they were like the fix'd Star, which cannot change their Place unless when the Firmament turns.

The Edit  
of Re-union  
publish'd.

These were partly the Reasons of those who were afraid, that the Court design'd to submit as it came to pass, those remains of a free State, in which Oppression was still unknown to the Laws of a Kingdom in which the King's Authority began to grow excessive. But yet neither these nor the others could prevent the publishing of the Edict of Re-union, in the same Month in which those Writings appear'd. The Estates of *Bearn* oppos'd the said Edict, and nominated Deputies to assist the Syndicks of the Country to draw their said Opposition in form. They positively maintain'd that *Bearn* was a Sovereign Lordship distinct from all other Sovereignty ; That  
the



the *Bourgeois* being Govern'd by Laws and Customs had only Elected Sovereigns in order to maintain those Customs, without allowing them the Power to Alter, Correct, or to reform them without the Estates of the Country, and by their Consent. That this was their Contractual Fundamental Law, which the Prince was oblig'd to swear to keep at his Inauguration ; That according to that, the King could not alter it ; That *Henry IV.* himself had rejected the Proposition of it, being unwilling to wrong a Country in which he was Born. Those Considerations made them hope that provided they could be heard in the Council, they might obtain something favourable from it. But instead of receiving any satisfaction from them, they gave them fresh Causes of Complaint ; and the Assembly of the Clergy obtain'd a Decree of Restauration of the Church Lands, after having so long sollicitd for it. *Maniald*, one of the Deputies General, who staid at *Paris* while his Colleague went to *Vitre* to assist at the National Synod there, being inform'd that the Council was preparing to give the said Decree, remonstrated on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *June*, that it was fit to allow *Lescun* time, according as it was promis'd to him, to repair to the Court again to give in his Reasons, and to deliver those Papers into the King's Hands which were return'd to him the preceeding Year. But the Clergy prevail'd notwithstanding this just Remonstrance. *Du Vair*, who was made Keeper of the Great Seal, and who did not think himself unworthy of a Cardinal's Cap, bely'd in this occasion, as in several others, the Reputation of Probity he had acquir'd, before his being rais'd to that Dignity : And in order that all the Clergy might share the favour of one of the Members of their Body, he push'd on that Affair with all his Credit. So that on the 23<sup>d</sup> of the said Month in the presence of *La Force*, who us'd his utmost endeavours to hinder it, a Decree was given in the Council, by which the King order'd the said Process to be brought before him : And two Days after it a Definite Decree was given to the satisfaction of the Clergy.

1617.

*The Clergy obtain a Decree of Restauration.*

This

1617. This Decree declar'd positively that the Deputies had been heard, and that the Council had seen the Writings and Answers; and ordain'd three things.

*Which declares that the Deputies have been heard, and the Writings seen.*

First, The Restitution of Church Lands, and the Restauration of the Catholick Religion, throughout the Principality of *Bearn*.

Secondly, The preservation of the *Reform'd* in all their Privileges; and the Reimplacement of the Sums that were taken from them by the said Decree of Restauration, upon the Ancient Demesne of *Bearn*; and in case that were not sufficient, upon the Demesnes of the Adjacent Places; according to which it was said, that the Sums should be stated upon the Expence of the Household, as ordinary and local Charges, which were to be acquitted before all others, the Assignments of which should not be Converted to any other use. They had bethought themselves of this Illusion of Reimplacement, to render the said Decree of Restauration more tollerable to such as only judge of things by appearances: And indeed the Churches and all particular Persons seem'd thereby to be Indemnify'd.

Finally the Decree adjourn'd the Demand of the Clergy to be admitted into the Estates of the Country, to the return of the Commissioner the King would send thither to put the said Decree in Execution. After which the King writ to those who had the management of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in *Bearn*, to send some body at Court to be present at the making of the said Reimplacement.

*Subtily of the Clergy.*

It was an Exquisite Subtily of the Clergy, to order that Affair in the Nature of a Civil Process, as if it had only been a Contestation between private Persons: Whereas the thing in question was to revoke a Law, pass'd by the Authority of the Sovereign, with the Consent of the Estates, for the punishment of a Rebellious Clergy, who had betray'd their Lawful Princes, and caus'd their Subjects to take up Arms to deprive them of their Inheritance. But they were sensible that it would prove an easier Task to judge a Process, than to revoke a Law grounded upon such good Reasons. Nevertheless as Decrees are no Laws in *France*, they were oblig'd afterwards

wards to convert the said Decree into the form of an Edict, 1617.  
to the end that the Inrollment of it might be perform'd with  
more Formality. In the mean while the Clergy being un-  
willing to appear Ingrateful, caus'd the Bishop of *Aire* to  
return the King Thanks on the 18th of *July*; whose Speech had  
y<sup>e</sup>t more Violence in it than the Bishop of *Micon*'s. Among  
the Complaints which follow'd those Thanks, there was one  
against the Book of the four Ministers, and against their De-  
dication to the King. He call'd them *Impudent*, Ministers of  
*Irreligion and of Falshood*, and he stil'd their Religion the *Whore*  
*of Satan*. He bragg'd that they had been forc'd to lay down  
the Cudgels in the Conferences of *Mantes* and of *Fontaine-*  
*bleau*. He Elevated the Fidelity of the Clergy very high;  
and in order to create Jealousies about the *Reform'd*, he ap-  
ply'd to them what the King of *England*, had sometimes said  
of the Independents of his Kingdom of *Scotland*. After this,  
when the Assembly broke up they charg'd their Agents with a  
\* *Cahier* containing 46 Articles: And they acquitted them-  
selves so well of what was recommended to them upon that  
Subject, that excepting only one Article they obtain'd all  
their Demands, as I will observe elsewhere.

*A Violent  
Speech.*

\* *Petition.*

The News of this Decree being carry'd into *Bearn*, the E-  
states who were Assembled at *Orthez* resolv'd to undergo any  
thing rather than to put it in Execution, being equally of-  
fended at the thing, and at the manner of it. A Decree given  
contrary to the Promise made to *Lescun*, and without having  
heard half of what the Parties concern'd had to say: especia-  
lly a Decree which in a Despotick manner abrogated Laws  
that had been made with all the requir'd Solemnities, seem'd  
to them unjust, not being sensible as yet, that Modern Policy  
call's nothing Justice but the Will of the Strongest. They De-  
puted *Lescun* to the King with humble Remonstrances, and to  
intreat him to allow that the Deputies his Majesty should de-  
fire them to send to him to be present at the making of the  
Reimplacement, might be chosen in an Assembly compos'd  
of the three Estates of *Bearn*, and the Deputies of all the  
Churches of *France*. *Lescun* took Letters in his way from  
*Rochel*, from whence the Assembly was already gone. He

*The Bear-  
noisendea-  
vour to  
Ward the  
Blow.*

1617. could not obtain an Audience at St. *Germain's* before the 17th of September. *La Force* presented him; The Deputies General seconded him; and acquainted the King that all the Churches of the Kingdom would have written to him as well as *Rochel*, if they could have met together again without offending him.

Remon-  
frances of  
Lescun.

Ligels.

The State  
of Religion  
in Bearn.

*Lescun* made an Excellent Speech to the King, and seconded the Petition he presented to him from the Estates with powerful Reasons; alledging that the Contractual Law had been duly observ'd for the space of above three hundred Years, and that there was no example of its having been Violated; or that ever the Customs receiv'd in *Bearn*, according to that Law had been alter'd, otherwise than by the Consent of the Estates. He desir'd an Answer to a *Cahier* of Grievances, and to divers Petitions he had presented; and begg'd a Prosecution might be made against the Authors of a Libel, Intitul'd *Le Moine*, which had been written upon the Affairs of *Bearn* in a stile full of Venom and Violence. One may judge of it by what the Author said; that it was in the power of the Catholics to destroy the *Reform'd*, and that the only thing which hinder'd them from doing it, was that they valu'd the Life of one Catholick more, than the Death of a hundred *Huguenots*. In another which introduc'd two Peasants speaking about the Affairs of the Times, they made one of them say, That the *Huguenots* were Impudent to complain of St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and to call the Butchery of it, a *Massacre*; by reason that it was one of the most Equitable Acts of Justice that had ever been, or that ever could be done. Moreover *Lescun* deny'd whatever had been said of the State of *Bearn* by the Bishop of *Macon*. He affirm'd that the Catholics were so far from being Twenty five in Thirty there, that on the contrary the *Reform'd* were Ten to One, particularly among Persons of Consideration; and that they sustain'd almost all the Charges; That the Catholics were so far from being ill serv'd in the Exercises and Rites of their Religion, that they had upwards of 300 Priests, besides Bishops, Canons, and Preachers; whereas the *Reform'd* had but 60 Ministers; That  
the



the Catholicks were also so far from being inconvenienc'd in their Worship, being forc'd to seek out places distant from their Habitation to perform the same, that most of them had Mass said at home, or very near them ; whereas the *Reform'd* in several Cantons went to Church at three Leagues distance from their Houses ; That the Catholicks had three parts in four of the Churches, and possess'd two thirds of the Ecclesiastical Revenues ; That the number of those which were Enemies to their Churches daily increas'd, whereas of late the Places of Ministers which became vacant by Death, were suppress'd by the King's Authority.

These Cases were considerable enough to deserve to be clear'd, before a Definitive Judgment were given in that Affair : Since that if *Lescun* spoke the truth, nothing could be more ridiculous or false than the Complaints of the Clergy, nor more Inhumane or Unjust than their Ambitious Prosecutions. But Equity had already for some years been banish'd from the Court. Justice and Sincerity were Bury'd with the late King ; and as little care was taken to raise them out of the Grave as to revenge his Murther. Principally in Affairs of Religion, the false Assertion of a Bishop though contrary to what was publickly known was believ'd to the prejudice of the *Reform'd* when they alledg'd Truths attested by Proofs above all Exceptions. Therefore *Lescun* obtain'd nothing, but leave to treat of the Affairs of the Churches of *Bearn* jointly with those of the other Churches of the Kingdom, and by the same Deputies. The meaning of this was that by virtue of the Re-union, they were look'd upon as making but one Body with the others ; That their particular Complaints were laid aside, and order'd to be Annex'd to the General Affairs ; and that whereas the Court only granted Illusory Words to the rest of the Churches upon their Remonstrances, those of *Bearn* were to expect the same Treatment.

Accordingly, while the Estates of *Bearn* were preparing their Instructions, and that *Lescun* was ready to carry them to the Court, the King answer'd the \* *Cabier* left by the Clergy to their Agent ; and without acquainting *Lescun*, or the Deputies General in the least with it, the King granted them on

1617.

*Lescun*  
only obtains  
Words.

The *Cabier*  
of the Clergy  
is satisfactorily  
answer'd.  
\* *Petition*  
or Address.

1617. the last of *August*, besides the restitution of all the Ecclesiastical Houses, and Church-yards on certain Conditions, the Presidentship in the Estates of the Country; The admission into the Common-Council and Sovereign Courts; The Exemption from all Jurisdiction but the Popes; The Establishment of Jesuits in *Bearn*, without restriction of Number, or of Functions, and without retrenching any thing of the Privileges of Scholarship from those who should study in their Houses. One Article only was excepted against. The Clergy desir'd four Cities of Surety in *Bearn*. This could be of no use to them, in a Country where according to their own relation there were six Catholics to one Reform'd. Moreover the said Proposition was most ridiculous in the mouth of those very Persons, who had imputed it as a great Crime to the Reform'd, to have taken such Precautions with their King. But 'tis the Nature of Mankind: We daily see Persons who Exempt themselves from Common Laws; and think those things Lawful in them, which they impute as Crimes to the rest of the World.

1618. After this great Victory, the Bishops of *Bearn* went to *Bordeaux*, and to *Thoulouse* to obtain the Verification of the Edict publish'd upon the aforesaid Restauration: After which the Bishop of *Oleron* came back to Court, and the Bishop of *Lesçar* repair'd into *Bearn*, in order to press on both sides the Accomplishment of an Affair so far advanc'd. He had the Cunning to flatter *La Force* with the hopes of a Marshal's Staff, and a Sum of Money to Indemnifie him; by which means the said Lord promis'd to obtain the Approbation of the Edicts of Re-union and Re-implacement in *Bearn*. But he soon perceiv'd that the Court Laugh'd at him. They thought they might dispence with his Credit, because they had a Party in *Bearn* which would get the upperhand, though never so weak, being seconded by the King's Authority. This Party consisted of the remainders of the Faction of *Grammont*, which had been so famous for the Disputes between them and that of *Beaumont* their Rival, which had finally occasion'd the loss of the Upper *Navar*, which *Ferdinand* had Usurp'd. The Count of *Grammont* was a profess'd Enemy to *La Force*, being

The Effect of those Advantages is prosecuted without.

being Jealous of his Authority, and for other particular 1618.  
Reasons: Inſomuch that his Relations and Friends being joyn'd  
to thoſe which the Zeal of Religion, the Credit of the Biſhops  
and Confefſors, the Penſions, or the hopes, the Levity, or the  
Imprudence of the People could ingage in the ſame Intereſt,  
were preparing a conſiderable Succour for the Court. Moreo-  
ver *Luines* hated *La Force*; either becauſe he had an Averſion  
for all thoſe who had Merit and Capacity; or becauſe *La Force*  
had two Sons at Court, who began to get too great a ſhare  
in the King's Favour, to expect any from a Favourite full of  
Ambition and Jealouſie. They were *Aimet* and *Mompouillan*,  
who had been bred with the King from their Infancy, and  
had wherewithal to obtain a preference before all others of  
their Rank. Particularly *Mompouillan* advanc'd apace to-  
wards the higheſt degree of Favour; and he ſeem'd only to  
want a little more Age, to have as great a ſhare in the Govern-  
ment, as he poſſeſs'd already in his Prince's favour. *Luines*  
had employ'd him to raiſe his own Fortune upon the Ruine of  
the Maſhal d'*Ancre*. The Clergy had us'd their utmoſt Endeavours  
at that time to obtain the aforeſaid Decree of Reſtaura-  
tion; and *Luines* told *Mompouillan*, in order to animate  
him the more againſt that Odious Favourite, that he was the  
Man who ſeconded the Pretenſions of the Prelates; and more-  
over that he deſign'd to take the Government of *Bearn* from  
*La Force*, leſt he ſhould hinder by his Credit, the alterations  
they propos'd to make in that Principality. So that *Mom-  
pouillan*, a young Man without Experience, thinking to pro-  
mote the advantage of his Family, promoted *Luines*, ſpeak-  
ing continually of the ſaid Maſhal to the King, as of a Man  
that Uſurp'd his Authority, and did abuſe it to the prejudice  
of every body. By this means he ruin'd his Favour, to lay  
the foundation of anothers: And when *Luines* had deſtroy'd  
the Maſhal d'*Ancre*, the only Recompenſe he beſtow'd on  
*Mompouillan*, who had ſerv'd him ſo effectually in that Affair,  
was to involve his whole Houſe in his Perſonal Diſgrace. Nei-  
ther was it likely that *Luines* would promote the Fortune of  
the Father, ſince he dreaded the Progreſs of that of the Chil-  
dren; nor that a Man whoſe Favour was not yet ſettled,  
would

1618. would suffer the Children of an Ingenious Man near the King ; or that the Jesuits would permit that Prince to honour *Heretics* with his Confidence and Affection.

*Inequalities of La Force.*

*La Force* by endeavouring to keep measures between the Court and *Bearn*, as if he had had a prospect thereby to render himself the more necessary on both sides, by forming difficulties which he should have the honour to remove, created Jealousies on both sides : And finding that he was play'd upon by the Court, he was oblig'd to protect *Bearn* a little more than he had done, in order to preserve some Credit and some Recourse. But the Marshal *de Bouillon* only had the Art to gain by those Intrigues ; and to behave himself with so much prudence, or good Fortune ; that he was equally courted on both sides ; That he was at once the Author of the Leagues that were form'd by his Advice, and the Mediator who dissolv'd them by his Intermission ; ever in Credit with the Princes and Lords, over whom his Genius had an Ascendant ; and ever caress'd at Court, because they could never dissipate the Confederacies he had form'd without him. Nevertheless *La Force* finding at last that neither his Merit, nor his Services could procure him the Recompences that were due to him, and which had been promis'd him while *Henry IV.* was alive, took the contrary Party like a Wise Courtier : And being sensible that the best and most effectual way to obtain what one desires from the Court, is often to make ones self to be fear'd, he rais'd so many Obstacles against his Enemies, that they were forc'd in order to retrieve him, to grant him, what they had refus'd in order to keep him.

*The Country of Bearn pursues in this Opposition.*

This Affair occasion'd several Assemblies to be made in *Bearn*, several Oppositions, and several Decrees by the Sovereign Council : And the Court omitted no means to succeed in the said undertaking. They were sensible that according to the Rigour of Right the Enterprize was unjust : But the Clergy being little sensible to Reasons of that Nature, and allowing a large Extent to the old Maxim which permits to Violate Right in order to Reign, think that they may trample upon it to promote their Interest. Moreover the King was Imbark'd in that Affair : And according to the new Policy, they were of opinion



opinion that a Prince being once engag'd can never retract. 1618. The injustice of a design is no longer a reason to break it, when once it is form'd ; by reason that Injustice ceases as soon as Supreme Power is engag'd. A Sovereign makes and destroys Right by a Word. Whatever is just, or unjust before he has pronounc'd, alters its Nature as soon as he says, *I will have it so.*

During these Contestations, as several Libels were publish'd against the *Reform'd* and against the *Barnois*, these also set forth Volumes of Manifesto's and Apologies. There appear'd a Writing of that Nature Printed in *London*, Intituled, *A Discourse of the Seizure of Ecclesiastical Estates in Bearn*, etc. The Author treated the thing at large, and began by the occasion of that Seizure. He related the Conspiracy of the Catholicks of the Country against Queen *Jane* and the Princes her Children, which I have mention'd elsewhere ; Their Retreat to *Roche* during the revolt of their Subjects ; The Reduction of the Country to their Allegiance by *Mongomery* ; The Seizure of the Estates in order to punish the Ecclesiasticks ; The *Reform'd* establish'd by the Queen's Authority, and by the approbation of the Estates ; The Assignment of the Ecclesiastical Estates for the maintenance of the Ministers, the Poor, Scholars, Colleges, and the Rectors, or Superiors of the same : Of the Garrison of *Navarreins* ; of the King's Lieutenant ; of the Council and the Sovereign Court ; of the Captains of some Castles ; of the Counsellors and Auditors of the Chamber of Accounts, and of other principal and necessary Officers : The Institution of an Ecclesiastical Senate, compos'd of two Councillors, two Auditors, two Gentlemen, two Ministers, two Qualify'd Persons from the Third Estate, an Ecclesiastical Attorney, and a Treasurer General to have the direction of the said Assignments ; The Oath taken by the late King in 1581. to preserve the Old Laws and Customs, and all the Advantages and Grants to which his Predecessors, or himself had consented ; the Suppression of the Ecclesiastical Senate some years before by *Miossans*, who nevertheless made no alteration as to the Delignation of the said Revenues ; The Protestations of the Estates against the said

*Writings on their behalf.*

Enter

1618. Enterprife; The reiteration of their Oppofition; The Confirmation of all the Regulations made by Queen *Jane* by the Edi&th of 1599. which reftor'd the *Roman* Religion in *Bearn*; and that which *Lewis XIII.* had made in 1610, 1611, 1614, 1615. of all the Edi&ths of the late King and his own. After which the Author made Reflexions upon the manner in which the faid Reftitution had been made: And he obferv'd very juftly upon the Edi&th of Reimplacement, that it could not be of more force than thofe which had been revok'd; That the Pope and the Clergy would never be at reft, until thofe new Regulations were violated, as well as others that were more Authentick; which were treated at *Rome* as liable to Deftitution, the Princes concern'd in them as Favourers and Promoters of *Herefie*; That the Demefnes of *Bearn* were unalienable, and that the Succellor was oblig'd to redeem the Engagements made by his Predeceffor; That a perpetual Engagement of the Revenue is an effective alienation of the Eftate; That the remainder of the Affignments were given out of the Country, contrary to their Privileges, and in Suspicious Places, among the Enemies of the *Reform'd* Religion. He added Remarks upon the Nature, Original, and neceffity of Tythes; and he concluded that the *Reform'd* could not lawfully be oblig'd to pay theirs to Catholicks. Finally he faid that the King leaving the Ecclefiaftical Eftates in *Bearn* in the fame Condition in which Queen *Jane* had put them, might have made the Reimplacement of the Sum to which the Revenues in difpute amounted, upon his Demefnes in favour of the Clergy. This Expedient would have look'd more reasonable undoubtedly: And the Clergy would have been better able to improve the faid Reimplacement, by their Credit in the Council, than the *Reform'd*, to whom all things were contrary.

Why the Clergy would not take the faid Reimplacement for themfelves.

But the real truth is, that the faid Indemnification was only a blind to deceive the *Bearnois*; and to induce them to bear the reft with patience: Therefore the Clergy who did not think it fafe, were not fo ill advis'd as to content themfelves with it. The Court which had granted that Reimplacement upon the Remonftrances of *Du Pleffis* Comptroller General of *Navar*; and at the Intreaty of the Duke of *Rohan* to per-  
fuade

1618.

suade the World that they proceeded in that matter, upon the hearing of the Parties, and an ample knowledge of the Cause, would have wanted no pretence to make it void at pleasure. A reply was made to the said Writing of the *Bearnois* in the Name of the Catholicks: But the Author of the Reply did not meddle with the Conspiracy of the Catholicks of *Bearn* against their Sovereign. Being favour'd by this silence he represented the War made against those Rebels by *Mongommery*, by the Authority of the Queen and of her Children, as a Chain of several Massacres: He said that the Seizure of the Estates belonging to the Clergy, had only been made provisionally; but he did not add that two years after it the Queen had actually Converted it into an adjudg'd Fact, instituting perpetual Administrators of the said Seizures, which were to be employ'd by them to other uses: He pretended that the Estates that had made the said Alteration, could not be looked upon as lawful, since the Ecclesiasticks had been excluded, which were to compose part of them: As if there had been no Lawful Estates in the World before there was a Clergy; or that a whole Country concurring with their Sovereign, had not naturally a Right to alter some Circumstances in the form of the usual Government. He added that those new Laws could not pass for Fundamental ones, by reason that such Laws must take their Births with the States: A Maxim which the Clergy had adopted in the last Estates General, to oppose the Article which the Third Estate pretended to be for the surety of Kings: But a very false Maxim, since it is most certain that intire Estates compos'd of a Head and Members, may give the force of Fundamental Laws to all such as they agree upon, and that are necessary to secure the Tranquility and Prosperity of the Publick: Otherwise nothing would be more unfortunate than Humane Society, if the first Laws under which they were form'd being either render'd of no force by Artifice, or violated by force, it were either impossible or unlawful to re-establish them upon new foundations. He affirm'd with the same boldness, that Princes never Swear to observe the Laws of their Predecessors; which is prov'd to be false, by all sorts of Testimonies, by

An Answer  
to the Writing  
of the  
Bearnois.

1618. all the Lights of Reason, by all that can be call'd Right and Justice, and by all those things which make the certainty of Humane Affairs. In the next place he declar'd, that the late King design'd to do what his Son had done: And that the only reason that had hinder'd him from so doing, was that he durst not: A falsity often advanc'd by the Clergy, since that Princes being no longer in a condition to give them the Lie; and which has been extended by the Missionaries, and by those that have drawn the Plan of the Persecution of our Days, even to his own Edicts, though he was really so Jealous of them that he would never have attempted the least thing against them. His known Integrity, his great Designs, his reiterated Protestations, and his constant practice during the space of Twelve Years, are sufficient Testimonies of his Disposition towards the Religious Observation of such useful Laws.


*A Continuation of the first Answer.*

Nevertheless in order to prove that the said Prince had design'd to alter the State of *Bearn*, the Author recited all the Grants he had made to divers Bishops in those Parts, to their Chapters, to the Curates, Abbots and Priors, and to all the Ecclesiasticks: From which the *Reform'd* would have had more reason to conclude, that the Clergy is never satisfy'd; than the Clergy to conjecture that the late King would have been capable to break his Word. He repeated the Instances made by the Clergy during the Estates General in 1645. and in their Assembly in 1617. and because an Illusive Audience had been given to the two *Diserote* Father and Son, Ministers of *Bearn*, before that Affair was judg'd, he maintain'd that they had been admitted to make a full defence. He Laugh'd at the Prescription of Fifty Years which the *Bearnois* pleaded; and oppos'd that of the Clergy to it, which he ridiculously made to amount to 1500 years: As if the Possession of the Clergy had preceded not only the Temporal Greatness of the Bishops, but even the first Preaching of the Gospel at the foot of the *Pyrenean* Hills. The rest of the said Writing was abusive. He spoke of the Reimplacement as if it had been the effect of a pure Favour, which render'd the opposition of the *Reform'd* very unjust. He talk'd of the Tithes as of a thing which having belong'd to the Ecclesiasticks before the Seizure, ought



to be restor'd by the Edict which revers'd it; and he maintain'd moreover that the Estates of the Church were unalienable, as Estates of which God was the Proprietor: A Monastical Maxim, which making God Possessor of Lands and Revenues, and Titles of Vanity, shamefully debases to a Terrestrial and Temporal Nature, a Reign altogether Spiritual and Heavenly, which *Jesus Christ* exerts over his Church. He endeavour'd to insinuate to the King, that the *Reform'd* desiring to be freed from paying of Tithes to the Ecclesiasticks, design'd to keep for their Ministers both the Tithes and the Sums that were granted to them in lieu thereof. He concluded by a Maxim very proper to remove the force of the most solemn Edicts, *viz.* That they only serv'd to preserve an ancient Right in favour of those for whom they were made; but that they did not create a new Right. According to which Notion it was easie to revoke whatever pass'd for a new Concession, or that was derogatory to the Ancient Right, in the Edicts which had given a Peace to the Kingdom.

But the *Reform'd* of *Bearn* were not the only People against whom Injustices were committed. The Court was not more equitable towards those of other Provinces. The Commissioners that were sent to redress some Contraventions, made none but Illusive Ordinances: And whereas in the foregoing Reign all Difficulties were for the most part decided favourably for the *Reform'd*, they began under this to give nothing but advices of a removal to the Council, of sharing or dividing Judgments in which the Artifice of the Catholick Commissioner render'd the clearest Rights doubtful, which even those of his own Religion were asham'd of. So that the *Reform'd* finding that the Commissioners did them no good in the places where they had been sent, did no longer desire the Court to send any elsewhere, lest they should do more harm than good. *Renard* who was sent into *Bearn*, was at the same time Commissary in *Guyenne* with *Lusignan*: But when they press'd him to perform his Commission, at least in such places as should happen in his way, he refus'd it; and the reason he alledg'd for his refusal was, that he would first see the effect of his Journey into *Bearn*; as if he had had a mind to insinuate,

1618.  nuate, that in case the *Reform'd* of that Principality did not content him, he would make the others answer for it. And indeed he had receiv'd orders from the Court to behave himself so, to keep the *Reform'd* of the Adjacent Provinces in suspense; to the end that the hopes of being gratify'd by the Commissioners, and the fear of losing the benefit of their Commission, should hinder them from ingaging too far in the Affairs of *Bearn*, which they were unwilling they should meddle with. The Parliament of *Paris* refus'd to receive the two Places of Counsellors which have been so often mention'd; of which the one was that of a Catholick who had imbrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion, and the other was to serve to Indemnifie them for the loss of that of *Berger* who had made himself a Catholick. They had obtain'd from the King upon that Subject an Edict, Mandates, and Verbal Orders, which appear'd very exprefs: Nevertheless the Parliament did not yield; and the Court of Aids was not less severe upon the Subject of the Exemption of the Ministers. But under a very absolute Government, which exacted from all the Orders of the Kingdom base Submissions towards the Favourites, this Disobedience perswaded the most suspicious that there was a Guile, and that the Court was willing the Parliament should disobey.

*Enterprises  
upon the  
Cities of  
Surety.*

So many Enterprises were made upon the Places of Surety, that it was hardly credible that it should be attempted without secret Orders. Some were made upon *Tartas*, upon the Mount of *Marsan*, upon the *Mafs* of *Verdun*. Though *Fontrailles* had promis'd to turn Catholick whenever they pleas'd, he still continu'd in *Leitoure*, and feign'd that he was still of the *Reform'd* Religion. They judg'd by the little regard he express'd to the weak Orders he receiv'd from the Court, that his deceit was not ill receiv'd there. *Desportes* who was a Capital Enemy to the *Reform'd*, maintain'd himself in a Fortify'd Castle, of which the *Reform'd* had order'd the Demolition by a Decree of the Council: It is true that for fear he should obey, they had given another which remov'd the Affair before the Commissioners, and still left *Desportes* in Possession; which occasion'd great Troubles in the *Cevenes* and the

the *Gevaudan*. *Antraguers*, against whom they made divers Complaints, kept his Governments in spite of them. 1618.

The free exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion was hinder'd in divers places; particularly at *Ruffec* in *Saintonge*, where it ought to have been allowed according to all Rules. The *Marchioness de Ruffec* alledg'd for her reason that it was done without her Consent: As if that Consent had been necessary for those Places in which there was an evident Possession, in the terms of the Edicts. The Duke *de Vendome* having taken Possession of the Castle of the City of his Name, by an Agreement he had made with the Governor, did not fail to demolish the Temple the *Reform'd* had built at the foot of the said place. He caus'd that Violence to be committed by his own Livery Men, without keeping the least measures of Honesty, or Formalities of Justice. The Church of the said Place made Complaints to him about it, which were the better grounded by reason that he had promis'd to leave all things in the same Condition he had found them. He seem'd to be inclin'd to make some reparation for that Enterprize; though he really did not design it. He declar'd that he could not suffer in a place, which he pretended to make part of his *Basse-court*, the free exercise of a Religion contrary to his: Besides he had a mind to take the advantage of the *Reform'd* of *Vendome*, who having been in possession of that Place from the very time of Queen *Jane*, thought that no body would dispute a Right acquir'd by so long a Prescription: For which reason they had forgot to take other Sureties from the late King besides the Edict. They were oblig'd to apply themselves to the King, in order to obtain the restauration of their Temple. Commissioners were sent on purpose to examine that Affair upon the very spot; but they could not determine it without great difficulties. The Catholics were often ready to proceed to the utmost Violences; and the *Reform'd* were not much wiser. Finally the business was made up, these being oblig'd to relinquish part of their Right to secure the rest; the Exercise of their Religion was remov'd out of the City, near one of the Gates, by a solemn Ordinance; and the King was at the Charge of building the Temple, and of the price of the Ground

*The Exercise of the Reform'd Religion hinder'd in divers places.*

1618. Ground on which it was built. Nevertheless this shew'd the *Reform'd* that the Court had no mind to favour them, since that in doing them Justice, even in the most reasonable things, they still abated something of their Right. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux* refus'd to remove Criminal Causes in which the *Reform'd* were concern'd to the Chamber of *Nerac*: And in order to have a pretence to retain them, they had the boldness to say, that all the Crimes the *Reform'd* were accus'd of, were so many Crimes of Treason, by reason that they were of a Religion contrary to the State. They were prosecuted in divers places for Crimes abolish'd by the Edicts; and particularly by that of *Blois*. The Jesuits increas'd in credit more and more; and had not only obtain'd a Decree on the 15th of *February*, which allow'd them to keep an open College at *Paris* for all sorts of Sciences, without regard to the Decrees to the contrary made by the Parliament, nor to the oppositions of the University: But also caus'd a Decree of the *Academi* of Theology and Arts, to be revers'd, which declar'd that they would admit none to the Degrees or Privileges of Scholarship, but such as had study'd in their Colleges, or in those of the *Academies* that were in Confederacy with them. They endeavour'd also to slip into the \* Places of Surety. *Regourd* being sent to *Leitoure* by the Bishop, in the quality of a Preacher, The King took it ill that the Consuls had given him a Summons to depart from thence, alledging the quality of the place. He wrote to the Inhabitants to order them to suffer the Jesuit to remain and to Preach there; telling them that he hop'd that he would keep within the bounds of the Edicts. A thousand Disputes were made about the Burial of the *Reform'd*. The Countess *de Roussin* being Buried in the Quire near the Altar of the Parochial Church, the Attorney General took the thing in hand for the Curate; and declaring that the Church was Polluted by the Burial, obtain'd a Decree of the Parliament at *Paris*, which ordain'd an Information to be made against the said Contravention, and that the Church should be reconcil'd, if it had not been done already: Which implies the removal of the Corps by which the said Church had been profand.

Injustices  
of the Par-  
liaments.

Jesuits.

\* Cities,  
Towns and  
Castles,  
granted to  
the Reform-  
ed for  
their safety  
by the E-  
dicts.

Burial.



All these Complaints, and many more being inserted in a long \* *Cahier*, a Council was held on purpose at the Chancellors on the ninth of *July*, in which 33 of these well express'd Articles were examin'd : But instead of any effectual satisfaction, they only obtain'd removals to the Chambers, and ineffectual Letters to the Governors and Judges of the said places. The *Cahiers* presented at the beginning of the Year had been answer'd in the same manner ; and were not dispatch'd until the 21th of *February*. The Answers, tho' favourable in appearance, were only Evasions, to free the Council of the Importunities of the Deputies General. It is easie to judge of it by that which was written on the side of the 13th Article, in which the *Reform'd* complain'd that the Ecclesiasticks of *Languedoc* su'd them for the Demolishing of Churches and Convents during the Troubles ; and Indicted them before the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, where the said Causes were retain'd, without any regard to the Removals desir'd by the *Reform'd*. This was one of the Crimes that are always abolish'd by the Edicts of Peace ; and which are look'd upon as unavoidable Consequences of War, the Necessities of which neither respect Palaces or Churches, when they are places the Enemies may improve to thier advantage. The King's Answer was, that he would not suffer any prosecution to be made upon the account of the Materials of the said Demolishments imploy'd to other uses during the Troubles ; and he revers'd all Decrees to the contrary. This seem'd to be to the purpose ; nevertheless it did not put a stop to the Prosecutions ; and they were oblig'd to renew their Complaints. The truth is, that the form of the late King's Answers was partly the same : But there was this essential difference between his and his Sons, that the Fathers only serv'd, as it were, for Memoirs of the Commands he was to send into the Provinces to the Governors, and other Officers of Justice : Insomuch that the Answer had the force of a Law, by an express order to put it in execution ; which he never fail'd of sending to such places where it was necessary : But the Son's Answers were only words, to free the Court of Importunities & Sollicitations : And whereas as soon as the Depu-  
were

1618.  
 \* *Petition, or Re-  
 monstrance  
 Answers to  
 the Cahiers*

1618. were out of sight, they forgot their Promises, the *Reform'd* receiv'd no benefit by it in the Provinces, where they Laugh'd at their answer'd *Cahiers*.

*Illusive  
Remedies.*

The same Fate attended the other means, which had serv'd under the late Reign, to put them out of Trouble. A Removal or Appeal before the Commissioners was become a Jest, by reason that the *Reform'd* Commissioner was ever at the Devotion of the Court; and that the Catholicks having no favourable Instructions, suffer'd themselves easily to be prevail'd upon by the Clergy and by the Jesuits, which Persons of that Character have ever endeavour'd to oblige. A Confirmation of some Articles of the Edict violated by the Catholicks was but a Song; by reason that the Answer which granted it, not being seconded, could not obtain more respect than an Edict, so solemn as that of *Nantes*; or a better observation of the Settlements, which an Edict of that Consequence could not secure against the Injustice of a false Zeal. A Declaration of what the King would, or would not have, being weaken'd by the little earnestness that was express'd to put it in Execution, met with no Obedience. Perhaps I may enlarge more upon this Subject in another place: But this is sufficient in this place to shew the Effect of the Remonstrances and Petitions the *Reform'd* were daily oblig'd to present; viz. to obtain Illusive Remedies for real Evils; and to see the Clergy authoris'd to raise greater Persecutions against them, by the little redress they met with from the King's Authority, to oppose the first Attempts.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of NANTES.

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VOL. II. BOOK VI.

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*A Summary of the Contents of the  
Sixth B O O K.*

**E**Xtream despair of the Bearnois. An Assembly refus'd at Castel-jaloux and at Tonneins. They meet at Orthez, and are proscrib'd. Sedition at Pau. Malice of the Commissioner. Presages and Devotions. Craft of the Council. First and Final Mandate directed to the Sovereign Council of Bearn: Follow'd by Decrees of the said Council.

O o

Senti-

*Sentiments of some particular Persons upon those Affairs. Dispositions of the Grandees. The State of Foreign Affairs. Dangerous Consequences of Moderate Councils. An Apology of the Conduct of the Bearnois. Artifice of the Bishops of that Country. Remarks upon the Speech of the Bishop of Macon. Difficulties against the Reimplacement: Against the Tithes. Prescription. Conclusion. The Queen Mother makes her Escape from Blois. The Prince of Conde is put at Liberty. The Assembly of Orthez Transferr'd to Rochel takes the Kings part, and breaks up. Another Assembly allow'd at Loudun. Their Preliminary Demands. Why the Reform'd have so often renew'd the same Demands. The Court refers the Complaints to the General \* Cahier, and other Articles of Complaints. The Assembly prohibits the Preaching of Jesuits, or other Monks in the Towns of Surety. Decrees of divers Parliaments to the contrary. Deputation, Letters and Remonstrances to the King. The Reform'd were inclin'd to serve the Queen Mother. A vexatious Answer from the King, and the Effect of it. Oppositions of the Catholicks against the Settlement of a College at Charenton. Assembly of the Clergy. They are exempted from pleading in Courts where all the Judges are Reform'd. Reiterated Orders to the Assembly of Loudun to break up. An Expedient of Accommodation. An Unexpected Declaration against the Assembly. The Prince of Conde deceives the Reform'd. Affected diligence of the Attorney General. The Assembly remains steady. The Negotiations are renew'd. The Assembly obeys upon the Words of the Prince of Conde and of the Favourite. Effect of the separation of the Assembly. New Intrigues against the Favorite. The Duke of Rohan sides with the Queen. Scruples of the Queen Mother. The Power of the Party she forms. Useful Advice of the Prince of Conde, and ill advice of the Bishop of Lucon. Reasons of the Bishop. Defeat of the Queens Forces, follow'd by a Peace. Unexpected Journey of the King in Bearn. Faults of the Reform'd, and the Cause thereof. Remonstrances cannot stop the King: He arrives at Pau: Makes himself Master of Navareins: Takes the Oath: Alters the whole frame of the Government. Suppression of the Cap-*



*tains of the Parsons. Treatment of the Reform'd. Injuries, Threatnings, Violences. The Evil encreases after the King's departure. Wickedness of the Bishops. Cruelties of Poyane. Divers Relations of the King's Journey. National Synod of Alais. Political Settlement. The Ministers deputed for the Synod of Dort give an account of the opposition they have met with to stay them. Affairs of the Synod cross'd by a thousand Artifices. They resolve to send Deputies to the King, and revoke their Resolution. All manner of Succors is refus'd to the Deputy of Bearn. Important Considerations war'd. News of Consequence suppress'd. Treachery of some Ministers unpunish'd. Affairs of Privas, and their Original. Accommodation broken off by the Lord thereof. The Place is deposited. Violences of the Garrison, and Calumnies against the Inhabitants. An Assembly at Anduze. Behaviour of Chatillon. Churches attack'd. Invektives against the Synod of Alais. Assembly at Gergeau. Important Propositions. 1st. Whether they shall Vote by Heads, or by Provinces. 2ly. Whether they may Exceed their Instructions. Deliberations of the Assembly. Other Assemblies in Anjou and in Burgundy. Divers complaints of the Reform'd in those Provinces. General Alarms of the Churches after the Alterations made in Bearn. Assembly at Milhau cross'd by the Deputies of Lefdiguieres and Chatillon. Effect of the Promisses made to the Assembly of Loudun. Councilors receiv'd in the Parliament of Paris. Leitoure taken from Fontrailles. The Brief Sign'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety is not given. The interest of Favas hastens the return of the Assembly at Rochel. Declaration which stiles it Unlawful. The Prince of Conde and the Favourite fail in their Guaranty to the Reform'd. A suppos'd Letter under the Name of the Duke of Mombazon.*

**D**uring these Transactions Peoples Minds were strangely agitated in *Bearn*, and they lost all manner of Patience, when they heard how the Court had receiv'd their Deputies; and the Intercession of the Deputies General. The Council would not allow the Deputation of the *Bearnois* to be real, and though it had all the Marks that were necessary to Authorize it, they reiected it, as being made in the Suburb of *St. Germain*, by Persons who had no Authority. They

1618.

Exream  
Deput of  
the Bear-  
nois.

1618. would hardly look upon the *Cabier* that was presented by those Deputies: And after having seen it, they granted nothing of what it contain'd. Moreover the King forbad the holding of any Assembly upon that Affair, and refus'd to hear either Apologies, or Remonstrances. These hard and absolute Proceedings cast those People into Despair, who had been us'd to a milder Treatment; and who judging of the Future by the present, foresaw that the oppression of which the first steps were so fierce and so cruel, would undoubtedly reduce them in the sequel to the most dismal Extremities of Slavery. Therefore those who had the management of that Affair, resolv'd to improve the Determination of the Assembly of *Rochel*, and to summon the Deputies of the Councils of the three Neighbouring Provinces, to Implore their Advice, and Assistance, to secure themselves. In order whereunto after having celebrated a Fast in all the Churches of *Bearn*, to beg of Almighty God a happy success in that Enterprize; they Conven'd an Assembly of the three Provinces at *Castel-jaloux*: But the thing being done publickly, by Persons who had no private ends, and who did not look upon that proceeding to be Unlawful, the King had timely notice of it, and sent orders to the Consuls of the place before the Deputies arriv'd there. He also writ to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and to the Chamber of *Nérac* to impeach all such as should be concern'd in the said Assembly, and to use them as Infractors of the Edicts, and Perturbators of the Publick Peace; which the Parliament did not fail to effect with their usual Passion. Whereupon the Governor and the Consuls of *Castel-jaloux* refus'd to admit the Deputies within their Gates, being unwilling to displease the Court. *Tonneins* whither the Deputies repair'd from thence, treated them in the same manner. This made them fearful that they would meet the same treatment throughout *Guyenne*, and that while they lost their time in seeking a safe and convenient place, the Court would oblige the *Bearnois* to do that by force which the Province was not in a condition to hinder. They also concluded that it would not be proper to hold their Assembly in a place

The Assembly refus'd at Castel-jaloux.

And at Tonneins.

too far distant from that which might stand in need of their Assistance. 1618.

Therefore they repaired to *Orthez* in *Bearn*, where they were certain of a kind Reception. The Court could not prevent the effect of that Resolution, by reason that it was held secret until the very moment in which it was put in Execution. As soon as the Assembly was form'd they writ to the King, who would neither receive their Letters, as coming from an Unlawful Assembly; nor yet give a hearing to the Deputies General. On the contrary he put out a very severe Declaration, on the 21st of *May*, against the Authors, and Members of the said Assembly. In the mean time the Court expected to hear the Effect of the Journey of *Renard*, Master of Requests chosen by the Clergy, who had been sent into *Bearn* to put the King's Orders in Execution, and to get the Decree of Restoration Registered in the Sovereign Council, the Edict of Reimplacement, and the Decrees of Verification at *Thoulouse* and at *Bordeaux*, and that of the Council given in consequence thereof, which order'd the Council of the Province to do the like. The said Commissioner was very ill receiv'd at *Pau*, where the Common People and all the Scholars stir'd a great Sedition against him. The Wife had not Authority enough to hinder it. The Assembly of *Orthez*, and the Council of the Academy endeavour'd it in vain. So that *Renard* was oblig'd to retire: But he did it like a Man who was willing to aggravate Matters. For which reason he refus'd some Honours that were offer'd him as to a Commissioner from the King: He refus'd to Communicate his Commission, he only distributed some Letters among those the Court was sure of, by which they were commanded to assist him: He would not accept the Sureties that were offer'd him to come to *Pau*, to acquaint the Sovereign Council with his Instructions. Moreover he went away very abruptly after having sent a Verbal and very Violent Report to Court; charging *La Fore* and the Sovereign Council with all the Disorders. He join'd the Decree that Council had lately made, in which upon the pursuit of the Clergy, and the opposition of the Estates and of the Churches, they declar'd,

*They repair to Orthez.*

*And are proscrib'd.*

*Sedition at Pau.*

*Malice of the Commissioner.*

1618. declar'd, That they could not make the Inrollment ; and that the King should be humbly Entreated to leave things in the Condition in which they were ; and that every body should return home and live in Peace. The Bishops had excepted against *Lescun*, pretending that he was a Party against them, as if it had been a private Process: But their Reculation was not allow'd of, by reason that *Lescun* had done nothing without Authority. The said Decree was made about the end of June.

Presages  
and Devotions.

During these Transactions, the People ever curious of Presages and of Prodigies, did not fail to make great Reflexions upon some Earthquakes, which were observ'd in some parts of *Bearn*, the very next day after the Departure of the King's Commissioner: And whereas those Signs are generally equivocal, and only signifie what People desire or dread, every body drew Consequences from it, conformable to their Temper. Nevertheless as People are most inclin'd to dread, when they reflect on Accidents of which the Causes are unknown to them, most look'd upon them as an advice from Heaven, which denoted to them that the Affairs of the State were threatned with a great alteration, and that both the Churches and the Country were going to suffer ruinous shakings. For that reason the usual Devotions on such occasions were renewed in *Bearn*; and a publick Fast was celebrated there on the 9th of July.

Craft of  
the Council.

The Court being inform'd with the ill Success of *Renard's* Commission, nevertheless made an advantagious use of his Journey: And by an *Italian* Policy they pretended that the Cause of the *Bearnois* having been defended at large in the Council of *Pau*, was a sufficient reason to refuse an Audience to the Churches which desir'd that it might be pleaded before the King. This Evasion would have been plausible, supposing, what is seldom true, that Princes were inform'd with the particulars of the Affairs that are reported to them: And then they might without Injustice to the *Bearnois* have freed the King of the Fatigue of several tedious Audiences, by acquainting him with what had been said in the presence, or with the Participation of his Commissioners, who was to give him an account



account of it. But the Favourites, and the Ministers were unwilling to use the King to take so much Cognisance of Affairs. They knew he was easie, but withal capable to understand reason; and they were afraid, that should the Question be well explain'd before him, it would deprive them of the Fruit of all their Craft. They satisfy'd him with Reflexions upon Sovereign Authority, which seems to be inroach'd upon by the Liberty Subjects take to come to plead in the very Council of their Princes against the Laws which they have made. This was the Character of *Luine's* Government, countenanc'd by *Spain* and by the Clergy. He and his Creatures only preach'd absolute Power to the King, which Doctrine he swallow'd as greedily, as if others had not exerted it in his stead. The Clergy has follow'd the same Maxim at all times: Being perswaded that it would be more easie for them to manage the Hearts of Kings to their advantage, if they cou'd hinder them from hearing the Complaints of their Enterprises from the very mouths of those that are oppress'd by them.

Therefore instead of hearing the Remonstrances of that Unfortunate Principality a Mandamus was issued out on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *July*, which, in order to express the more Authority, was it's first and final. It was Argued, contrary to the Custom of Acts of that Nature, which being only Declarations of an absolute Will, seem not to require Reasons. They made the King declare in it that he had been oblig'd to make the Decrees and Edicts which related to *Bearn* for the discharge of his Conscience, which could not bear the affliction of the Catholick Church: To satisfy the vows of the King his Father, who had often express'd his Regret before his Death, for his not having finish'd the said Work: To secure the repose of the *Reform'd*, which the Bishops would never have left in quiet while they were depriv'd of their Right: That he had consider'd and heard all before he did pronounce; that he had made provision for what was most material by the Reimplacement, which was a diminution of 78000 Livres of the Revenue of the State; That he had relinquish'd his own to satisfy the *Reform'd*; That he still offer'd, after the Inrollment of the Edict, to do Justice to the Interests of particular Persons who should

*First and final Mandamus directed to the Sovereign Council of Bearn*

1618. should complain of any damage ; That he demanded Justice of the Connivance of the Council of *Pau*, in the late Sedition ; That he would have such punish'd as had first taken up Arms. He complain'd of the Assembly of *Orthez*, and in general of all *Bearn* : Imputing nevertheless all the evil to some Factious Persons, without which he declar'd that he would have us'd the utmost Extremities. He threatned to take the refusal of the Inrollment as a formal Disobedience ; and he Commanded *La Force* to see it perform'd, and to assist the Council in the Execution of the Edict, even by way of Arms.

Follow'd  
by Decrees  
of that  
Council.

While the Mandamus was preparing, *Vispalie* Advocate in the Sovereign Council of *Bearn*, being sent with Letters from the Assembly of *Orthez* to *Rochel*, and to all the other Provinces of the Kingdom, was seiz'd at *Bordeaux* and his Letters taken. Complaints were made about it, as of an act of Hostility in time of Peace ; and Reprisals had like to have ensued. But the Remonstrances of the wisest appeas'd the hottest : And they only writ other Letters, and sent them more secretly and more safely. But when the Mandamus came in *Bearn*, it occasion'd great Emotions. The whole Country was alarm'd at that Novelty. They no longer question'd but the Court had a design upon their Liberty, since that instead of being mov'd by their Complaints of an Edict made against the Laws and Customs, and without the consent of the Estates, they attack'd them in a new, but yet more dangerous manner, by Mandates, which are only us'd in Places where Princes are the sole Depositors of the Legislative Power : Not in such where the free Consent of the Estates is necessary to make a Law. Thus the whole Country was in a great Agitation. The Lay Patrons, the College of *Orthez*, the Garrison of *Navarreins*, which were paid out of the Forfeited Estates, the Syndicks of the Country and the Deputies of the Churches joyn'd together in the same Oppositions. Some Deputies from abroad also enter'd into it. The Synods of *Castel-jaloux* and of *Mazieres* likewise thought fit to send Deputies thither. During the grèatest heat of this Agitation, the Council of *Pau* appointed a Day in order to give a decisive Judgment ; and

and being Assembl'd on the 3d of *October*, they declar'd that 1613.  
 considering the Nature of that Affair in which every body was  
 concern'd, there was no reason to allow the Recusations pro-  
 pos'd by the Clergy. Finally on the 5th of the said Month  
 a Decree was made, importing that before any farther Pro-  
 ceedings should be made in the matter, the King should be  
 most humbly Petitioned to provide for the safety of what  
 related to the Rights of his *Reform'd* Subjects, according to  
 the Edicts of his Predecessors and his own; and to hear their  
 Remonstrances to that end: Nevertheless in order to put a  
 stop to the Proceedings of the Clergy, and for the Repose of  
 his Majesties Subjects, it was order'd that the Ecclesiasticks  
 should remit the answer'd \* *Cahier*, which was mention'd in  
 the Edict of Restauration of Ecclesiastical Lands; and that  
 the Attorney-General should also remit the Decree of the 25th  
 of *June*. This *Cahier* was that in which the King granted to  
 the Clergy of *Bearn* by his Answers all the Advantages I have  
 mention'd elsewhere: So that the said Decree open'd a way  
 for a long Suspension, and to propose new Difficulties upon  
 the Restauration of the Clergy in all their Ancient Privi-  
 ledges.

Although, till then the *Bearnois* had only defended themselves  
 by ways of Right, by Petitions and Deputations to the King,  
 by oppositions according to form, by Decrees of the Sovereign  
 Council, yet there were prudent well meaning Persons that  
 did not approve that resistance. The Duke de Rohan and Du  
 Plessis Mornai were of that Number. They were afraid lest  
 this should ingage all the Churches to take up Arms without  
 consideration. They were of opinion that it would have  
 been better to accept the Reimplacement, as a proper Expe-  
 dient to repair the prejudice occasion'd by the aforesaid Re-  
 storation: And they would have engag'd themselves to ob-  
 tain leave from the King to resume the Church Lands, in case  
 the Assignment of the Reimplacement were diverted, or ap-  
 propriated to any other use. Not but that they look'd upon the  
 Cause of the Churches to be just; but they saw that Justice  
 disarm'd: They thought it better to suffer the loss of some  
 Priviledges, which they had not the power to defend, than

\* *Petitions,  
or Demand.*

*Sentiment  
of some  
particular  
Persons up-  
on those Af-  
fairs.*

1618. to hazard all by an Ineffectual Resistance: That this would be the way to involve, even those that had not yet been meddled with in the ruine of those that were attack'd: That it was fit to take care lest the Churches of the Kingdom, by protecting those of *Beauvau* out of season should lose themselves what they would preserve for others.

Disposi-  
tion of the  
great men

The Duke of *Bouillon* tyr'd with Affairs and Broils, beginning to feel the weight and Inconveniences of Age, ingag'd to the Court by Favours, minding the Settlement of his Children who were of Age to be introduc'd into the World, and being perhaps desirous to see how things would go, before he would ingage himself, did not express the same heat in this as he had done in others. The Duke of *Sully* was hardly reckon'd upon in General Affairs; and had neither renounc'd the Recompences of the Employments that were taken from him, nor yet the hopes of being Restor'd. He saw that the Court was subject to such sudden Revolutions, that he thought they would want a Man like him. So that whenever any applications were made to him about the Affairs of the Churches, he only answer'd with Equivocal Councils and Irresolutions. *Lesdigueres* form'd a Party, separated from the rest; and though all the Corruption of his Heart was not known, the Reform'd were sensible that Interest was the chief Article of his Religion. *Chatillon* had as much if not more Ambition than Piety; and was as much ingag'd to the Court by the first, as to Religion by the second. *La Trimouille* was so young that it was not possible to judge what might be expected from him. The Letters written by the Assembly of *Rochel* to the said Lords, had produc'd no great effect, and had neither been able to unite them among themselves, nor yet to awaken them in favour of the Common Cause. The Duke of *Roan*, *Soubise* his Brother, and *La Force* were the only Persons who seem'd resolv'd to undertake every thing.

State of  
the French  
affairs.

Moreover Affairs abroad afforded no prospect to hope that the Protestants would assist the Churches of *France*. The House of *Austria* taking the advantage of the Troubles of the Kingdom, began to execute their Projects in *Germany*; and assuming the pretence of Religion in order to hinder the Catholick



tholick Princes from opposing them, oppress'd the *Protestants* 1618. publickly. *Bohemia* was full of Troubles; and the ill success of the Arms which the People had taken up for the preservation of their Liberties, made them lose in a short time both their Political Liberty and that of their Consciences. These Confusions held all the Princes of the same Communion in suspence; expecting the Event to see what measures they should take. Prince *Murice* was employ'd in the *United Provinces*; and the *Arminians* afforded him too much business to permit him to ingage in the Affairs of *France*. The King of *England* plaid the Theologian: And while on one side he suffer'd People to give the Pope great hopes, in his Name to restore his three Kingdoms to the *Roman* Communion, he disturb'd all the North, with Disputes which made him pass for a Zealous *Protestant*. So that considering the present State of *Europe*, it was impossible to expect a happy Issue of the Resistance of *Bearn*. The King's Forces not being employ'd elsewhere might all be sent that way, and subdue the Country before the rest of the *Reform'd* had taken their final Resolutions. Moderate Councils only serv'd to break their Measures and occasion'd great loss of time. They prevail'd with those who only wanted a pretence not to meddle with any thing, to forsake the Party of the others: And the time which would have been necessary to put themselves in a posture of defence being consum'd in useless disputes, when the King was ready to go into *Bearn* to force them to obey, he found no body ready to resist him. Too much consideration commonly ruins the Affairs of the People. A little boldness is better in those Cases, than slow considerate Proceedings: Particularly when we are to deal with Enemies who esteem themselves to be above all Laws, and who lay aside the Maxims of Integrity and Justice, by reason that they know no other Rules of it but their Will. That Prudence which sticks scrupulously to the Maxims of Probity is for the most part Unfortunate: The Enemy takes the advantage of the Niceness of the Consciences of those he attacks; and while they were deliberating about the Right of Resistance, they afforded him time to prevent them.

*Dangerous  
Consequences  
of the  
advices of  
the Moderates.*

1618.


An Apology for the Conduct of the Bearnois.

Towards the end of the Year the *Bearnois* publish'd an Apology, compos'd by *Lescun* with the advice and approbation of the Assembly of *Orthes*, to whom it was Dedicated. That piece was written at different times, as may easily be discover'd by the management of it. The Style is not of a piece: The Arguments are distinct, and not well follow'd: It is full of Allusions to Holy Writ, and other Authors. But yet it is good and solid; and the Rights of *Bearn* were asserted in it with vigour enough, to give a pretence to Charge the Author with a Crime of State for his boldness; particularly because he speaks vehemently against Arbitrary Power, altho' the respect due to the King be Religiously observ'd in it. The Events of any consideration were noted in it by Years and by Days: The Establishment of the Reformation in *Bearn*; The Ancient Rights of the Country; The Examples drawn out of the Old \* *For*, which show that even in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century the People did not Swear Allegiance to their Sovereign, till the Sovereign had Sworn to the Barons, and to all the Court that he would be a faithful Lord to them, that he would Govern them justly, and that he would do them no prejudice: The said Oath was renew'd in 1585; by the late King in imitation of his Predecessors. The Author prov'd at large in it, that the Laws only receiv'd their Force by, and never could be alter'd without the Authority of the Prince and the consent of the Estates; but more by the one without the other: To prove which he brought several Examples. He recited the alteration which was made in *Bearn* under Queen *Jane*; and the Vengeance which *Mingommery* exerted against those who had oblig'd that Princess to fly by their Conspiracies: A Vengeance which even *Moluc*, one of the most cruel Persecutors of the *Reform'ds*, look'd upon as sent from Heaven; by reason that the said Count reduc'd all that Country in three Days time, and took all the Leaders of the Rebellion Prisoners.

Art: fiers of the Bishops of the Country.

After that *Lescun* related the said Expedition, and all that pass'd upon the account of the Forfeiture and Seizure of the Ecclesiastical Lands, until the Month of *October* of the said Year. He observ'd the Falsity of what had been advanc'd by the Bishops, who in order to be heard at Court pretended to be Authoriz'd by the Catholics of *Bearn*; and to be second-

ed

ed by the Catholicks, told them that the King had order'd 1618.  
the aforesaid Reversion, or Restoration of his own accord:   
From whence they concluded that it would be imprudent to re-  
fuse an advantage which offer'd it self. Those good Prelates,  
of which one was of very obscure Birth, as being Son of a  
Man who had been a Cobler, Butcher, and had kept a Ca-  
baret, those Prelates, I say, who made so much noise when-  
ever the *Reform'd* took up Arms to defend themselves, made  
no difficulty of taking them up to attack. They made As-  
semblies, Fortify'd their Houses, gave Military Employ-  
ments, kept Guards as in time of open War; and those Offi-  
cers of Episkopal Creation never went abroad without being  
attended by Armed Men.

In the next place he did refute the Bishop of *Macon's* Speech, Remarks upon the Bishop of Macon's Speech.  
which I have mention'd before: And he made this particular  
Remark upon it, That this Prelate had taken his Exordium  
out of the same Subject from which that of a certain Libel  
had been taken call'd, *The English Catholic*, written against  
*Henry III.* So that the one began with the same Arguments in  
order to Exasperate the King against his Subjects; as the o-  
ther had done to make the Subjects rise against their King. He  
approv'd the Book Printed at *London* concerning the Rights  
of *Bearn*; and he added divers Reflexions to it upon the Vic-  
olation of Promises, and upon the omission of the usual Forma-  
lities in the Decree of Restoration. This among others was  
of great Consequence. *De Pair* had assisted at the Judgment  
by virtue of his quality of Lord Keeper, though being a Bi-  
shop he ought not to sit in the Council, when the Affairs of  
the *R form'd* were treated there; according to the Answer  
made to the fourth Article of the *Cahier of London*, in which  
the King declar'd expressly that the Ecclesiasticks should with-  
draw whenever those Affairs were treated of there. He ob-  
serv'd the Unjust Precipitation of that Decree, made after ha-  
ving return'd all the Writings and Productions to the Parties,  
as if they had design'd to give it over; notwithstanding which  
it had been judg'd without any new Adjournment given to  
the Parties concern'd: And to the end they might not say,  
that they had examin'd all the said Writings before the return-  
ing

1618. ing of them, he gives a List of several other Acts which he design'd to joyn to the first Productions.

*Difficul-  
ties against  
the Reim-  
placement.*

He observ'd that the Reimplacement promis'd by the King, might be evaded by the Capricio of a Treasurer; whereupon he cited the Example of the Country of *Gex*, and of *Bearn* it self, where the like Promises had prov'd ineffectual: That the Demesne of *Bearn* was unalienable; That the attribution of a perpetual Uusufructuary was a real Alienation; and consequently that the Reimplacement would only serve to render the *Reform'd* the more odious, as enjoying such an Income by a Title contrary to the Rights of the Country; That without touching Regulations so often confirm'd, the King might have given the Reimplacement to the Bishops, who would have enjoy'd it without fear of being depriv'd of it again; whereas the Churches being oblig'd to accept it, they might get it revok'd when they pleas'd; That the King might think it a burthen to his Conscience at sometime or other, to see his Revenues employ'd for the maintenance of the *Reform'd* Churches, since it would not permit him then to suffer the Ecclesiastical Lands to serve for that use; and that it was to be fear'd that the same Conscience would oblige him to take the Places of Surety from the *Reform'd*.

*Against  
Tithes.*

He also argued about the dispute of the Tithes; maintaining that they are not due as a ground Rent, but as a Religious Duty which cannot be paid by the Earth, but by Persons, and concluded that the *Reform'd* could not pay them to the Clergy with a safe Conscience. In the next place he prov'd a Prescription of 40 Years, and answer'd the two Exceptions of the Clergy, *viz.* That it had been interrupted by the Protestations the Clergy had enter'd against it from time to time; and that there can be no Prescription against the *Roman* Church, unless of a hundred Years. He reply'd to the first, that as often as the Clergy had renew'd their Contestation they had been cast: And to the second that in *Bearn*, that Right is of no force against the Old Law, nor in *France* against Royal Ordinances. He did not forget that in all the Writings that we made against *Bearn*, absolute Power was sound high, and that they were not asham'd to publish, that the pretensions of

*Prescrip-  
tion.*

*For.*

*Bearn*



*Bearn* were good in time of old, while they had a particular Lord; but that belonging now to a King of *France*, the Case was alter'd. That is to say, That the King's Right was only force, which according to the Opinion of the most Equitable in *France*, is only a Right among *Barbarians*: Whereas the Apology was only grounded on the Laws of the State, very different from the particular Will of the Prince, which may vary according to time, while the others are constant and unvariable.

He upbraided the Jesuits with their Parricides, and their Doctrine concerning the Authority of Kings; and return'd the Catholicks some of the Darts they us'd to Lance against the *Reform'd*, call'd the King *Abraham*, the *Roman Church*, and the King of *Spain*, *Hagar* and *Ishmael*, and the *Reform'd* and their Church; *Isaac* and *Sarah*; complaining that *Azar* and *Ishmael* would turn out: *Isaac*, and the true Children of the House unknown to *Abraham*: And finally he protested in the Name of the *Reform'd*, that not being the Aggressors they would not be responsible for the Evils that might insue, if being attackt they should be forced to make a Lawful defence. He implor'd the assistance of all those that were of the same Belief, and of all those that lov'd the good of the State; lest those should expose themselves to the reproach made to *Moses* by the *Israelites* (*Jeg. 5. 23.*) of not being come to the assistance of the Lord; and these to the Curtesie of the *Cocksp.* He pretended this recourse to be founded on Right and Examples. He tax'd the Favourite by the by of enjoying Employments which were only due to Princes of the Blood: And he insinuated that the King had been the greatest gainer by the Treaty of *Loudon*, and the Assembly which met at *Rochel* at the time of the Fall of the *Marshalla' Ancres*.

While Affairs were in this State in *Bearn*, the Queen Mother was tyr'd with *Blais*, where she was under Confinement, as in an honourable kind of Prison. *Luines*, who had a mind to know her Secrets, put a thousand unworthy Tricks upon her; and Fool'd her and the Duke of *Rohan*, pretending to come to an Accommodation with that Princess, in order to discover those in whom she repos'd a Confidence. He even made

1619.  
*The Queen  
Mother  
makes  
her escape  
from Blois*

1618. made use of the Treachery of *Anoux* the Jesuit, who under pretence of Confession, discover'd whatever she had upon her heart; which he acquainted the Favourite with, who improv'd it to his own advantage. The Jesuit, after so base a piece of Treachery, disdain'd to excuse it, and thought it sufficient in order to cover the Infamy of so base an Action to say that he had begg'd God's Pardon for it. The Queen being Exasperated by the Treatment she receiv'd, resolv'd to make her Escape. She apply'd her self at first to the Marshal *de Bouillon*, whose Ability she was acquainted with, and who had a considerable City in which he might have afforded her a Retreat. But he refus'd to engage in so great an Undertaking. He only advis'd the Queen to apply her self to the Duke *d'Epemon*, who was at *Mets* at that time, very much dissatisfy'd with the Court. The said Duke accepted her Proposals immediately; and having taken the Queen in a place where he had appointed to meet her, he carry'd her safe to *Angoulême*. *Luines* was stun'd with that Blow, which he did not expect. He was sensible that he had disoblig'd all the Kingdom: His prodigious Fortune created a Jealousie in all the *Grandeess*; and the People oppress'd by a thousand Vexations, imputed it all as it is usual to the Avarice and Ambition of the Favourite. Therefore he thought it better to stop the progress of the evil by Negotiations, than to let it increase it self by Negligence. Moreover he gave way either voluntarily, or by reason that the thing having been sued for without his knowledge, he was oblig'd to consent to it handsomely, to the return of the Bishop of *Lucon* to that Princess, on condition that he should dispose her to a Peace; and the Bishop being weary with studying of Theology which he was not very well skill'd in, aspiring only to return to Court, where he was in hopes of making himself useful, made no difficulty to acquiesce to it. Thus after some Messages to and fro, the Peace was concluded. The Queen had the Castle of *Angers* and *de Ponts de Ce* for her Security, with leave to come back to Court.

But

But the Duke *de Luines* who was afraid that she would find many Persons there who would rather follow her than him, and that she would soon resume her former Authority to his prejudice, and revenge the bloody Injuries he had done her, found a way to render that permission of no use to her. The Prince of *Conde* whom she had put in Prison about three years before, pass'd his Days dismally there, though the Princess his Wife had voluntarily confin'd her self with him to keep him Company. He amus'd himself in the Study of Controversies: But he did not apply himself to it like a Man that design'd to understand the Questions thoroughly, and to take his Party after having maturely weigh'd the Reasons on both sides. This way of Study is too long and too tedious for Princes. They must have abstracted Methods, to shorten their Labour, and to free the Matters from the driness and difficulties they are surrounded with. A little Superficial Knowledge passes among them for profound Science; and of all Arguments none are so proper for them as Prejudications. He was delighted with those little Reasons, which the Jesuits, and the Missionaries their Emissaries did begin to put in practice: And he render'd himself more troublesome thereby to the *Reform'd*, whom he persecuted by Disputes, in which he would always be in the right, than he prov'd formidable to them in the War he wag'd against them with great Violence. *Luines* hoping that Resentment would induce that Prince to protect him against the Queen, secur'd himself with him, and put him at Liberty: And as if he did design to acquaint the Queen, that it was against her that he had sought that support, he obtain'd a Declaration for the discharge of the Prince, in which the Conduct of that Princess was indirectly tax'd: But yet in such a manner that it might easily be perceiv'd by any that had Common Sense she was so much offended at it, that she would not come to Court; and she express'd her Resentments so high, that it was easie to judge, that she would use her utmost Endeavours to revenge it. She was very near doing it, and *Luines* had been ruin'd had she been well advis'd.

1619.  
The Prince  
of Conde  
is set at  
liberty.

1619. But while these Broils employ'd the Court, the Affairs of *Bearn* remain'd Dormant, by reason that the Court had no time to mind them. Moreover they abolish'd by an express Declaration of the 5th of *July*, the Crime of the Assembly of *Orthez* and of *Castel-jaloux*, which towards the latter end of the preceding Year after having been Converted into a General Convocation, had been transferr'd to *Rochel*, for the Conveniency of the other Provinces. The truth is that the said Convocation did take the King's part publickly against the Queen; and even refus'd to hear *Chambret* who was sent by that Princess to sound them. Besides which they declared all such Desertors of the Union of the Churches, who should side with any body but the King. After which they broke up on the 22th of *April*; upon the King's Promise of allowing another Assembly in the Month of *September* following. The Brief of permission was Sign'd on the 23d of *May*; and the Assembly repair'd to *Loudun*, where they began their Session on the 26th of *September*. The Court in reality ventur'd less than they seem'd to do, by allowing that Assembly in a time of such Confusion. They were very well inform'd with the Divisions that reign'd among the *Reform'd*; and they had ready means to improve them; Artifices to delude the Simple; Recompences to purchase those that were Self-Interested; Threatnings to frighten the Weak; and all those being made useles to the Party, they had more Forces than were necessary to oppress the rest.

Several Lords sent Deputies thither: *La Force* did not fail to do the same, and the Affairs of *Bearn* were canvas'd there, as soon as it was form'd. Insomuch that they soon drew Seven preliminary Articles, which they gave to those that carry'd their Submissions to the King; until they could make more ample Complaints, to be sent by the Deputies General.

The first demanded the Revocation of the Decree of Restoration, or at least a Suspension of it, until the *Bearnois* had been heard.



The Second demanded the continuation of the Places of 1619. Surety, and especially that an account should be given of those that were held by *Iesdiguieres*, who had all along refus'd to communicate it to the Churches of the King.

The Third related to *Le tour*, which Govern. ment they desir'd should be taken from *Contrailles*.

The Fourth renew'd the Affair of the two Councillors in the Parliament of *Paris*, in which they refus'd to receive them: And the Court took but little care to oblige the Parliament to Obey according to the King's Promise.

The Fifth mentioned the Creation of a place of Substitute to the Attorney General in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Grenoble*, to be given to Persons of the *Reform'd* Religion.

The Sixth contain'd Complaints about the Surprising of *Taras*, which had been taken from the *Reform'd* by Craft in time of Peace, demanding the Restitution of the said Place.

The Seventh remonstrated that the Catholicks had burnt the Temple of *Bourg* in *Bresse*, and demanded Reparation for that Violence.

I will observe *enpassant* that they endeavour'd to make the *Reform'd* pass for Troublesome Obstinate People who would never give over, and who did perpetually renew the same Demands, even after the King had declar'd by divers Refusals that he would not satisfy them. But there never was a more Unjust, or more Imprudent Accusation. The Truth is, that it was never urg'd against them until their decay gave way to their Enemies to make Crimes of all their Actions, and to take their very Sighs, and their most humble Petitions for a lawful pretence to destroy them. I own that they have often renew'd the same Demands: But that was chiefly when they had receiv'd Promises which had never been put in Execution, or when those things were refus'd, which had been solemnly promis'd to them. So that it was not a Criminal Importunity, to press the performance of a Royal Promise on all Occasions. If there was a Crime, those were guilty of it who prevail'd with the King to break his Promises, and to

*Why the  
Reform'd  
have so of-  
ten renew'd  
the same  
Demands*

1619. Ingage his Word to Impose upon the Credulity of his Subjects. If there have been things on which the *Reform'd* have Insisted, though they have been deny'd to them at the first Proposal, they have done no more in that than what all manner of Communities had been us'd to do, in things which they were in hopes of obtaining at some time or other: *viz.* to renew their Demands from time to time, for fear of giving cause to tell them, whenever they found a favourable occasion to speak anew about them, that having once given over the pursuit of them, they had no right to resume it. Among several Examples of this Practice, that of the Clergy admits no contradiction. That Body fond of their Liberties, thought them violated by the Concordat between *Francis I.* and *Leon X.* and not despairing to find a favourable occasion at some time or other to break it, they resolv'd to Petition the Court for the Restauration of the Liberty of Elections, whenever they should have an occasion to make Harangues to the Kings by their Deputies. They not only form'd the design of it; they oblig'd themselves to it by Oath; and for above the space of a hundred Years, their Deputies have never fail'd to make this Liberty of Elections one of the Articles of their Harangues. Nothing but an absolute command could oblige them to desist from that useless pursuit. If they were not troublesome to Kings by Petitions so often renew'd, and which did attack one of the Privileges they have most reason to be jealous of; there is no reason to alledge as a Crime against the *Reform'd*, that they did not always acquiesce to the first refusal, in things in which no body was concern'd, which did no wise Inroach upon the Regal Authority; and which they thought necessary for their safety.

\* Petition.  
The Court  
refers the  
Complaints  
to the Ge-  
neral Coun-  
cil.

*La Moussaye*, who together with four other Deputies carried that first \* *Cahier* of the Assembly of *Lou'ain*, could not prevail with the Court to accept it; though several Persons endeavour'd to satisfy the Court, that by redressing some of the main Grievances, the King would receive full Satisfaction from the Assembly. *Lesdiguieres* himself had sent the President *du Crose* to the King, to Petition him to prevent the Demands the Assembly might make to him; and to give the Churches satisfaction

faction upon some considerable Points, even before the Expiration of the Term of the Convocation. But he was paid with the common Answer, of good Intentions, and of General Promises. So that according to the old Stile of the Court, the Complaints of the Assembly were refer'd to the General *Cabier*, and they did not fail to exhort the Deputies to dispatch their Affairs speedily, to Nominate six Persons to the King, out of which he should chuse two for the General Deputation, and to break up.

The Assembly took at first pretty Vigorous Resolutions. They oblig'd their Members to take divers Oaths; to serve the Churches, to be secret, to obey their Resolutions, to speak their mind freely and without fear, to preserve their Union, not to break up, before their having seen what answer the Court would make to their \* *Cabiers*. They drew it with speed: And they did not want matter. The Edict was Violated so many ways, and in so many places, that there was sufficient reason to complain. Besides the concerns of *Leizoure*, of *Tartas*, and of *Bourg in Bresse*, the Catholicks endeavour'd in all places to obstruct the Liberty of the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion. They had suspended it at *Clermont de Lodeve*, which the Reform'd held as a place of Surety; and when they endeavour'd to re-establish it there, the Catholicks took up Arms to oppose it. The Temples of *Moulins* and of *Laval*, where the Reform'd of *Guise* went to Church, had been Demolish'd. The Reform'd had been turn'd out by force of Arms of *Baux in Provence*. A great Sedition had been kindled against them at *Banjenci*, and the Allarum Bell rung out upon them. Two of them were flung out of a Garret Window, and one of them not being sufficiently hurt in the Opinion of the Mutineers, was run through with Swords. The Lieutenant General of *Orleans* in prosecuting the Fact, receiv'd the Depositions of those very Persons who had committed the Violence, as if they had been Lawful Witnesses. And when the said Case was brought before the Parliament of *Paris*, the Attorney General, who by his place was oblig'd to cause the Edicts to be put in Execution, abandon'd the prosecution of it. The Ministers of *Bourges* and of *Chataigne*

*Resolutions and Oaths of the Assembly.*

\* *Petitions and Demands. Substance of the General Cabier and other Articles of Complaints.*

1619. *neraye* were turn'd out of the said Cities; and the *Reform'd* had receiv'd the same Usage at *Chalons*, upon *Saone*, and in the *Bearnois*; though according to the Edict, they ought to be suffer'd in all Places whatever. The Exercise of their Religion was obstructed about *Lions*, *Dijon*, and *Langres*. The Officers Royal, the Consuls, and Seneschals, oppos'd the said Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion in Nineteen or Twenty Places in the Provinces of *Guyenne*, of *Languedoc*, of *Provence*, of *Vivaraïs*, of *Forests*, of *Poitou*, of *Saintonge*, of *Perigord*, and of *Normandy*; some by Prohibitions, others by Fines; although the said Exercise was Lawful in all those Places according to the Edict. The Catholics took away the Children of the *Reform'd* without Redress. At *Paris* they had taken those of *Le Maître*, who had a place of Master of the Accompts, and who had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion a little before his Death. The same thing had been done at *Royan*, at *Ambrun*, at *Milhan*; and lately at *Leitoure* *Regourd* the Jesuit, for whose good behaviour the King had pass'd, his Word had stole away a young Child about 10 Years of Age. They had Violated the Sepulchres, or hinder'd Burials in the accusom'd places at *Aix*, at *Girdes*, at *Mirebeau*, at *Ongles*, at *Saintes*, at *St. George d' Oléron*, and in divers places of *Guyenne*. They had turn'd out the Sick of the *Reform'd* Religion out of the Hospitals, and such as were allow'd there were tormented in their Consciences, to oblige them to change their Religion: Especially at *Paris*, those that had been receiv'd in the Hospital of *St. Lewis* during the Plague, had been depriv'd of the Consolation of seeing Ministers, which were not allow'd to visit them. The Parliaments incroach'd upon the Jurisdiction of the Chambers of the Edict. A Messenger who was Try'd at *Thouluse*, was Condemn'd there notwithstanding his appealing to the Chamber of *Castres*; and the said Parliament refus'd to submit to the Decrees of the Council, which order'd the said removal. Some of the Inhabitants of *Mas d' Agenois* being prosecuted at *Bordeaux*, upon suspicion of their having design'd to deliver the said place up to the Duke of *Rohan*, being joyn'd in a Plot with *Calonges* their Governor, as I have related it in another place, the accus'd  
having



having desir'd a removal to the Chamber of *Nerac*, the Parliament had no regard to it; insomuch that during the Disputes of Jurisdiction, several of them Dyed in Prison: And upon the Information made about the surprize of *Tartas*, the *Reform'd* who had been abus'd there, were us'd worse yet in the Parliament, which had retain'd their cause notwithstanding the Instances made by the Chamber of *Nerac*. The Parliament of *Aix* had no respect to the general Evocation the *Reform'd* had obtain'd in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. Several considerable Alterations had been made at *Montaud*, *Vareilles*, *Tarascon*, *Montgaillard* in *Foix*, which were reputed places of Surety, in which, at least according to the Brief of 1598, no Innovations were to be made. Moreover the *Reform'd* desir'd a new Brief, for the keeping of the Hostage Cities; The Settlement of those of *Dauphine*; the Revocation of the Edict of Restauration of Church Lands; the Restitution of *Privas* to the Inhabitants, and the Reparation of the Outrages they had receiv'd from the Husband of the Lady to whom the said Lordship did belong.

Some Examples of the said Facts are cited in the Articles which I have here abbreviated, which are not to be found in the General *Cahier* of the Assembly of *London*, by reason that they are taken from things which happen'd since: Yet I thought fit to Insert them here, at once. While the \* *Cahier* was drawing, the Assembly made a Rule among the rest, which forbade the Governors of the Places of Surety to suffer the Jesuits, or Monks of other Orders to Preach there, under pretence of being sent thither by their Diocesans. The said Rule made all the Catholick Party rise. The Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree contrary to it, at the request of the Attorney General, like unto that which had been given for *Mompellier*. The Parliament of *Bordeaux* did the same in favour of *Tessier* the Jesuit, who had been sent to *St. John d'Angely*, by the Bishop of *Poitiers*: And the Parliament of *Toulouse* forbade the *Reform'd* throughout their Jurisdiction to refuse the Preachers sent by the Diocesan, whither Jesuits, or others: Directing the said Prohibition particularly to the Governors of *Figeac* and of the Isle of *Jourdain*, who had given

The Assembly forbids to suffer Jesuits and other Monks to Preach in the Cities of Surety.  
\* Petition or Address.

Decrees of divers Parliaments to the contrary.

1619. an Intimation of the aforesaid Rule of the Assembly to the Catholicks of those two Cities. The Attorney General stil'd the said Rule an attempt against Royal Authority by way of Monopoly; as pretending to prescribe what Preachers should be allow'd in the *Roman Church*, which he call'd the Fundamental Religion of the Realm: And cited the Decree made in favour of the Bishop of *Mompelien*, and the King's Letter to the Inhabitants of *Leisoure*.

Deputations, Letters and Remonstrances to the King.

The *Cahier* was presented to the King on the 20th of *December* by three Deputies, *Couvrelles*, *Bouteroue* and *Alain*, who declar'd to the King the Resolution of the Assembly not to break up without seeing the Answer he would be pleas'd to give to their Complaints. They Remonstrated to the King how much reason they had to endeavour to secure themselves, considering the Injustices that were daily committed against the *Reform'd* throughout the Kingdom; the surprizing of several of their Places; the Inexecution of divers things often Sworn, the Effect of which the Deputies General had solicited in vain during many years; the Rebellions that were made in all Places against the Ordinances of the Commissioners, when they were any wise equitable. Those Remonstrances and the Letters of the Assembly were very respectful; and they protested both by the Mouth of their Deputies and in Writing, that it was not against the King they desir'd to be secur'd, but against the Enemies of the *Reform'd Religion*. The King made a threatening Answer, by reason that *Luines* Inspir'd him with hard Sentiments. That Favourite thereby thought to avoid the Fall he had cause to dread by reason of the Easiness of his Master's Temper. Moreover he was displeas'd at the Joy the *Reform'd* had express'd at the Queens Reconciliation. The Assembly of *London* had sent Deputies to her as soon as the Peace was made: And the said Deputies not considering that they Harrangu'd that Princess before *Brantes*, one of the Duke de *Luines* Brothers, said many things to the advantage of her Regency, prais'd her for having caus'd the Edicts to be observ'd, and made great Submissions to her. These were so many Indirect Reflexions against the present Ministry; for which reason this Deputation

The Reform'd were inclin'd to the Queen-Mother's Service.

putation was ill receiv'd at Court. The King indeed promis'd to satisfie the Assembly, provided they did break up immediately ; and to permit them to leave two Deputies with him until the Intire Execution of the things promis'd : But he declar'd at the same time that in case they did not break up, he would look upon them and their Adherents as Perturbators of the Publick quiet, and that he would abandon their Persons and Estates, without any more ado to whosoever would fall upon them. The Assembly persisted in their Resolution, notwithstanding this Answer. They knew by Experience that under that Reign promises of Satisfaction were as soon forgotten as made : And the Wisest among them were of Opinion, that some of the Articles of their *Cahiers* were too Decisive, and that the Subsistence of ruine of their Churches depended too visibly on them, for them to break up without knowing what Answer should be made to them. Nevertheless the Assembly Writ to the Churches upon that Subject about the beginning of the following year ; and remonstrated to them, in order to give them an account of their Resolutions, that the Parliament of *Paris* had wav'd Ten Mandates, for the Verification of the Articles which related to the two places of Councilors, granted above three years before it ; That the Edict was Infracted in all places ; that so many Promises and Oaths, either Violated or Ineffectual, ought to excuse their fears for the future ; and several things to the same purpose. But they mention'd particularly the Example of several Assemblies, that had continu'd their Sessions, until the Answer to their Grievances had been Communicated to them.

One of the most sensible Afflictions the *Reform'd* receiv'd that Year, was the opposition that was made to the Establishment of a College they design'd to Erect at *Charenton*. It had been spoken of for some time : And the design of the *Reform'd* had been cross'd on several sides ; principally by the oppositions of the Judges of the Place. But whereas that year they seem'd not to yield to those Obstacles, the University thinking that the said College would prejudice theirs, and that the *Reform'd* settling good Rectors in the same, it would encourage People to send their Children thither, they

*A Disputa-  
Answer.*

*And the  
Effect of it.*

*Opposition  
of the Ca-  
tholicks to  
the Estab-  
lishment  
of a Coll-  
ge at Cha-  
renton.*

took fire against that Enterprize, as they had done formerly against that of the Jesuits. The Muses of Colleges are commonly hot and Self-interested : Therefore they carry'd their Complaints in a very violent manner to the Count de *Saissions*, whom the King had left at *Paris*, during the Voyage he made to reconcile himself to the Queen his Mother ; to the first President, and to the Attorney General : their pretence was the grief of seeing a College of *Heresie* settled so near the Metropolis of the most Christian Kingdom in the World, there to contrive the manner of attacking the Catholick Religion ; perhaps the said Opposition was also made in some measure out of Policy ; by reason that the University having been so constant in refusing the Jesuits a small share of their Privileges, it would not have look'd well for them to suffer the Establishment of an *Heretical* College within two Leagues of *Paris* without opposition. However those Complaints broke the Measures of the *Reform'd*, and the Erection of the said College has never been mention'd since.

Assembly of  
the Clergy

The Clergy also Assembled that year at *Blois*, from whence the Bishop of *Seez*, and some others, were deputed to the King to Harrangue him. They found him at *Plessis Les Tours*. The Bishop in his Speech insisted long upon the Affairs of *Bearn* ; and he was very pressing upon the Execution of the Decree of Restoration. But moreover he desir'd a thing which appear'd pretty new ; *viz.* the Reparation of what had been written against the Chief of the Clergy ; and he affirm'd with as much boldness, as if the King himself and the Council had not known the contrary, that the Clergy did keep within the bounds of the Edicts. The Truth is, that lest he should be suspected of assuming a Spirit of Charity and of Toleration, he added that it was only to obey the King who would have it so. The Clergy had never bethought it self, till then to complain of the manner in which the *Reform'd* us'd them in their Writings ; and they had had the prudence to let them alone, while they thought they could not help it. The Complaints he made about it now in so extraordinary a manner, were a proof that Affairs were alter'd ; and that tho' they were as liable as ever to hear those Truths, yet it was



no longer safe to urge them. They obtain'd a Declaration on the fourth of *September*, which exempted them from answering for the Possessory of the Benefices and other annex'd Estates, to the Tribunals in which all the Judges were *Reform'd*. The King allow'd them a removal to the next *Catholick* Judge, whither Royal, or other: And in case the said Removal were deny'd them by the *Reform'd* Judges, he annihilated that very moment, and from thence forwards all their Judgments. The said exemption was so great an Encroachment upon the Jurisdiction, the *Reform'd* were declar'd capable of by the Edicts, that it could not be look'd upon otherwise, than as a breach made to the very Edict. The Reason alledg'd by the Clergy was, that since the *Reform'd* were allow'd unsuspected Judges, it was but reasonable, that the Chiefs of the Establish'd Religion should be exempted from answering before their Enemies. But the thing was not equal. The *Reform'd* had never pursued the Clergy with Fire and Sword, as the *Catholick* Judges had pursued the *Reform'd*, being mov'd thereunto by their Zeal, and by the Instigation of the Clergy. Moreover the Edict had regulated the reciprocal pretensions of the *Reform'd* and of the Clergy: Insomuch, that there only remain'd to observe it *bona fide*, without daily renewing the remembrance of things past by New Injustices.

1619.  
Exemption  
which is  
granted  
them of  
pleading in  
such Tribun-  
als where  
all the  
Judges are  
*Reform'd*

In the mean time, the King being resolv'd to oblige the Assembly of *Loudun* to Obey, they persisting in their former Resolution after having heard the Report of their Deputies, sent *Du Maine* Councillor of State, and *Marescot* one of his Secretaries thither, to acquaint them more positively with his final pleasure. These Gentlemen having perform'd their Charge, more like Messengers who serve a Warrant, than like Commissioners who carry Royal Instructions, did not move the Assembly; which renew'd their Submission to the King by a Third Deputation. That Prince gave a hearing to the said Deputies; but the only Answer he gave them, was to Order them to Command the Assembly to break up; and then Order'd them to retire. *La Haye* who was Speaker of the said Deputation, having taken the Liberty

Reiterated  
Orders to  
the Assem-  
bly of *Lou-*  
*dun* to  
break up.

1620. reply, the King interrupted him, making a Sign to the Usher to turn them out. This was the behaviour *Luines* inspir'd to the King. He perswaded him that a Prince, after having given his Command, ought never to suffer his Subjects to use Replies, or Remonstrances. What ever Reasons people had to urge, he made him believe, that a King's Word was decisive; and that the Affairs of most moment ought to pass for decided, without Appeal, whenever he had said, *I will have it so*. This was very convenient for that Favourite, who not being very capable of State Affairs to which his Fortune had call'd him too soon, lov'd the way of Abridging them: So that after the pronouncing of a Word, every Body was oblig'd to submit to the Discretion of that haughty Favourite, who lov'd nobody, because he was sensible that he was belov'd by none. When those absolute Decrees engag'd him into other Troubles, he had Recourse to Wiles to get out of them: And whereas he consider'd no Honour but that of Governing the King, he never thought his engag'd in the breaking of his Word.

*Expedient  
of Accom-  
modation.*

The Deputies being gone to wait upon the Chancellor, after having receiv'd this Vexatious Answer from the King, believ'd that some Expedient of accommodation might be left yet; because he put them in hopes that in case the Assembly would send some Persons to the Court with a Power to Treat, some good Expedient might yet be found out. The said Proposition was accepted by the Assembly; and the Marshal *de Lesdiguières* being at *Paris* at that time, in Order to take the Oath of Duke and Peer of *France*, he and *Chatillon*, who happen'd to be there at the same time, took upon them the Quality of Mediators. In Order to they began to Negotiate with the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke *de Luines*; with whom they agreed, that the Assembly should break up before the end of *February*; that immediately after their separation, the King should Answer the *Cahier* favourably; but that he should forthwith remove *Fontrales* out of the Government of *Leitoore*; allow the keeping of the Places of Surety for four years longer to the *Reform'd*; and oblige the Parliament of *Paris* to receive the

the two Councillors so often mention'd. This was to be perform'd within the space of six Months; and in case it were not done, the Prince and Duke promis'd to obtain from the King a New Brief of leave for them to Assemble again. As for *Bearn*, that within a Month after the Six aforemention'd, after the Accomplishment of the three Articles I have related, the King would hear the Remonstrances they had to make about the said Principality, and that he would provide towards the satisfaction of the Estates and of the Churches. Moreover, hopes were given them, that in case any hindrance should be made directly or indirectly about the Reimplacement, the King would consent to their refusing of the Ecclesiastical Estates.

The Assembly being inform'd with all this, and being persuaded that they might obtain something more yet, sent a New Deputation to the Court again; for which they chose *Berteville la Hare*, *la Chappelliere*, Minister of *Rochel*, *la Millette*, and *Pouxferre*, giving them a full Power to Act in their Name. But while they were on their Way, *Luines* obtain'd a Declaration on the 26th of *February*, by which the King mention'd according to Custom his good Intentions for the Observation of the Edicts; his having allow'd the *Regim'd* to keep Deputies at Court, as they did under the late King, to inform against the Infractions of the Edicts; leave to hold Provincial and General Assemblies, in Order to Nominate the said Deputies, and to draw the *Cabiers* of their Grievances. After which he spoke of the Motives which had induc'd him to allow the Assembly of *Loudun*; The Deputations they had sent to him; The Commands he had sent them to break up; the Petition they had renew'd to obtain his Leave to continue their Sessions until he had Answer'd their *Cabier*. Finally presupposing that there were some dissaffected Persons in the Assembly, who endeavour'd to inspire ill Designs into the Rest, against the repose of the State, he Granted a New delay of three Weeks, to begin from the day of the Publication of the said Declaration, to Nominate the Deputies according to the Usual Method, and then to break up; in default of which he declar'd the said Assembly unlawful from that very moment, and

An unexpected Declaration against the Assembly.

1620. and contrary to his Authority and Service; those that should remain at *Loudun*, Guilty of High Treason, and depriv'd of the Privileges of the Edicts, and of all other favours he had Granted them; but particularly of a Removal of their Affairs to the \* Chamber of the Edict: And he commanded them to be prosecuted as perturbators of the Publick Peace. And in Order to keep up the Division, which was but too great among them already, he did not only confirm the Edicts, in favour of those who should withdraw within the time prescrib'd by him, and of all those who should keep within the bounds of their Duty; but moreover he promis'd those Loyalists, that in case before the end of the time prefix'd whatever their Number might be, they did Nominate Deputies to reside with him, he would receive their Nomination, and allow the Persons so chosen to reside with him, and there to perform the accusom'd Function.

\* In which the Judges were part Catholics, and part Reform'd.

The Prince of Conde deceives the Reform'd.

This Artifice had not altogether the same Effect that time, as it had had eight or nine years before at *SANTEUR*; by reason that the said Declaration was too visible a Guile, and that it came out at a time, when by the Mediation of two considerable Lords, and upon the Parole of a Prince of the Blood, and of a Favourite, all things were look'd upon as being accommodated. The Prince of *Conde* himself carry'd the said Declaration to the Parliament, in order to get it Verify'd; and in presenting it, he seconded it with several discourses, which the *Reform'd* might reasonably have look'd upon as a Declaration of War. The Deputies of the Assembly were strangely amaz'd, when at their Arrival at *Paris* they found things so alter'd; and yet more, when going as far as *Amiens* to obtain an Audience of the King, they could not obtain it, and were oblig'd to come back without an Answer. The News of this Fraud occasion'd the same Astonishment in the Assembly. *Lesdiguieres* Conduct look'd very Suspicious; and they did not say what they thought of the Prince of *Conde's*. He had reason to think himself oblig'd to the Assembly, if Persons of his Quality could think their Inferiors capable to oblige them. They had taken his part on divers occasions. They had Petition'd his deliverance while he was in Prison. Their last Assembly had even



even spoken too much upon that Subject, in the Opinion of <sup>1620.</sup> the Wisest. Those that had been made in every Province in Order to depute to *London*, had taken his Liberty to Heart: And had not *Luines* made haste to give it him, the Assembly General would never have desisted from desiring it. That perhaps was one of the Reasons which oblig'd the Favourite to hasten to restore it to him, because that had he tarry'd too long, he should not have had the Honour of it. Nevertheless, while the *Reform'd* were Treating with *Luines*, as it were under the Auspices of that Prince, they saw him going up to the Parliament, with a Declaration in his Hand against them, and a Discourse in his Mouth full of Violence and Threatnings. The Attorney General made an End to spoil the thing, by sending the Declaration to the Assembly by an Express out of Affectation: And all this being added to what *Du Var* had said in a full Parliament, in which the King had appear'd some days before, for the Verification of some Money Bills; that the said Money would be of use for sundry things, but particularly to repress the *Reform'd*; all these things made the most moderate sensible, that a War was design'd against them, and that in Order thereunto, the Court design'd to render them the Aggressors of it.

For those Reasons, the Assembly became more United and Firmer than it was expected; and the Favourite dreading other discontents, which did not allow him to proceed any farther in his Ill Will towards them at that time, had recourse to Negotiations again. *Lesçigneures* resumed them, excusing the precipitation of that unexpected Declaration, and endeavouring to make it pass for an Effect of the Jealousie the Court had of some Members of the Assembly, which they had a mind to reduce to Reason, out of fear of falling into worse Inconveniences. In Order to resettle his Credit again, which was very much shaken by that last business, he caus'd his Deputy in the Assembly to Swear and Sign the Union, and *Chatillon* did the same. Whereupon the preceeding propositions were resum'd, and *Du Plessis* was of Opinion, that it would be the best way to accept them. The Assembly did not yield to it without resistance: But the

*Affected  
diligence of  
the Ator-  
ney Gene-  
ral.*

*The Assem-  
bly remains  
firm.*

*The Negoti-  
ations are  
resum'd.*

1620. the Messages of *Bellajon* and of *Gilliers*, by whom *Lesdiguieres* press'd them to acquiesce, which were constantly seconded by Letters from *Du Plessis*, whose Advice was preferr'd by them, before all things, finally Vanquish'd those difficulties. A great stress was laid upon the King's Word, given and Warranted by the first Prince of the Blood, and by the Duke of *Luines*. The Prince express'd that he took it as an Affront, that they would not look upon his Faith and Oath as a sufficient Warrant of a Royal Promise: And in Order the better to perswade, that the King would be a very exact Observer of it, he observ'd that it was the first the King had given to his Subjects. The Duke de *Luines* affirm'd, that it was sufficient that he had given his, and that he would make it as good as a *Bre'e*, and even better. These were the Terms us'd by the Duke de *Mombazon* his Father-in-Law in speaking to *Du Plessis*, who had written to him some time before a Large Letter, in Order to perswade him that the best way for his Son-in-Law, in Order to maintain his Credit, and to prevent the renewing of some Faction like unto the League, at a time when Affairs seem'd depos'd towards it, was to avoid all occasion of Civil Wars, as so many Rocks, against which he might loose himself.

The Assembly  
obey upon the  
parole of  
the Prince  
of Conde  
and of the  
Paro. write.

Thus the Assembly obey'd, being perswaded by *Lesdiguieres*, by *Chatillon*, and by *Du Plessis*, to whom the other two had given the same Assurances, that as soon as they broke off, Satisfaction would be given them about the Affair of *Leitoure*, the keeping of the Places of Surety, and the Reception of the two Councillors; that in the next Place, the King would hear the Remonstrances of those of *Beaun*, and that in case all that were not performed in seven Months time, they should not only have Leave granted them to Assemble again, but that it should be Lawful for them to do it without a new Permission. This is the Snare in which Credulity made them fall, which they would not have done, had not *Lesdiguieres* and the others perswaded them not to insist to have the said Assurance in Writing, lest the Court might pretend afterwards, never to have made any such Promise.

Promise. Finally, They nominated six Persons to the King, 1620. who chose *Farvas* and *Chalas* out of the said Nomination, to exert the General Deputation; and soon after, the Assembly's having received Notice of the said Election, they broke up.

The King seem'd very well pleas'd with their Obedience, and express'd it in very obliging Words. Moreover, he added something to it, which might have been call'd Effective, had not a Project been form'd at the same time to render it ineffectual; which was to add a Year to the Brief, that had been promis'd for the keeping of the Places of Surety, which were thereby left in the same Condition, in which they were, for five Years longer. But the Court might easily allow them a longer time yet without any Hazard, since they had already prepar'd Means to re-take them. The Court had a great deal of Reason to rejoyce at the Breaking up of the Assembly. Great Intrigues were forming there against the Greatness of the Favorite. The Queen had a violent Desire to return thither. The Bishop of *Lucon*, who was not come back to her to Confine himself to the Castle of *Angers*, was very solicitous for her to return there. But the main thing was to come there strong enough to reduce the Prince of *Conde* and the Favorite to her Pleasure. She easily form'd a great Party, by reason that all the Lords being displeas'd with *Luines*, whom they despi'd, thought it more Honorable for them to obey the Widow of *Henry the Great*, and the King's Mother, than a Man, whom Fortune had rais'd in one Night, whose Avarice and Ambition had no Bounds. The Duke of *Rohan* was one of those, that engag'd furthest into the Queen's Interests. Though the Favorite was Ally'd to him, they were not Friends: Their Genius was too different to Sympathise. *Luines* had us'd the Duke of *Rohan* barbarously, while the Queen was Confin'd at *Blois*. That Duke had propos'd a Reconciliation between them; and alledging to him, that he would find more Support in her than in the Prince of *Conde*, he had advis'd him to leave the said Prince in Prison, and to recall the Queen to Court. *Luines*, who was unwilling to suffer any

*Effect of  
the Separation of  
the Assembly.*

*New Intrigues against the Favorite.*

1620

Persons there of more Authority than himself, did not set that Prince at Liberty, and seem'd to hearken to the Duke's Proposition; but it was only, in order thereby, to penetrate into the Queen's Secrets, to discover her Confidants and Friends, to draw Advances from her which discovered somewhat too plainly her Passion to return to Court. He made use of it to ruine the Creatures of that Princess, and to make the King jealous that in case she should come back to Court, she would soon resume her former Authority there. This Prince being Jealous and Credulous, fancy'd strait that she had great Designs against him, and that perhaps she aspir'd to Deprive him of the Government. This was the Thing he was most sensible to, though at the Bottom it ought to have been indifferent to him, since another was to Reign in his Name, whither it were his Mother, or his Favorites. But the Duke *de Luines* proceeded farther in his Wickedness. He insinuated into the King, that the Queen might attempt against his very Life, in order to make the Crown fall to the Duke of *Orleans*, in case she could not otherwise secure the Authority to her self. In order thereunto he taught him all the Mysteries of the Government of *Catherine de Medicis*; and he insinuated to him, that the Death of *Charles* the Ninth had not been occasion'd, as it was reported, by an Effort which had broken a Vein within his Stomach, but because he had declared too openly, that he design'd to Reign himself, and to Resume the Authority which that Princess had kept too long. Some Lords belonging to the Court, having accidentally put the King upon that Subject, were surpriz'd to find him so well acquainted with the Particulars of that History. It was easie thereby to judge that he had been taught it, in order to make him fear, what a Princess of the same House, and of an equal Ambition, and as full of Courage, was capable to undertake to Reign.

The Duke  
of Rohan  
imagines in  
the Queens  
Party.

Therefore the Duke of *Rohan*, who was already ill with the Favorite, seeing moreover that the Prince of *Conde* was at Liberty, against whom he had given such a disobliging Council, and to whom he had written in a pretty insulting manner during his Confinement, took absolutely the Queens

Part,



Part, and us'd his utmost Endeavors to engage the Assembly of *Loudun* in her Interests. He fail'd but little of succeeding in it; and had not the Court found the Way to dissolve it, by the Illusion of the fair Promises I have mentioned, it was very likely that he would have perform'd it. He was one of those who were against their breaking up, and he promis'd the Queen that he would have Credit enough to hinder it: But the Advice of others being prefer'd to his, he notwithstanding was one of those that insisted most on the Sureties that were fittest to be taken, once to find some good Effect of the Promises of the Court. So that he only Consented upon the positive assurances which *Lefdiguerre* and *Chatillon* gave, upon the Word of the Prince of *Cende*, and of the Duke de *Luines*, that the King would allow the Deputies to assemble again at *Rochel*, in case the Things promised were not put in Execution at the appointed time. He represented that Consideration to the Queen, and endeavour'd to persuade her, that whereas the Court no longer kept their Words of late, the Assembly would not fail to repair to *Rochel*, at a time when the Designs of that Princess being ready to succeed, the *Reform'd* would fully resolve to joyn with her: That the new Fraud of the Favorite would give them just Reasons to do it; and that their present Obedience would only serve to show, that it was against their Will they were oblig'd to proceed to Extremities. The Court was not ignorant of his Proceedings with the Queen, and as some publick Negotiations were still kept on foot with the Queen, they acquainted her that the Duke's Abode at *Angers* was ill resented. To which she answer'd, that when she had receiv'd Satisfaction, she should easily know how to Discard him; but she rely'd too much upon him, to oblige him to remove: and she was glad to see that the Favorite had some Jealousie of his Assiduity with her. After the Queens Affairs were ruin'd, the Catholics publish'd, in order to render the *Reform'd* odious, and to persuade the World that she had not had great Designs, that they had offer'd their Services to her, and that she had refus'd their Offers. But Politicians would have found something very

*Scruples of  
the Queen  
Mother.*

1620, odd in that Pious Rebellion, which making the Queen take Arms against the Government, did not allow her to strengthen her Party by the Alliance of the *Hereticks*, which, without doubt, would have been the main Force of her Party. The Truth is, that the Queen was not so scrupulous. She never refus'd to joyn the Forces of the *Reform'd* to hers. She us'd all Means imaginable, after her Retreat from *Angoulême*, and during the Assembly of *Loudun*, to oblige them to declare for her; and she had many Creatures among them. She only stopt in one thing out of Scruple. She would sign no Treaty with them, lest her Name should appear in a Treaty with *Hereticks*, and the *Catholicks* should upbraid her with the Advantages the *Reform'd* would have got by a League, which would have put the Widow of *Henry IV.* and the Mother of their King at their Head. This only excepted, she did not refuse their Services; and she was glad to be seconded by them, provided they could not convince her of it under her own Hand. This Thought made her seem to be irresolute, and her Irresolutions created a Diffidence in most of the Members of the Assembly, who upon that account were as slow to declare themselves as the Queen. Those little Scruples ruin'd the great Designs of that Princess; and it is most certain, that considering the Disposition of Peoples Minds, the Separation of the Assembly prov'd a Master-piece of the Duke of *Luynes*.

Power of  
the Party  
she forms.

The Queen daily encreased her Party secretly, by the Concourse of the Male-contents that joyned with her, and who were desirous to restore her the Authority she had lost. The Discontents were more universal than ever. The King's Power and Favours were reserv'd only for three Persons, who exhausted the Finances to Inrich themselves, and who Ingross'd all the best Employments, though others deserv'd them much better. No body could imagine where the Progress of a Fortune so rapid would terminate, which in three years time had elevated three Brothers, whose Birth was hardly known, to Dignities, which the most Ancient Families could hardly obtain, after Thirty or Forty years Services. The Waste of the Finances was so Exorbitant, that



that in order to satisfy the insatiable Avidity of the Favorites, all the Fund of three years had been consum'd beforehand, without so much as providing for the Necessities of the present year. Therefore every body joyn'd with the Queen. The Duke de Mayenne, being either inform'd, or suspecting that the Court design'd to secure him, fled from Paris, at the very time the King receiv'd the News of the Obedience of the Assembly; and the Satisfaction he receiv'd at that happy Success, oblig'd him, lest a different Treatment might alter their Minds, to grant them the Brief, I men ioned, so speedily, by reason that the Court did not know as yet, what Consequences might attend the Retreat of that Prince. But as soon as they had receiv'd Letters from him, whereby he assured the King, that his only Design was to secure himself; and that he had no thoughts of taking up Arms, they soon moderated that Eagerness of Good Will, and forgot the rest of their Promises. However, the Duke de Mayenne had only given these Assurances in order to amuse the Court, by reason that all those who design'd to joyn with the Queen like him, were not as yet ready. Therefore he secur'd Guyenne, of which he had the Government, to the Service of that Princess. The Duke d'Epemon did the same in Angoumois, and all the other Governments and Places under his Command. The Duke de Rohan was doing the same in Poitou for her. The Reform'd only tarry'd for the first Success to embrace the same Party. Normandy was almost prevail'd with to follow these Examples by the Duke de Longueville, to whom the said Government had been given, in Recompence of that of Picardy, which he had been forc'd to yield to the Duke de Luynes. But when all things were ready to break out, the Advice the Prince of Conde gave to the King, and that which the Bishop of Lucon gave to the Queen, ruin'd all those Designs.

\* The Prince advis'd the King to secure Normandy before the Queen could have time to get the upper hand there: and the Bishop stop't the Queen at Angers, where her Forces were not capable to oppose a Royal Army; besides that, it was a

Useful  
Advice of  
the Prince  
of Conde,  
and ill  
Council of  
the Bishop  
very of Lucon.

1620. very weak Place. The principal Members of the Queen's Party, and among the rest, the Dukes de Mayenne, and de Rohan, advis'd her to retire into *Guyenne*, where she had a very fine Army under the Duke de Mayenne's Command; where her Presence would not fail to oblige *Bourdeaux* and the Parliament to declare for her; since they seem'd only to tarry for it, and where the Favorites would not have been able to follow her, without being stop't continually by some Town or other, that would shut their Gates against them; besides, the fear of leaving secret Enemies behind them, who as soon as they had cross'd the *Loire*, might raise the Northern Provinces. To this they added, that on the Contrary, remaining at *Angers*, of which the Inhabitants were disaffected to her Service, she would be deprived of all Communication with her principal Forces, and have no Recourse after the least Disadvantage.

The Bishop's  
Reasons.

The Bishop refused those Reasons, by Remonstrating to the Queen, that in putting her self into the Hands of the Duke de Mayenne, she would disoblige the Duke d'Epemon, a proud haughty Man, to whom she had been lately highly oblig'd: That in removing farther from *Normandy*, she would loose the Advantance of the Correspondence she held there with many considerable Persons: That her Retreat would be look'd upon as a Flight, which would be imputed to her Diffidency of her Forces: That it would discourage her Friends, who would be obliged to forsake her, not to expose themselves to pay for the rest of the Party. She did yield to those Considerations, which ruin'd her. Some have been of Opinion, that the Bishop was gain'd by the Duke de Luines, who gave him hopes of a Share in the Publick Affairs; and that being thus blinded by Ambition, and relying upon Predictions, which promis'd him a glorious Ministry, he betray'd his Mistress by a Council, of which he knew the Inconvenience. The King, in pursuance of the Prince of Conde's Advice, march'd with speed into *Normandy*, with such Forces as were ready near his Person; and while the Remainder of his Forces were assembling, he subdu'd that Province without any Resistance. Prudent, Governor of the



the Castle of *Caer*, was the only Person who seem'd to have a mind to defend himself; but he did it only to be intreated, and in few days he deliver'd up the Place to the King. As soon as all things were quieted on that side, the King's Forces march'd towards *Angers*, where the Queen found her self on a sudden, as it were Invested, unprovided, and surpriz'd, not knowing what to resolve upon. Therefore a Peace was propos'd, every body endeavouring by that Negotiation, to gain time, and to find Means to deceive the contrary Party. But the King's Forces having accidentally, and perhaps unwillingly defeated the Queen's at *Pont de Cé*, the Treaty was broke off, and that Princess was oblig'd to accept such Conditions as were offer'd her, that is, to submit at the Discretion of an Enemy, who was not near so Powerful as her self; her Friends were forc'd to lay down their Arms, and all she could obtain for them, was a General Pardon.

1620.



*Defeat of  
the Queen's  
Forces fol-  
low'd by a  
Peace.*

The King finding himself Arm'd thus, without any Enemies to oppose him, and having moreover gather'd the remains of the Forces the Queen's Friends had been oblig'd to disband in *Guenne*, he resolv'd all of a sudden to make use of them, in order to force *Bearn* to obey, which was not ready to oppose him. He march'd towards *Bourdeaux* with speed, without declaring his Design. The *Reform'd*, either not being jealous of it, or wanting a Pretence to take up Arms, by reason that the six Months, in which the Court had promis'd to satisfy them, were not as yet expir'd, did nothing to put a stop to that Expedition. *La Force*, being surpriz'd by that unexpected Journey, and having made no use of his Time, could neither put himself in a posture of Defence, nor get any Assistance out of the adjacent Provinces, which were astonish'd at the sight of a Royal Army. Therefore he came to the King at *Bourdeaux*, to persuade him to alter his Resolutions by Remonstrances: He added Promises to oblige the *Bearnois* to obey, provided no Violence were us'd. But whether the Court did not trust him, or whether the Clergy expected more from the King's Presence, than from the Good-Will of the People, the King continu'd his March. *La Force* met him again at *Grenade*, and brought him

*The King's  
unexpected  
Journey in  
Bearn.*

1620. him formal Proofs of the Obedience of the Estates. He re-  
 new'd his Remonstrances ; he represented to the King, what  
 Dangers he was going to expose his Person to, in a Country,  
 in which the Roads are very dangerous and Troublesome,  
 where there is nothing but Heath and Mountains, and where  
 Torrents and Floods are continually met with, and where  
 the Passages being difficult at all times, were much more  
 difficult yet at the beginning of Winter. But all prov'd inef-  
 fectual : The King refus'd their Submissions, and his Reasons  
 could not move him. Therefore he was forc'd to go back,  
 without having obtain'd any thing.

*Faults of  
 the Re-  
 formed, and  
 the Cause  
 thereof.*

The *Memoirs* of that Time accuse him of having neither  
 known how to obey, nor yet to defend himself ; and it is  
 most certain, that in all that Affair, the *Reform'd* did nothing  
 but by halves ; they dreaded the Reproach of being Aggres-  
 sors so much, and of renewing the Civil Wars without a Law-  
 ful Cause, that since the time the Catholicks had begun to  
 trouble them by a thousand Disputes, they had not been able to  
 fix upon a certain Resolution ; ever ready to satisfy themselves  
 with Words, when the Court gave them good ones ; and to  
 feed themselves with Hopes, whenever they were flatter'd  
 with the specious Name of Royal Faith. Several among  
 them were sensible that the Court had form'd the Design to  
 destroy them, and that they only troubled them by a thou-  
 sand small Vexations, sometimes harder to bear than great  
 Injustices, in order to incline them to a Rising, which having  
 no apparent Cause, might give them a reasonable Pretence  
 to oppress them. But that very Consideration prevail'd with  
 them not to take Arms, in order to frustrate the Designs of  
 their Enemies by their Patience. So that this Disposition of  
 Honest Men, afforded those who were Corrupted by Pen-  
 sion, or Promises from the Court, a fair Field to make them  
 neglect the Expedients, and loose the Opportunities to de-  
 fend themselves. For which reason their very Enemies have  
 reproach'd them, that, considering they were People who had  
 acquir'd the Reputation of great Politicians, by the Success  
 of their Affairs during several years, notwithstanding all the  
 Forces and Artifices that had been oppos'd against them,  
 they

they did not know how to improve their Advantages; and that they suffer'd with too much Blindness, and without seeking out a Remedy, the Preparations of their Ruin, which were making before their Eyes. 1620.

The King continu'd his March as far as *Preignac*, and there receiv'd the Remonstrances which *de Faur* and *de Marca*, Councillors at *Pau*, came to make to him in the Name of the Sovereign Council, to obtain an Audience for the Churches, according as he had been pleas'd to prescribe it himself. But it prov'd ineffectual; and he answer'd them, that since they had not been able to oblige the *Bearn* is to obey him, he was going to do it himself. He perform'd it accordingly, and he made his Entry at *Pau* on the 15th of *October*. Two days after it he came to *Navarreins*, a strong Place, which might have sustain'd a long Siege, had the Governor been pleas'd to defend it. But *de Salles*, who was a very ancient Gentleman, being desirous to obey, caus'd the Garison to march out, to receive the King with more Respect; and the Inhabitants following his Example, repair'd to their Arms, only to give a greater Air of Triumph to the Entry of their Sovereign. The only Reward *de Salle* receiv'd for that Submission, was the Loss of his Government, without any Recompence for it, and that he saw the Survivorship thereof taken away from a Nephew of his, to whom it had been granted, and the Baron *de Poyane*, a Catholick, was put in his Room, with a Garison of the same Religion. The King came back to *Pau* after it, where he had summon'd the Estates of the Country; and, as if his Council had design'd to instruct him how to make a Jest of his Faith and Word, they allow'd him to take the usual Oath to the Estates, before he receiv'd that of his Subjects; but he began to violate it the same day. It is remarkable, that during the Course of that Expedition, the King only advis'd with three Persons; viz. the Duke *de Luines*, *du Vair*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Jesuit *Arnoux* his Confessor. The very same day on which he swore to observe the Laws of the Country, grounded upon the Consent of his Predecessors, and of the

*The King proceeds, notwithstanding Remonstrances.*

*He arrives at Pau.*

*Makes himself Master of Navarreins.*

*He takes the Oath.*

1620  
Alteration  
of the  
whole Form  
of the Go-  
vernment.

Estates, he gave the Presidentship of that Assembly to the Bishops and Abbots, who immediately took Possession of it. He also caus'd the Declaration to be verifi'd, which allow'd them to assist at the Grand Council of the Country, with a deliberative Voice, and place next to the Presidents. He caus'd the Answer he had made to the *Cabiers*, presented to him by the Bishops three years before, to be Registred. The next day he caus'd the Edict of the Re-union of *Navar*, and of *Bearn* to the Crown to be verifi'd; and besides all the other Alterations that follow'd the Persecution, within a little time the Judges of *Bearn* were oblig'd to forget their Language, and to give all their Judgments in *French*. Finally, In order to leave nothing whole in that Country, he also caus'd the Edict of the Suppression of the Captains of the *Parfians* to be Registred, the Institution of which was as Ancient as the Principality.

Suppression  
of the Cap-  
tains of the  
Parfians.

Those *Parfians* were Cantons, in which all the Youth were list'd under a Captain, at whose Command they were oblig'd to take up Arms. So that in two or three days time, every Canton was able to Assemble all the Militia of its Canton, and to form among them all, a Body of Five or Six thousand Men. There were Six of those Cantons, who by that speedy Convocation, could easily defend the Entrance into their Country, even against powerful Armies. This is sufficient to show, that had they been as much inclin'd to Rebellion and Disobedience, as they were Zealous to Preserve the Liberty of their Country, and of their Conscience, those, who put the King upon that Journey, would have expos'd him to receive an inevitable Affront. But they only resist'd by Remonstrances and Sighs; and yet were us'd like Rebels, that Surrender'd upon Discretion. They lost the Estates which serv'd for the Maintenance of their Ministers, their Colleges, their Seminaries, their Poor, and their Garrisons. Their Temples and Church-yards were taken from them; they were constrained every where to bestow half the Employments on the Catholics. The Jesuits were allow'd to settle where-ever they pleas'd, and to perform whatever Functions they thought fit: That is, That poor Country was

How the  
Reform'd  
of the Coun-  
try were  
us'd.

given



given as a Prey to their Greediness, and the King founded a College for them in particular at *Pau*, where he also establish'd a Convent of Capucins. When he made his Entry into that City, he refus'd the Canopy, which the Magistrates offer'd him; but after he had restor'd the Cathedral to the Catholicks, he caus'd the Sacrament, which the Catholicks adore, to be carry'd in Procession. He assisted at it himself with a Zeal, which the Biggots admir'd, and which made the Catholicks express great Marks of Hatred against the *Reform'd*.

All that Journey prov'd a Chain of Violences, like unto those that have been practis'd in our days. The most moderate could not forbear Threatnings of Exemplary Punishment; of Hanging, of Beheading, to abolish the *Reform'd* Religion throughout the Kingdom, calling it a *curst Religion*; to banish all the Professors of it, or to give them some Ignominious Mark. The Soldiers broke the Temple Gates, demolished the Walls, tore the Books and Pictures on which the Ten Commandments were written. They Stole from, and did Cheat the Peasants that came to the Market at *Pau*, supposing them all to be *Huguenots*. The Lord Keeper's very Servants were as furious as the rest. They forc'd the *Reform'd*, that fell into their Hands, to make the Sign of the Cross, and to Kneel whenever Processions pass'd along. Women durst not appear in the Streets, for fear of being follow'd like Infamous Women, with foul Injuries, and insulting Cries: Some of them being with Child, were compell'd to Swear, to cause their Children to be Baptiz'd in the Roman Church, as soon as they were deliver'd. Children were forc'd from their Parents, and could not be recover'd; and all that was done in the King's Presence. The Soldiers liv'd upon Discretion in the Country, and publish'd, that the King had promis'd them the Plunder of the *Reform'd*, forc'd away the Ministers, abus'd their Wives, and forc'd Men and Women to go to Mass with Cudgels: Attempted the Honour of Women, and even fell sometimes upon their Husbands, when they had the Courage to Defend them. An Essay of forc'd Conversions appear'd in those days, of which we have now such fresh Examples before our Eyes. We may

*Abuses and  
Threat-  
nings.*

1620. very well conclude that *Lescun* was not forgotten in that Confusion. The King took away his Place of Counsellor, and had he been found, he would have been scurvily us'd. The Baron *de Benac* was also forc'd to fly, for fear of losing his Head. *La Force* carry'd, and he made a shift to be continued in the Government of the Country.

The Violences continued after the King's Departure. The Garisons that were left in *Ole on*, at *Sauvaterre*, at *Nay*, and other Places, abus'd their Landlords intollerably. Some forc'd them to advance the Oates and Hay for their Horses, in Expectation of their Musters: Others compell'd Children to make the Sign of the Cross; others abus'd those who went to perform the Exercise of their Religion; and others endeavor'd to hinder them from doing it with Stripes. The Bishops were the Ringleaders of those Insolencies. The Bishop of *Lescar* feign'd on purpose, that he was inform'd that, the Reform'd design'd to attack the Catholicks on *Christmas* Eve, and to Murther all the Ecclesiasticks: And the better to persuade that false Report, he caus'd the Gates of the City to be shut; caus'd arm'd Men to attend him, and carry'd Pistols along with him at the Mass of Midnight, as being resolv'd to defend himself. The Bishop of *Oleron* caus'd the Garison to take Arms at the same time, and sent some Soldiers out of Town to search the Gentlemens Houses thereabouts; declaring that the Baron *de Benac* lay conceal'd in an adjacent Forrest, with several arm'd Men. He allarm'd even the Lower *Navar*, where they broke down Bridges, and put Guards in the Passages, as if there had been an Enemy at the Gates. But the end of all this was to have a Pretence to send Verbal Reports to Court, to justify the Violences of *Poyane*. That new Governor exerted great Cruelties against the Inhabitants of *Nivarreins*. His Pretence for it was, as they said, that they had held Correspondencies with some Gentlemen, Relations to the late Governor. Those Gentlemen nam'd *Bensins*, being full of Indignation at the Treatment their Relation had receiv'd, made themselves Masters of a Tower in the Neighbourhood of *Navarreins*, which they fortify'd, and from whence they were in hopes to annoy that Place. *Poyane* Arm'd

Wickedness  
of the  
Bishops.

Cruelties of  
*Poyane*.

Arm'd immediately to force them out of it; and easily dissipated their Enterprize. The Marquis de la Force told his Father, that he ought not to suffer *Poyane* to take Arms without his Approbation, and to Besiege a Place, which was not under the Government of *Navarreins*; but the Court sent *la Force* a positive Order to let *Poyane* alone, by reason that the King approv'd his Conduct. So that he was forc'd to take Patience, and to digest that Affront without expressing his Resentment about it. After this *Poyane* exerted great Cruelties against the Inhabitants of the City; and though the Conspiracy was only attested or confessed by suborned Persons, and that all those who were executed about it, constantly deny'd their having any Knowledge of an Enterprize upon that Place; so many were put to Death under the Notion of Conspirators, that it might rather be call'd a Massacre than an Example of Justice. The King being persuaded that whatever was set down in the Bishops Verbal Reports, was infallibly true, justify'd what *Poyane* had done, and refus'd to hear the Complaints presented to him by the *Reform'd*. Moreover, those that escap'd that Butchery, were depriv'd of the Liberty of exercising their Religion, and the Minister was turn'd out of the Town, and was forbidden ever to return thither to perform his Functions.

Books were written on both sides upon that Subject. It is thought that the King's Confessor writ the Book Intituled *The King in Bearn*, in which all the Transactions there, are represented just and lawful; and especially as a true Triumph of the Catholick Church. The *Reform'd* oppos'd *The Tragical History of the Desolation of Bearn*, to the said Book; by the bare Recital of which, relating the Circumstances of Time, Persons, and Places, it was plainly demonstrated to all equitable Persons, that there is no Impudence a Jesuit is not capable of.

While the King was Marching towards *Bearn*, the *Reform'd* Assembled a National Synod on the first of October in the Town of *Alets*. Great Complaints were made in it of the Injustices that were done to the *Reform'd* through-

*Different Relations of the Kings Journey.*

*National Synod of Alets.*

1620. out the Kingdom. Several Churches were mention'd there in which the Exercise of their Religion was interrupted. They consider'd the Affair of *Privas*, of *Leitoure*, and of *Sancerre*. They complain'd that at *Severac*, at *Guides*, at *Vaux* in *Provence*, at *Serverettes*, and at *Langres* they receiv'd molestations, which amounted even to Violent Persecution. *Primirol* had been burnt during the Troubles, and the Temple of *Montignac* had been Demolish'd. But one of the Greatest Affairs that was examin'd there, was that of some Ministers, who being deputed to the Assembly of *Loudun*, had the boldness to Preach their private sentiments there, against the Resolutions of the Assembly. There were several of them in the Lower *Languedoc*, who were engag'd in the Interests of the Court by a small Pension, and who occasion'd a thousand disorders in the Political Assemblies of the Province, by reason that the Deputies that form'd them, being Nominated by the Churches, there were too many Ministers. Even such as could not get the Nomination of some Churches, obtain'd the deputations of some great Lord, in Order to be admitted in them. The Synod being desirous to remedy a thing which had already been attended with ill Consequences, forbad the Ministers to accept deputations to the Court, or to great Lords or from them: And Order'd that for the Future, the Deputies for the Assemblies should be chosen rather by the Laity, than by the Churches. As that Regulation exceeded the bounds of Discipline, the Synod added, that the first General Assembly should be desir'd to approve it, and whatever else might free the Churches of Political Affairs.

Political  
Regulations.

The Ministers deputed for the Synod of Dordrecht give an account of the reasons that have brought them.

*Du Moulin*, *Chauve*, *Chamier*, and *Rivet* who were Nam'd by the preceding Synod, to assist in the Name of the Churches of *France* to that which the United Provinces were Assembling at *Dordrecht* in 1618. about the affair of the *Remonstrators*, in which all the Reform'd part of *Europe* sent Deputies, gave an Account of the Reasons that had hinder'd them from performing their Commission. *Chamier* and *Chauve* were gone in Order thereunto: But they receiv'd



ceiv'd an Order from the King at *Geneva* not to proceed 1620. farther. That Prince had been frighted with the Correspondencies, that might be form'd under the pretence of that Journey, between the *Reform'd* of *France* and those of other Countries, As the Catholics fill'd his Mind with whatever could render them Odious to him; they made him fear Leagues against him; Republican Maxims, which would be taught them in those Countries, in which the People had an aversion for Monarchy: For which reasons he hinder'd a Communication, which they perswaded him was very dangerous. And yet he had been sollicit'd by his Allies, to allow some Ministers of his Kingdom to assist at the said Synod: Moreover, he had sollicit'd the States General himself to allow the said Synod a full Liberty. But he was easily prevail'd upon to do any thing, when any Body perswaded him that his Authority was concern'd: Besides *Barnet* Pensionary of *Holland*, was accus'd of having Written secretly in *France*, to hinder the sending of any Body thither. The deputed Ministers went away without Leave, for fear of a denial; preferring to excuse a thing done, rather than to expose themselves to be deny'd the undertaking it: But that precaution prov'd ineffectual; and the King's Orders stopt them by the way. The Synod of *Alets* not being able to do any thing better, nor to express the Marks of the Uniformity of their Doctrine with that of Foreign Churches, and of the Synod of *Dordrecht*, any other way subscryb'd their decision.

The Affair of *Bearn* caus'd great agitations in that Assembly, there were so many Members of it Corrupted by the Court, that they had the Credit for a long while to wave all the Complaints and Remonstrances of the Deputies of that Province, who renew'd them four times in three days, without being able to obtain a Deputation to the Court on their behalf. All manner of Artifices were put in practise to perswade the World, that the report of the King's Journey was false. False Letters were Written to divers Persons, to acquaint them that those Affairs were accommodated. They said, that the Synod had no right to meddle

1620. meddle with that Affair, which was not Ecclesiastical; that the King would refuse to hear the Deputies of an Assembly, which exceeded the Bounds of their Power, in an affair of that Consequence; That the Principality of *Bearn*, only desir'd to be United to the Churches of *France* for their own Interest, and would be ready to separate themselves from it again, as soon as they had serv'd their own turn at their Cost; Moreover, that in case the King were minded to oblige *Bearn* to Obey, he would no wise matter the Intercession of the Churches, since every thing submitted to his Arms and to his Presence. The Deputies of *Bearn* made a great deal of noise at that refusal to assist them; they cry'd that the Churches of *France* betray'd them; Curs'd the day of their Union, and made strange Imprecations against those that forsook them so shamefully. The People of *Alets* being inform'd of these disputes, took the part of the *Bearnois*; and Murmur'd highly against the Synod. They fail'd but little of coming to a Sedition.

*They resolve to depute to the King.*

This Accident made the Court Cabal slacken a little, in spite of which, finally, after Ten or Twelve days disputes, they resolv'd to Write and send Deputies to the King; to beg his Leave to hold a General Assembly at *Rochel*, as he had promis'd in order to dissolve that of *Loudun*; and to intreat him to determin the Affair of *Bearn*, and of *Leytoure*. They also resolv'd to Write to *Lesdiguieres* and to *Chatillon*, whom they look'd upon as Guarantees of the said Promise, since they had receiv'd it from the Prince of *Conde*, and from the Duke de *Luizes*, and carry'd it from them to the Assembly. But the Persons that were gain'd by the Court, spread so many false Reports in the Synod, that they fill'd every Body with Consternation and Terror; And that the Synod broke on the 13th of the said Month the Project of deputation, which they had form'd the day before.

*All manner of Success is refus'd to the Deputies of Bearn.*

The *Bearnois* were almost desperate at that Inconstancy: But that did not hinder them from receiving new Causes of Complaint. Moreover, after the Synod was inform'd of what had past in *Bearn*, they refus'd to send Deputies to the King, to interceed for that Wretched Province. They would

would not so much as Order all the Churches of the Kingdom, to make Publick Prayers to God for the Ruin'd Churches of *Bearn*; which the Catholicks themselves look'd upon as a piece of Cowardise. In a Word, those that had sold themselves to the Court, order'd matters so, that they made the rest take and Change their Resolutions as they pleas'd; which appear'd almost in all the Affairs that were propos'd. Infomuch, that the least clear sighted discover'd and Confess'd that there were Traytors in the Company; but they wanted either means to discover, or Courage to Chastise them.

*La Planche* Minister of the Province of *Dauphine*, made a great discourse of the Reports that were spread about the Affairs of Religion that were Transacted in *Vateline*, where it was said, that the *Spaniards* had committed a great Massacre of the *Reform'd*; and about the designs that were forming in *France* to Ruin the Churches. He spoke of them like a Man, that had very good Informations. He affirm'd that *Canaples* Grand-Son to *Lesdiguieres*, who soon after Marry'd a Niece of the Duke de *Luynes*, had Chang'd his Religion; That after the death of the Grand-Father, whose Engagements to turn Catholicks were not as yet known, there was no likelihood to preserve that Family; That it was publickly discours'd that the King would shortly take the Cities of Hostage from the *Reform'd*; which he would do by retrenching the payment of their Garrisons; That the Governor of *Grenoble* was a Catholick; that those of *Montelimar* and of *Livron* were Pensioners to the Court, and several things of that Nature: But the Pensioners prevail'd so far, that those Considerations prov'd ineffectual.

The News of the Alterations the King had made in *Bearn*, and that of an Interview between the Duke of *Guise*, *Lesdiguieres* and *Chatillon*, under pretence of the War of *Pi-*  
*mont*, but in reality to hinder the *Reform'd* of the Provinces of *Dauphine*, of *Languedoc*, and of *Provence* from making a diversion, having reach'd the Synod, with Circumstances which did not permit them to doubt of it, the same Cabal

1619. had still the Credit to suppress them as long as it was necessary, to prevent the applying a remedy to the same, or to take measures to stop the Progress thereof. A Conference which was design'd at *Uzer*, about the Affairs of the Country, was also prevented by the Artifices of the same Persons.

Treachery  
of some Mi-  
nisters un-  
punish'd.

*La Farre* Minister of *Aubenas* was accus'd of holding a Correspondency with *Ornano*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province: Yet tho' the Proofs of his Treachery were apparent, he was so well seconded by the Suffrages of his Adherents, that the Synod could not use him according to his desert. They only suspended him for two Months, without turning him out of his Church. *Codurc* who created continual Broils in the Political Assemblies, and in the Synods, and who deserv'd the most Rigorous Chastisements of their Discipline, had like to have sav'd himself by the same Protection. He was Minister at *Ganges*, where he had put the whole Church in disorder. He was accus'd before the Synod of *Alts*; but so powerfully defended, that the only punishment they could inflict upon him, was to deprive him of his living at *Ganges*. They would have given him another, but he refus'd it. He did propose to retire to *Mompellier*, there to lead a private Life: But the Synod having forbidden him ever to meddle with Political Affairs, he became thereby useless to the Court Party, in favour of which his cover'd Zeal could no longer create disorders and disputes. Some Conjectures might induce us to suspect, that the said *Codurc* is the same that was Corrupted by *Dagean*, the Story of which is worth relating. It will be found in another place.

Treachery  
of Priests.

The Affairs of *Privas* were also very much talk'd of in the Synod; and whereas the Troubles of that City have had long and fatal Consequences, it is necessary to give an account of their begining. *Chambaud* a Gentleman of that Country, a Zealous Reformer, had marry'd the Heiress of *Privas*, which is a Baronny, the Lord of which has the Privilege, to enter into the Estates of *Languedoc* in his Turn. He was kill'd in the King's Service during the Wars of *Pied-*

monts.



*mont*; and his Widow forgot him almost as soon as he was laid in his Grave. She afterwards fell in Love, with Vice Comte *LeStrange's* Son, a very handsome young Gentleman, but a Violent Catholick, and Marry'd him. The Inhabitants oppos'd the said Marriage to that degree, that the Vice Comte was oblig'd to enter the Ladies House by stealth, in order to Consummate the said Marriage. *Chambaud* had Marry'd one of his Daughters to *Brisson*, Governor of *Poussin*; who did not fail to joyn with the Opposants; both as being concern'd in the Affairs of that House, and as pretending that the Government of the Castle of *Prieas* belong'd to him. The Example of *Sancerre*, one of the Cities that had been possess'd the longest by the Reform'd, taught them what they were to trust to, in case they suffer'd a Place like *Prieas* to fall into the Hands of a Catholick; The said Place was none of the Largest, but yet strong enough to defend it self against a Royal Army. Moreover, Mals had not been said in the said City for sixty years past; and they were sensible that their New Lord would not fail to reestablish it there. So that, it prov'd an easie matter for *Brisson* to excite a kind of War between the Lady and the Inhabitants of the Place: But it was soon after accommodated by Commissioners upon Conditions, which the Vice Comte only accepted; in order to break them at the first occasion. He seiz'd upon the Castle by Surprise, and caus'd the Nobility of the Neighbourhood to Assemble there, under pretence to Congratulate his Marriage; but in effect to make himself the strongest. Whereupon, the Inhabitants immediately repair'd to their Arms; and the Vice Comte accompany'd by his Friends, having met some Citizens in Arms. Charg'd them before they Attack'd him, and thus the War began a New. *Brisson*, who stood upon his Guard put Succors into the City, and forc'd the Vice Comte to abandon it. He complain'd of that Violence to the Duke de *Mambrancy* Governor of the Province, and to *Farre* the Intendant, who taking *Brulant* Master of Request along with him, endeavour'd to reconcile the Lord and the Subjects. But their endeavours prov'd ineffectual, by reason that after the unexpected

1620.

*W*  
*As the*  
*Original*

*Accommo-*  
*dation bro-*  
*ken by the*  
*Lord.*

1620. ed Hostilities of the Vice-Count, the Inhabitants would no longer confide in him, and refus'd to come to an Accommodation with him, unless they had very good Sureties.

*The Place  
is deposited.*

That Affair remain'd undecided until the Dukes return, who was at a great distance from the Province at that time. He took the Vice-Count's part, and drew near the City with 7 or 8000 Men. It would have been very easie to oppose it, had *Chatillon* whom the *Reform'd* had entrusted with the Government of the Circle, undertaken it. But he did no wise oppose the Duke who was his Friend and his Kinsman, at the approach of whom, *Brisson* quitted the City, tho he had near 2000 Men to defend it, besides the Inhabitants. *Mommorency* was receiv'd in the Place, and put one of his Followers and a Garrison of 50 Men into the Castle, until the King had order'd otherwise about it. So that, that Affair took the Form of a Process among private Persons: The *Reform'd* pretended, that the said Place having been in their Hands at the time of the Edict; It was to be Esteem'd a Place of Surety, since it was included in the General Terms of the Briefs, which allow'd them the keeping of all the Places they were in Possession of at that time: The Vice-Count on the contrary maintain'd, that as the said Place did belong to a Private Person of the *Reform'd* Religion, it had lost that Quality, by falling into the Hands of a Catholick Lord. In the mean time, the Garrison committed a thousand Violences; and even during the Session of the Synod of *Alets*, the Souldiers cut an Old Man over the Head, and forc'd another Inhabitant, whom they pursu'd on purpose to abuse him, to fling himself into a Precipice, to avoid falling into their Hands. And yet they had the Impudence to Complain that the Inhabitants abus'd them, and to send for Commissioners to redress their Wrongs. But the Commissioners finding that the said Complaints were ill ground, went away again without doing any thing: And as they did the Inhabitants no harm, by reason that they found them Innocent, neither did they do them Justice for the Violences the Souldiers were guilty of.

*Violences of  
the Garri-  
son and Ca-  
lumnies a-  
gainst the  
Inhabitan-  
ts.*

A particular Assembly was held at *Anduse*, upon the Account of those Troubles: But they did not redress the hardships that distressed City suffer'd, by reason that *Chatillon*, who alone had the Power to do it, did nothing to defend them. That Affair was in this Condition when it was brought before the Synod of *Alets*, which only succour'd *Privas* by Recommendation, and with the Sum of 200 Crowns. The Truth is, that they order'd a Collection in the Province, to help them to defray the Charges of the War. They Wrote to *Chatillon*, to intreat him to awaken his Zeal in favour of that important Place. Those Letters produc'd some Effect: *Chatillon* seem'd to recover out of his Lethargy: *Brisen* Besieg'd it a New; and forc'd the Garrison of the Castle to March out of it upon Terms. But *Chatillon* having had an Enterview with *Mommerecy*, the Zeal of that Lord slacken'd all of a sudden, which made the Storm, we have mention'd elsewhere, to fall upon that poor City.

1620.  
  
*Assembly at Anduse.*

*Chatillon's behaviour.*

The same Synod before their breaking up, us'd their utmost endeavours for the preservation of the Church of *Gignac*, which was daily plagu'd by the Bishop of *Mompelien*; who had sent for *Mazin* there on purpose, a Minister who was lately turn'd Roman Catholick, in order to draw in others to embrace the same Communion by his Sollicitations and Example. They also took Measures to hinder the Bishop of *Uzes* from coming to live at *St. Ambrs*, where he was capable of doing the *Reform'd* more harm, than at *Uzes* it self, by reason that they had more Power there than he, both by their Number, and by the Protection of the Lord thereof, who being at odds with the Bishop, was glad to maintain the *Reform'd* against him. But those little Remedies apply'd to great Evils, prov'd inconsiderable to Cure them. It is impossible to imagine, how much those, that manag'd the design of destroying the *Reform'd*, Exclaim'd against the Assembly of *Anduse*, which seem'd to be Summon'd for the defence of *Privas*; and against the Synod of *Alets*, notwithstanding the Court Cabal had all along been predominant in it. The most Violent Invektives, and the blackest

*Churches Attacked.*

*Invectives against the Synod of Alets.*

1620. blackest Colours, wherewith it is possible to describe the Worst of Rebellions, fall short of those wherewith the Conduct of those Assemblies was aspir'd. And yet all that could be said of them with Justice, is, that whatever past there, were only unprofitable Marks of the Affliction of a Wretched People, who found themselves betray'd by their own brethren without daring to punish the Traytors. and who found themselves sinking, without daring to Complain, or to defend themselves, because there were Persons among them, who stil'd their Complaints Insolence, and their Defence Rebellion.

*Assembly of  
Gergeau.*

The rest of the Kingdom was not more at rest; and I will give an account in this Place of what past in an Assembly of the Provinces of *Orleans* and of *Berry*, in order to show that there were Transactions in all Parts, which foretold the approaching decay of the *Reform'd*. The said Assembly was held in the Month of *July* at *Gergeau*: It was compos'd of the Deputies of 28 Churches, and Fortify'd besides by the Deputies of the Adjacent Provinces, by those of the Provincial Council, and by those that did assist at the last General Assembly. *Charillon* and *Sully* who had Lands in that district, did not fail to Write to them to give them assurances of their Affection for the common good. The main design of that Assembly was to hear the Deputies that had assisted at *London*, who were to give an Account of what past there. They brought some propositions which the General Assembly had refer'd to the Provincial Assemblies to be Examin'd by them, and to be inserted in the Instructions of the Deputies that should be sent by them into the next General Assembly. There were two among the rest, which tended to prevent the Corruption of the Deputies. The first was, whether when a Church desir'd that the Vores should be taken by Provinces, the opposition of another could hinder it. The second was, whether the Deputies upon pretence of New Cases, which had not been foreseen when their Instructions were made, could deviate from their said Instructions. Those two Propositions had been suggested by those who held a Correspondence with the Court.

*Important  
Propositions*

They



They became useless when the Votes were given by Provinces, 1620. by reason that their Colleagues, not being corrupted like them, might carry Affairs by the Plurality of Voices. They were yet more at a loss when they were ty'd to their Instructions, which being drawn in Provincial Assemblies, were seldom conformable to the Instructions of those that were corrupted. Those two Questions were attended with Difficulties. The first had often occasion'd Disputes in Councils, and in the Estates General. The Popes had often lost their Cause when Councils gave their Votes by Provinces. For that reason they refus'd to allow that manner of Voting in the Council of Trent, in which the Number of the Italian Bishops, which surpass'd that of all the Prelates of the Remainder of Europe, that assisted at it, would have been reduced to one Voice, in case they had not Voted by Heads; which would have given a great Advantage to all those, that had a mind to reform the See of Rome. In the States General, the Brigues and Sollicitations of the Court often prov'd ineffectual, when they Voted by Provinces. So that the Assemblies of the Reformed being liable to Brigues and Corruption as well as the others; the same Question might be of use in it, as well as in all the others.

The second Question was not without Difficulty neither. It seems to be a Maxim of Right, that those who only act in a Cause as Attorneys for others, ought never to swerve from the Instructions which limit their Power. But in Affairs, of which the Conjunctures change from Morning to Night, it seems both unreasonable, and very dangerous, to tie Deputies so Inviolably to their Instruction, that they may not be allowed to do that of themselves, which it is most likely their Principals would order them to do, if they had time to Consult with them about it. Particularly, since it is to be supposed, that those who intrust any body with their Power in Affairs of great Consequence, look upon them as honest Men, it would seem to be a Reflection upon them, not to allow them to swerve from their Memoirs in unexpected Cases. Too much Regularity in such a Case, may either occasion tedious Delays, or lose an Occasion which may be

*i. Whether they should Vote by Heads or by Provinces.*

1610. difficult to recover. This was the Reason why those Questions were not decided every where alike. To Vote by Heads, and not to depend upon Instructions was liked best, especially in such Provinces, where the Court had many Pensioners; But they were of a contrary Opinion in this; and the Synod of *Alets*, as we have already seen, endeavoured to make the General Assembly approve the same Sentiment. Moreover, they added, that it would be necessary to make the President his Assistant, and the two Secretaries set their Hands to the Memoires of the Deputies that should assist in the same; and to oblige them, in order to avoid Deceit, to produce them, whenever they should advance Propositions, which they should pretend to be contained in the same.

Deliberations of the Assembly.

This particular Assembly finding it self Considerable by the Number and Quality of its Members, treated of several great Affairs: of delaying the National Synod; of hastning the Assembly of *Roche* by way of Continuation of that of *Loudun*; to oblige the Duke de *Sully* to Watch the Preservation of *Gergeau*, a Place of Surety, which was unprovided with Men, and ill paid. They made divers Reflections upon the Promise made to the Assembly of *Loudun* by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke de *Luines*, by which it was easie to judge, that they did not trust much to it. The Communication of those particular Assemblies with their Neighbours, maintained so general a Correspondence among all the Churches, that they were all instructed with what past in any of them, so that the same Affairs were partly treated of in all of them. Therefore it may very well be concluded, that the same thing was done in that which was held at *Saumur* at the latter end of the same Month of *July*; and in that of *Burgundy*, which was held at *Pont de Vesse* on the 5th of the following Month. There had been Deputies of those

Other Assemblies in Anjou and Burgundy.

two Provinces at *Gergeau*; and the Province of *Orleans* sent theirs reciprocally in those two Assemblies, so that for the most part, all things past there in the same manner.

Divers

Divers Complaints were made in those Assemblies, of 1620. the Injustices that were done to the *Reform'd* within their respective Jurisdictions. The free Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion was hinder'd at *Chartres*. A private Person had been turn'd out of the Shrievalty at *Remorantin*, barely upon the Account of his Religion; and the Election of another was oppos'd upon the same account. The Judge of *Orleans* had Condemn'd a Temple to be demolished within the space of a Week, which was all built, the Covering only excepted, upon a piece of Ground given at *Chilleurs* by *Chemerolles*, who was High Justicer of the Place. Their Malice went farther yet at *Montrichard*. The Catholicks were forbidden there to assist the *Reform'd* to carry their Dead into the Ground; which Prohibition extended even to Servants towards their Masters; threatening them, in case they did not obey, with Ecclesiastical Censures, and even with Excommunication. The Parliament of *Paris* had refus'd to regard the Warrants of a Serjeant Royal, because he was of the *Reform'd* Religion, and that he had serv'd an Execution upon a Catholick, at the Suit of a *Reform'd*. The same Parliament made two Vexatious Decrees in a short space of time, upon the Subject of Burials; the one on the 2d of *July*, which order'd the Reconciliation of the Church of *Lontac*, in which the Heirs and the Widow of *Buchon Sieur de Lallier* were accused of having deposited his Body with Violence and Force of Arms. The other on the 1st of *August*, in the Chamber of the Edict, upon a Sentence of the Seneshalship of *Angoumois*, which Condemn'd the Baron d'*Etangs* to take his Mother out of the Ground, whom he had bury'd in the Chappel of *Miffignac* two years before. The Sentence was confirm'd; but the Fine of 200 Livres, to which it Condemn'd the Baron, was moderated to 48 Livres in Alms for the Bread of Prisoners; to which was added, that before they should proceed to the Removing of the said Corps, the Attorney General should take Information, whether it could be done conveniently, in order to proceed to what should be thought reasonable, after the hearing of the said Information.

*Divers  
Complaints  
of the Re-  
form'd in  
those Pro-  
vinces.*

1620.


General Alarm of the Churches, after the Alteration of the Churches made in Bearn.

But the Noise of the Alterations made in *Bearn*, stifled those slight Complaints; and the whole Kingdom talked of the Promise made to the Assembly of *Loudun*, in the King's Name, which was violated in every Article. All the Neighbouring Churches to that oppressed Province were particularly alarm'd. *Lescun* not daring to appear at Home came to *Montauban*, where the Assembly of *Rouergue* sat. He made his Complaints there; and they gave him a full Hearing. The Circles of the Upper *Languedoc*, took his Affair to Heart, the rather, because it was reported, that the King design'd such another Progress in *Languedoc* the following Year. This Report could not be look'd upon as false, by reason that a Copy had been produc'd in the Synod at *Alets*, of a Letter written to *Mompelien* by the King, in those very Words; and those who produc'd it, affirm'd, that it was taken from the Original, Dated *October* the 9th. This shew'd evidently, that the Catholiks had already form'd the Design to destroy the *Reform'd*, and that the Court only endeavour'd to amuse them by Promises, in order to find them at odds and disarm'd, when they should attack them, the better to destroy them. Therefore those Circles resolv'd to protect the Churches of *Bearn*, and Conven'd a Provincial Assembly at *Milhau* on the 26th of *October*, where they agreed to assist the Churches of that Principality; to send Deputies to the *Reform'd* Lords, to invite them to joyn with the Assembly in order thereunto, and that it should remain at *Montauban*, untill the Meeting of the General Assembly at *Rochel*. They Authoriz'd Count *d'Orval*, the Duke of *Sully's* Son by a Second Venture, much more Zealous than the Duke his Father, and the Marquess his Brother, and well seconded by his Mother, a brave courageous Lady, to Arm in *Rouergue*: the Marquis *de Malausé*, to do the same in *Quercy* and in *Albigeois*: *St. Rome* to do the same in *Lauragais*. That Power was only provisional under the Authority of that Assembly, until the Session of the General one. Moreover, they exhorted the Cities to repair their Fortifications, to make new ones, to provide Ammunition, and to stand upon their Guard. They did write to *Lefdiguières*, and to *Chatillon*. They regulated the Form

and

Assembly at Milhau.



and Power of the Abridg'd Assembly that was to remain at 1620.  
*Montauban*, which they only Authoriz'd to Elect a General   
 with the Consent of the Provinces. They order'd the As-  
 sembly to meet forthwith, to nominate a Governor under  
 certain Restrictions.

Those Resolutions were extreemly oppos'd by two Men *Oppos'd by*  
 who were present. The one was *Bellunjon*, Governor of *Vil-* *the Deput-*  
*lemur*, who only acted by Order from *Lesdiguieres*, and who *ties of Les-*  
 had a great deal of Credit at *Castres*: The other was *Des* *diguieres,*  
*Hippolites*, Deputy of *Charillon*, who was very much respected *and of*  
 at *Milbau*. Those two Men gain'd the Deputies of *Chartres* *Chatillon.*  
 and of *Milbau*, who having oppos'd nothing till then, by rea-  
 son that all the preceding Propositions were not as yet deci-  
 sive, oppos'd that of drawing the Settlement of War; and  
 threatned also to oppose the Effect of the first Deliberations,  
 unless that Affair were refer'd to the General Assembly. This  
 was the way to wave all the other Resolutions, and to waste  
 the time of those who did concern themselves for the  
 Churches of *Bearn*, and to abate their Courage. But that  
 did not hinder the Assembly from proceeding on, which, ha-  
 ving exhorted those Deputies to give over their Oppositions,  
 they continu'd to form their Settlement of War in spight of  
 them.

The Desolation of *Bearn* being then publickly known, e- *Effect of*  
 very Body was very sensible that the *Reform'd* had a just Cause *the Pro-*  
 to Complain that the Court had deceiv'd them, and had a *mise made*  
 Right to Assemble again, according to the Power the Assem- *to the As-*  
 bly of *Loudun* pretended to have receiv'd so to do. The *sembly of*  
 Truth is, that in order to blind the World, the Court had *Loudun.*  
 done some things which they design'd to pass upon them, as  
 an exact Observation of their Promises. The Parliament had *Counsellors*  
 at last receiv'd the two Counsellors, the Affair of which, had *receiv'd in*  
 been depending for four Years together; but they had done *the Parli-*  
 it, and the King had caus'd it to be done in a manner, which *ament of*  
 show'd sufficiently that they did not do it with a good *Paris.*  
 Intention. The Prince of *Conde* went to get it pass'd into  
 an Edict; but he only obtain'd it upon the account of the  
 present Occurrences, and left in refusing it, the *Reform'd*  
 might

1620. might have a Pretence to Assemble again. Moreover, some People were of Opinion, that he had whisper'd Reasons for it, which he did not speak in full Parliament; and that he had affirm'd, that it would be the last Favour that should be granted to the *Reform'd*. The Parliament on their sides put inconvenient Restrictions to it.

Leitoure  
taken from  
Fontrai-  
lles.

The Restitution of *Leitoure* was not perform'd; and the Court would oblige the *Reform'd* to take the grossest Illusion in the World, as a real Satisfaction upon that Subject. The King being at *Bourdeaux*, remov'd *Fontrailles* out of the said Place, and allow'd him a Recompence of 50000 Livres for it. But he did not restore it to the *Reform'd*, neither did he give the Government of it to *Angalin*, from whom *Fontrailles* had usurp'd the Castle; nor to *la Chesnaye*, nor to *Claufonne*, nor yet to the Son of *Favas*, one of the Deputies General, who had all been flatter'd with the Hopes of it. It is true, that he gave it to *Bleinville*, a *Reform'd* Gentleman, who had neither the Consent of the Churches, nor an Attestation from the Assembly; and who was an Officer of his Household; and of the Number of those *Reform'd*, who, provided they kept their Places and Penions, did not much trouble themselves with the Safety of others. Moreover, lest his Religion should induce him to do any thing for the Advantage of the Churches, they gave him Subaltern Officers, and a Garison of Catholicks; consequently very unfit to keep a Place, for the Preservation of those they esteem'd *Hereticks*.

The Brief,  
expedited  
for the  
Keeping of  
the Places  
of Surety, is  
not given.

The Brief for the Places of Hostage had been promis'd and expedited; but it was not deliver'd: So that the Demonstrations of Kindness, which the King had given after the Obedience of the Assembly of *Loudun*, were degenerated into a Court-Mockery. The Affair of *Bearn* gave yet a greater Subject of Complaint. They reckon'd upon a Suspension of six Months, after which the King had promis'd to hear the Deputies of the Country, and to use them favourably upon their Remonstrances. In the mean time the King march'd into that unhappy Province with Force in hand, before the Expiration of the first six Months, and before any of the other Promises were sincerely executed. There seem'd to be no manner

manner of ground to deny that the *Reform'd* might Lawfully assemble again; and *Favus* press'd it with all his Power. He thought thereby to obtain the Government of *Leitoure* from the Court; and when he perceiv'd that they amus'd him with Words, and had a Design to give it to another, to the Prejudice of his Son, he threatned to Convene an Assembly at *Rochel*; and in order to show that his Threatnings were not vain, he Writ into all Parts to give an Account how things past, and did it perhaps more Faithfully than otherwise he would have done, if he had not had a Personal Reason for it.

*The Interest of Favus.*

His Letters finding every body full of Indignation for so many Deceits, and General and Particular Injustices, did not fail to produce the Effect he expected; and *Rochel*, which had been Impower'd by the Assembly of *Loudun*, assign'd one to meet there on the 20th of *October*. *Lu'nes* being inform'd of all this, but certain of the Chief among the *Reform'd*, whom he had engag'd by secret Negotiations, pursu'd his Design, and perform'd the Expedition of *Bearn*, without being afraid of the Dispair into which that Breach of Faith might throw all the Churches. He oblig'd the King to writeto the Major, and to the Peers of *Rochel*, to inform them, that he had not given the Assembly Leave to meet there, and to forbid them to receive it. But that proving ineffectual, he issu'd out a Declaration at *Grenade* on the 22d of *October*, which declar'd that Assembly unlawful. In order to ruine their Pretence, the King deny'd his having promis'd any thing to the Assembly of *Loudun* at their Breaking up: And said moreover, that all the Articles he had promis'd were actually perform'd; and as if the Desolation of *Bearn* had not prov'd the contrary, they made him say, that the Reason of his Journey to *Bordeaux*, was only to get *Leitoure* out of the Hands of *Fontrailles*.

*Proceps, takes the ruin of the Assembly at Rochel.*

*Declaration on which makes it pass for an Unlawful Assembly.*

The Noise the *Reform'd* made upon this Breach of Word, was great, and prov'd ineffectual. Besides the Vexation of being deceiv'd like Children, they had the Grief to find that the Court deny'd it all. The Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke de *Luines*, *Lefdiguiers*, and *Chatillon* sai'd in their Garrantee. It was

*The Prince of Conde and the Favourite fail in their Garrantee to the Reform'd.*

not

1620. not very easie though to perswade so many Persons, to whom the same Promise had been made so solemnly, that they had promis'd them nothing. Therefore they began first with Cavils very much below Persons of that high Rank. They found out little Equivocations upon the time of the beginning and ending of those six Months. They said that the Prince and the Favourite had promis'd nothing in the King's Name; that they had only spoken in their own; and that they had only ingaged to interceed with the King, who had been the sole Master of the Event. The Duke de Mombason, bred in another Reign, in which Sincerity was accounted Virtue, remember'd his having been the Bearer of that Promise to *du Plessis*; who having written a very sharp Letter to him about it, the Duke sent him an Answer on the 1st of November, in which he declar'd positively, that he had said nothing to him, but what the King and the Duke de Luines hadcharg'd him several times to say, in proper Terms.

*A suppos'd Letter written in the Duke de Mombason's Name.* But whereas a Witness of that Consequence was irksome in that Affair, the Jesuit *Arnonx* writ another Letter in the Duke's Name, Dated December the 10th. It was full of Excuses about the Conduct of the Court, conformable to the Declaration of *Grenade*; which consequently left the Complaints of the *Reform'd* in their full force. That feign'd Answer was printed, to destroy the true one, which had been printed also; and the Duke durst not disown it publickly, for fear of Offending his Son-in-Law; but yet he own'd in private, that he was the Author of the first, which *du Plessis* had receiv'd, and that he had not written the Second. Nevertheless, as all these Illusions did not appear sufficient to excuse a Breach of Word, the Jesuits suggested another Pretence; viz. that the *Reform'd* being Rebels, they had forfeited all the Favors that might be granted them. It past at first for an adjudg'd Case that they were Rebels; they were Condemn'd without Inquiry or Examination, as if it had been notorious. They pretended notwithstanding, that their Conduct had been very Innocent, since they had only taken Arms till then for Affairs of State, in which Religion was not concern'd, and in which the Catholicks had been concern'd as well

*They begin to use the Reform'd as Rebels.*



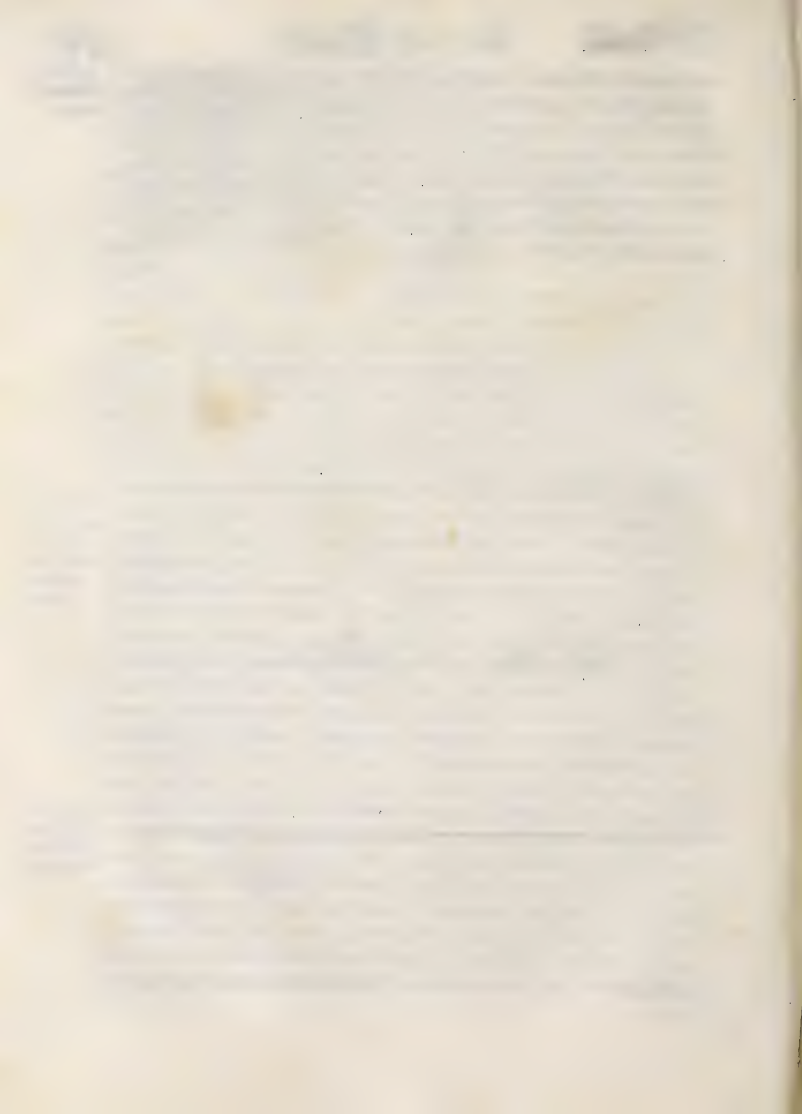
well as the *Reform'd*, the Motives of the Conduct of which, the King had approv'd by solemn Treaties ; but in their own Affairs, they had imploy'd no other Methods, but such as were allow'd of since the Edict ; viz. Assemblies, Deputations, Petitions, Remonstrances, &c. Nevertheless, that Pretence was so conformable to the Designs of the Court, that it was receiv'd there as a Principle, and by Treating the *Reform'd* as Rebels, they forc'd them to become so.

1620.

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*The End of the Sixth Book.*

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T H E  
HISTORY  
O F T H E  
Edict of NANTES.

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VOL. II. BOOK VII.

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*A Summary of the Contents of the  
Seventh B O O K.*

**T**HE Ecclesiasticks are seiz'd upon at Montauban :  
 which the Consuls excuse, and the Catholicks aggra-  
 vate. The like Transactions elsewhere. Character  
 of Masuier, who writes to the King with Malice.  
 Division of the Judges about the Inrollment of the Declara-  
 tions at Castres. Troubles at Nimes, occasion'd by a Jesuit.

Y y Circle

Circle of the Lower Languedoc assembled at Lunel. Retaking of the Castle of Privas. All manner of Justice refus'd to the Reform'd, who are driven to Despair. Collusion with Chatillon and Mommorancy. Orders from the Court to lay down Arms. Taking of Walons. Siege and Taking of Wals. Walons is Re-taken, and Restor'd. Assembly of Rachel. Lefdiguieres falls out with the Assembly. The small Affliction he had for his Religion. He Marries Mary Vignon, against the Discipline of the Reform'd: Of which he makes publick Acknowledgment. Stratagem of the Duke de Luines, in order to gain him. Double Commission to Treat with him. What Empire Deagean takes over Lefdiguieres. Feign'd Disputes of Religion. Bressieux employ'd to ruin the Work of Deagean. Bullion succeeds in it better than he. Lefdiguieres does not hearken to his Friends. Policy of Deagean. Luines is made Constable. Lefdiguieres remains at Court. Mediation of the Dukes de Rohan, and de la Trimoville, render'd ineffectual by Favas. Du Pleffis and Du Moulin solicit the Assembly to break up. Du Moulin in Danger of being made Prisoner. Coldness of James the First about the Affairs of the Palatinate. Du Moulin writes to him; and his Letter falls into the Hands of the Council of France. He makes his Escape happily. Effect of his Letters to the Assembly. Difficulties, which put a Stop to the Negotiation. New Conditions of Accommodation. Seven Articles, which the Court agrees upon to amuse the Reform'd. The old Councillors of State are against War. The Duke de Luines is not inclin'd to it neither; but the Queen, the Prince of Conde, Puisieux, the Clergy, the Pope, and the Spaniards, prevail for War. Some are for Exterminating all; and others are for Sparing the Peaceable. Reasons of the first Advice. Reasons of the Second: which is follow'd, and succeeds. Reasons Publish'd to Blind the Reform'd. New Difficulties about the Time of beginning the War. How those Difficulties were remov'd. The King goes away from Paris unexpectedly; and takes away the Offices of Receipts from the Reform'd Cities. Settlement of War in the midst of the Negotiations of Peace. New Troubles in Bearn. The Duke d'Epemon.



d'Epernon is sent thither. Cowardise of the People of Orthez. La Force Retires. All Bearn is subdued. Blindness of the Reform'd. Seditions at Tours and elsewhere. The Court stops the Progress of it. The Sedition Revives. Punishment of some of the Guilty, which deceives the Reform'd. New Declaration. The General Assembly defend themselves in Writing. Particulars of their Complaints. The Marshal de Bouillon writes to the King. Reply of the Jesuits to the Writing of the Assembly. Lefdiguieres Breaks off with them. The Assembly draws a Project of Defence. Division of the Provinces in Circles. The Marshal de Bouillon refuses the Place of General. Irreparable Fault of the Assembly. Generals of the Circles. Seal of the Assembly. The Peaceable among the Reform'd are disarm'd: Which causes a great Destruction. Treachery against du Pleffis, to get Saumur out of his Hands. The Court amuses him with Promises, even in Writing. He is upbraided by the Assembly. Declaration of the King against the Cities of Rochel and St. John de Angeli; which obliges the Reform'd to renounce the Party of the Assembly in Writing. Interested Cowardise of the Governors of the Cities of Surety. The King Dismantles the Fortifications of the Towns that are deliver'd up to him. Apology of the Assembly. Invective against the Jesuit Arnoux. Relation of what pass'd since the Assembly of Loudun. Relation of the Stratagems of the Court. Why the Assemblies refus'd to break up before their Cahiers were answer'd. A violent Answer in the King's Name. Kidnapping of Children. The Reform'd excluded from all manner of Favours. The Catholics are excus'd from giving Church-Yards at their own Cost, in lieu of the old ones, which they took again. Writing of Tilenus against the Assembly of Rochel. Siege and Reduction of St. John de Angeli. Declaration from the King, which Abolishes the Privileges of that City.

**W**Hile the Churches of Bearn were expos'd to the 1620.  
 Violences, I have mention'd heretofore, the  
 Inhabitants of Montauban thought that they  
 should serve their Brethren, by Frightning the Catholics  
 Y y 2

*The Ecclesi-  
 asticks are  
 seiz'd upon  
 at Mon-  
 tauban.*

with

1620. with Reprisals. So that one day, after a long Deliberation upon the News of the Cruelties exerted at *Navarreins*, they seiz'd upon all the Ecclesiasticks, and kept them a little above Twenty four Hours Prisoners in the Bishop's House. At the same time they gave Notice to the other Inhabitants that were at *Thoulouse*, or in the Country, to retire into the City, lest the Catholicks should also use Reprisals upon them. The very next day those Prisoners were let out again, and only had the City for Prison, with Leave publicly to perform all the Exercises of their Religion in the Church of *St. Lewis*, where they us'd to perform them. But whatever Assurance, and Liberty was given them, they refus'd, upon vain Pretences, to continue their Functions; to the end that the News of Divine Service being interrupted at *Montauban*, being carry'd to Court, might render the Conduct of the Inhabitants the more Criminal. Soon after it, they were allow'd to go out of the City, taking Leave of the Consuls; but no manner of Outrage was offer'd to their Persons, during the Process of that Affair.

Which the  
Consuls ex-  
cuse.

And the  
Catholicks  
aggravate.

The like  
Transactions  
on: else-  
where.

The Consuls writ to *Masurier*, first President in the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, to acquaint him with their Reasons. They told him, that the cruel Execution of *Navarreins* having strangely mov'd the People, they had secur'd the Ecclesiasticks, only to save them from their first Fury. But the Ecclesiasticks gave a different Account of it, and made it pass for a very heinous Attempt. They also writ to *Masurier*, as soon as they were at Liberty; and though their Letters only contain'd the same Facts which the Consuls own'd, yet they made them seem to be very Guilty. The Truth is, that there happen'd some Transactions very like those, in the County of *Foix*, where the Reform'd of *Saverdun*, of *Cazeres*, and of *Pamiers*, seiz'd upon the Catholicks, and upon some Houses seated upon the Passages, and search'd some Travellers, suspecting that they carry'd Advices or Orders against their Safety. They also endeavour'd, but in vain, to surprize a strong House belonging to the Bishop of *Pamiers*. Those Proceedings did not please every body; and the abridg'd Assembly, which was at *Montauban*, was against confining the Ecclesiasticks closer than

than within the Walls of the City. But the Spirit of Repri- 1620.  
als was predominant in the People of those Parts; and e-  
ven at *Castres* they threatned the Counsellors of *Thoulouse*,  
who serv'd in the Party-Chamber, to use them accord-  
ing as the *Reform'd* should be us'd elsewhere by the Ca-  
tholiks.

*Masurier* being inform'd with all this, writ a very violent *Character*  
Letter to the King about it. He was one of the most violent *of Mas-*  
Persecutors in the World; and according to the Character *urier*.  
another President of the same Parliament has given of him,  
the greatest Villain that ever was at the Head of an Autho-  
riz'd Society. He was a Man without the least Politeness; a  
down right Barbarian in his Temper, in his Language, and in  
his Manners. He was Covetous even to a degree of Infamy,  
and Cruel to the utmost. He neither understood Justice, or  
Equity, in point of Religion. It is reported of him, that being  
ingag'd in a Treaty made with some Persons, about the Cre-  
ation of several new Offices, he had the Confidence to come  
into the Parliament, to preside at the Decree of Verification  
of the same. The Attorney General knowing that he had a  
Share in the Treaty, recus'd him, and his Recusation was al-  
low'd of. *Masurier* was Censur'd in a full Parliament for his  
ill Conduct, and the said Censure was enter'd into the Regi-  
ster. The Prince of *Cende*, who was at *Thoulouse* at that time  
about the same Affair; and who being as Covetous as *Ma-*  
*surier*, was suspected of being Concern'd in it as well as he,  
came the next day to the Parliament, and had much ado to  
cause the said Censure to be taken out of the Register; but  
he had not Credit enough to blot it out of Peoples Minds, and  
an undeniable Witness has preserv'd the History of it. The  
same Author, speaking of the Zeal of that unworthy Man a-  
gainst the *Reform'd*, says, that he would have been praise-  
worthy, had he been more moderate. He was belov'd at  
Court, by reason that he was a Slave to all the Orders that  
came from thence, and that he knew no Rule of Justice be-  
yond a Signet Letter; but he was hated by the People. The  
very Inhabitants of *Thoulouse* Conspir'd against his Life, and  
upwards of Four thousand Billets were dropt up and down  
the

1620. the said City against him one day, in which they threatned him with the utmost Extremities. Had he been to be try'd for any Crime, though there had not been sufficient Proofs against him, the Hatred of all those that knew him, would have been sufficient to supply the Insufficiency of the Proofs. The Reform'd have often had the Comfort to see that their greatest Enemies were Men of that Character.

Who writes  
to the King  
with Ma-  
lice.

Masurier therefore writ to the King, as if the Ecclesiasticks had only been seiz'd at *Montauban*, in order to Massacre them, at the first News of any Ill Treatment acted any where else against the Reform'd. He gather'd all the Reports the Catholicks spread up and down, and grounded Designs of the whole Party, upon the least Word that fell from any over-rash Person. He endeavoured to persuade, that there were some peaceable Persons in *Montauban*, who did condemn those Proceedings; but in order to lay the Blame upon the Generality, he said, that they were at the Disposition of the Factious. He affirm'd that the Enterprize upon *Navarreins* had been resolv'd at *Milbau*; and he even proceeded so far, as to specify the day, on which the Reform'd were to take Arms. He had no other ground for either, but malicious Suspicions, or Reports spread on purpose to persuade that the Reform'd were the Aggressors. Nevertheless, the appointed day, which was the 25th of *December*, pass'd, and the Reform'd did not commit the least Act of Hostility; and they gave the King so much time to prepare himself, that he had enough to prevent them. Moreover, that pretended day, was an Invention of the Bishops of *Bearn*, who took Arms themselves that very day, under that Pretence, as I have related elsewhere.

Division of  
the Judges  
of Castres  
about the  
Inrollment  
of the De-  
clarations.

Masurier envenom'd the Conduct of the Reform'd Council-lors at *Castres* extremely in the same Letter, and imputed their Dividing upon the Prohibition of the Assembly of *Milbau*, and upon the Inrollment of the Declaration given at *Grenade* against the Assembly of *Rochel*, as great Crimes against them. But whereas there were Reasons for that last Division, it is proper to give an account of it. The King not being satisfied with prohibiting of that Assembly, and order-



ordering the Members and Adherents thereof to be prosecuted, did moreover by an express Clause derogate from the Privileges of the Edict, which refer'd all the Civil or Criminal Affairs of the *Reform'd* to the Chambers; and he refer'd the Cognizance of that particular Crime to the Parliament. The Division only related to that one Article. The Catholics pass'd it without Difficulty; but the *Reform'd* reserv'd the Cognizance of those Affairs to the Chambers, with the usual Condition, to make Remonstrances to the King about it. There really was a great deal to be said upon that new Clause, which first appear'd in the Declaration given against the Assembly of *London*. It was a Breach of one of the most considerable parts of the Edict, of which the Consequences were visible. It was a great one for the Example of it; since that in case they did allow such an Incroachment upon a Jurisdiction so well settled, and so necessary, it would encourage those who had inspir'd that first Enterprize, to attempt them upon all the rest, and by degrees, to ruine all the Articles of the Edict by the like Exceptions. It was also considerable, as to the thing it self, by reason that a General Law becomes illusive, when under pretence of Confirming it in the main, a Custom is made to derogate from it in particular Cases. It was also very considerable for the Danger to which it expos'd all the *Reform'd*, who might thereby easily be Involved in those sort of Crimes. The Parliaments of *Thoulonse*, and of *Bordeaux* particularly, had admirable Secrets, to convert all the Affairs of the *Reform'd* into Crimes of State. It was sufficient, in order to convince one of those *Hereticks*, to accuse him before those passionate Judges; the very Name of *Reform'd* was a sufficient Conviction; Proofs were only desired for Form sake. Those Reasons being added to the peculiar Interest of the Chamber, occasion'd the Division of it, by reason that they lost as much by it for themselves, this Clause taking away part of their Jurisdiction, as for the Publick of the *Reform'd*, for the Life and Safety of which, the Edict had made them Depositaries.

1620.

Trouble at  
Nimes, oc-  
casioned by  
a Jesuit.

This is what *Masurier* imputed as a great Crime against the *Reformed* Councillors of *Castres*; and upon which he desir'd an Order from the Court to Condemn them, to remove the Modification of that Clause, on pain of Suspension of their Places; as if, after the Considerations I have alledged, it were not very visible, that there could be no harm in hesitating a little upon an Affair of that Importance; and to advise the making of most humble Remonstrances to the King, before they did proceed any farther. *Masurier* might have added to all this, some Troubles that happened at *Nimes* upon the account of a Jesuit, who had been allowed to preach there by the Consuls. They had disarm'd the Catholicks; who, excepting that they had not the Power to do Harm, enjoy'd a full Peace and Liberty. The News of the Execution of *Navarreins* being brought to *Nimes* during the *Avent*, exasperated the People, who exclaimed against the Jesuit in Words, whose Name was *James Georges*. Some cry'd that he ought to be Ston'd; others that he ought to be Banish'd; others that he ought to be kept, to be expos'd upon the Breach, in case the Duke de *Mommorancy* came to Besiege the City, as it was reported. Those Words, which resemble the Licence of the Soldier, who jests, and who has a mind to frighten, were taken up as if they had been followed by the most Inhumane actions. Nevertheless, the Jesuit was only frightned, and the People did him no other Violence.

Circle of  
the Lower  
Languedoc  
assembled  
at Lunel.

But this News of the Cruelties committed at *Navarreins*, occasioned the Assembling of the Circle of the *Lower Languedoc* at *Lunel*, to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and to provide for the Safety of the Churches. The Pensioners of the Court were dumb. The Transactions in *Bearn* were publicly known; and those who would pass for *Reform'd* had not the Confidence to excuse them. *Charillon* counterfeited himself so Zealous, that he was elected General of the Churches of the *Lower Languedoc*, of the *Cevennes*, of *Vivarets*, and of *Gevaudan*, and that they gave him an absolute Power to dispose of whatever related to the War, and to the Finances. The abridg'd Assembly of *Montauban* confirm'd that Power, and soon

soon after the Assembly of *Rochel* did the same. This Post 1620. put him in a Condition to be bought by the Court, and to hinder those Provinces, which were able to make the strongest Diversion, from Succoring each other. Nevertheless, he did something at first in the War of *Privas*, which was renewed on the beginning of the Year, and which would have had another Success, had *Chatillon* been endued with more Constancy. *Brisson*, who rely'd upon his Assistance, made himself once again Master of the Castle after some days Siege. 1621. All the Actions of Courage of the Besiegers have been represented by the Catholicks, as Actions of Rage and Cruelty; and during all the Course of the Wars, which began that year, they held the same Language; Military Actions were term'd otherwise than they us'd to be. When the *R-form'd* were attack'd, their Resistance was stil'd a black Rebellion. Their Courage in Assaults, or in Sallies, in Combats or in Sieges, were term'd Fury. All the Enemies they kil'd in a just War, were Massacres. All their Undertakings to secure themselves, to Fortifie their Cities, to prevent Surprizes from their Catholick Fellow Citizens, was nothing but Barbarity, Impiety, Sacriledge. In a Word, all their Proceedings were vilify'd with all the Malice imaginable by Writers and Orators, in order to ingage the Catholicks the more to their Ruine. I think this general Remark will be sufficient: I thought it necessary, lest People might be imposed upon by the Stile of those Days; and I will not renew it elsew here.

The occasion of the new Enterprize of *Brisson*, was that the Inhabitants of *Privas* having rais'd some Works to secure themselves against the Garison of the Castle, by reason that they could obtain no Redress for the Injuries they receiv'd from them; *St. Palais*, who Commanded in it, fired his Artillery upon the Town, to put a Stop to the Work. He refus'd to hearken to the Remonstrances the Citizens made to him about it; and the Duke de *Ventadour*, the King's Lieutenant, to whom they apply'd themselves after that Refusal, instead of giving them an Audience, us'd them like Rebels, and threatned to hang them. They were us'd in the same

6120. manner throughout the Kingdom; and the poor Wretches did not know which was best for them, to Obey, or to Resist. A thousand Indignities were put upon them, when they arm'd themselves with Patience; and they were threatned with the Punishment of Criminals, as soon as they seem'd to have a Mind to defend themselves. They had no Choice left, but to suffer their Throats to be cut without Speaking, or to be Condemn'd as Rebels. This is forcing of People to act by Despair. I will not treat this Question methodically in this place, viz. Whether in those Extremities it be a sin against the Gospel to defend ones self; but I dare say, that in such Cases Nature inclines People to defend themselves, having no prospect of Safety any other way. And no equitable Person can deny, but that Acts of Despair ought less to be imputed to those that commit them, than to those who reduce them to the indispensable Necessity of committing them.

Which are  
reduc'd to  
Despair.

Undershand  
Dealing  
of Chatil-  
lon with  
Mommone-  
rency.

The Duke of Mommorency not daring to besiege *Privas* a second time, during the Assembly of the Circle; with whom *Chatillon* seem'd to agree, feign'd to be willing at the Request of that Lord, who came to him at *Mompeller* with the Consuls of *Nîmes*, and of *Uzès*, and some Deputies of the Assembly, to hearken to some Accommodation, and promised not to come to *Privas*, unless it were with a Spirit of Peace. But it was only to gain time to assemble his Forces, and to find out a way to disband those of *Chatillon*, who only wanted a pretence for it. An Expedient was found for it in an Interview of *Lesdiguieres*, of the Duke de *Vendôme*, and of a Gentleman from the Duke de Mommorency, who either could not, or would not come in Person. They resolv'd to get an Order from the Court for both Parties to disarm, and to leave things in suspense in the mean time. The Order was brought by *Des Rieux*, and *Chatillon* obeyed; but he had had the Complaisance before, the Order came, to suffer *Villeneuve de Berg* to be taken by the Duke de Mommorency without opposing it; although the said Town was necessary to incommode an Army that should besiege *Privas*, in the Neighbourhood of which it was seated, and



to put a Relief in it, which might come through the *Sevenes*, of which it was the Passage. The Duke *de Mommorency* caused Mass to be said in it immediately, which had not been celebrated there for upwards of Sixty Years. 1620.

The Order was to refer the Cognizance of the Affair of *Privas* to the King; and that the two Chiefs should Disarm; but *Mommorency* did not disarm, under pretence that *Chatillon*, who agreed under hand with him, had not properly laid down his Arms, since he had only dispersed his Forces, without disbanding them. But he had only kept them on foot to amuse the Simple, since their Retreat favour'd *Mommorency* to take *Walons*, out of which the *Garrison*, which had been put into it by *Chatillon*, withdrew by his Order. The Duke also attempted *Wals* by a down right piece of Treachery. That little Town, pretty strong by its Scituation, did belong to Colonel *Ornano*, who was afterwards Marechal of France. *Montmajour* his Brother, desir'd to have the Command of *Wals*, under pretence that he would take more care than another, to make his Soldiers behave themselves civilly there, by reason that it was his Interest so to do. *Mommorency* had two ends in so doing; the one was to imitate *Chatillon*, in dispersing his Forces, instead of Disbanding them; but in Dispersing them, he gave them convenient Quarters to assemble again in a short time, and to hinder those of the *Reform'd* from rejoyning, in case they should have a mind to Succor *Privas*. The other was to put a Catholick Garrison, under the Name of a Catholick Lord, in a Place where there ought to be a *Reform'd* one, according to the Briefs: That is, that in order to show the *Reformed* what they were to trust to about the Restitution of *Privas*, the Court design'd to dispossess those of *Wals*, who were under the same Circumstances of the Guard of their Town.

The Inhabitants easily discovered the Snare, and refus'd to quarter the Duke's Forces. They were forthwith besieged within sight of *Chatillon*; and being disheartned at the first Discharge of the Cannon, they surrenderd upon shameful Conditions. The Consuls begg'd Pardon upon their Knees, and

Order from  
the Court  
injoyning  
both Parties  
to disarm.

Taking of  
Walons.

Siege and  
Taking of  
Wals.

1621. and the Duke put a Catholick Garison into the Castle. They valu'd themselves extreamly upon the taking of that little Place, because it was commonly called *Little Geneva*, all the Inhabitants being *Reform'd*; and the *Muiden*, by reason that it had never been taken by Arms. The Catholick Religion was restor'd there, and the Example of the Duke, together with the Endeavors of the Jesuits, soon made such Conversions there, as we have seen in our days. *Chatillon*, who still kept some measures, durst not suffer *Wals* to be taken, without seeming to prevent it: But whether he did not use so much diligence as was necessary, or that the Consuls, surrender'd the Town too soon, a *d'Autiege* who commanded the Succors, was acquainted with the Surrender of the Town by the Way. In Order to imploy his Forces, he retok *Walons*, and forc'd an Exemt out of it, whom *des Ruaux* had left there. The Duke Besieg'd it again immediately: And as if *d'Autiege* had only put himself into it, to receive an Affront, he Surrender'd it within three days, upon very hard Conditions. He March'd out of it with his Men, without any thing but their Arms; and he promis'd, that neither himself nor they, should bear them in the Province for six Months time; and he did not so much as obtain a Capitulation for the Inhabitants, who were left at the discretion of the Souldiers.

*Walons is retaken, and restor'd*

*Assembly of Rochel.*

During these Transactions, the Assembly which was Summon'd at *Rochel* repair'd thither; and all the Endeavours us'd by the Court to prevent it, prov'd ineffectual to prevail with them, or to frighten them. Altho they had chang'd the Place, they still retain'd the Name of Assembly of *Lou-din* for some time, because they pretended it to be a bare continuation of that, which was held in that City, which had only been suspended to please the King, in expectation of the performance of his promises; having the Power to Assemble again, by Virtue of a Verbal promise they had receiv'd of the King for it, in case the things agreed upon, were not perform'd at the appointed time. They writ to *Lesdiguières* and to *Chatillon* to inspire them with the resentment they ought to have, at the Publick breach of a Promise, of which they

they had been as it were, Guarantees, and Depositorys. *Chabillon* made fair promises, which he did not keep; and when he had obtain'd a Place from them, which made him to be fear'd at Court; he obtain'd what he pleas'd there, and fell out with the Churches, for their Service. But *Lesdiguieres* refus'd to hearken to the Propositions of the Assembly. There pass'd a long Commerce of Letters between them, by which they insensibly exasperated each other; and finally proceed-  
 ed to Invectives and Reproaches on both sides. Among the Letters which the Assembly had written to him, while they were at *Loudun*, there was one in which they offer'd the Place of General of the *Reform'd* to him, to keep him an Army of 20000 Men, and to pay him 100000 Crowns a Month, and to give him sufficient surety for the payment of the same, in any Protestant City of *Europe*, he should be pleas'd to pitch upon. But he was no longer in a Condition to receive those Offers; and the Court had engag'd him with greater hopes.

Notwithstanding he still profess'd the *Reform'd* Religion, *The small Affection he had for his Religion.* he was already a Catholick at the Bottom, since he had promis'd to be so. His secret practices with the Jesuits; the preferring of *Crequi*, a Catholick Lord, to the most illustrious Alliances of the *Reform'd*; his affecting always to make a separate body from the rest; Joyning with the Churches when he stood in need of them, and forsaking them when they wanted his Assistance, were good Reasons to show that Religion was not his predominant Passion. Moreover, he had lately given a sensible Proof of it. *Mary Vignon*, with whom he had led a very scandalous Life for many years, whose Husband it was thought he had caus'd to be Kill'd, either to enjoy her with more freedom, or to hinder that Jealous injun'd Man from destroying his Wife, Govern'd him absolutely. After her being a Widow she turn'd her Lust to Ambition, and omitted no means to become his lawful Wife, after having so long been his Mistress. She had two Daughters by him, which she was in hopes of marrying to Sovereigns, if she could cover the Defect of their Birth by Marriage. *Lesdiguieres* was amus'd with the same

1621. same hopes : So that this Woman found it an easie task to obtain what he passionately desir'd himself. He Marry'd her ; and being sensible that all Persons of Honour would blame that Action, he was the first that turn'd it into Railery. It is one of the Maxims of those that resolve to do unaccountable things : They prevent peoples looking upon their Behaviour as Infamous, by using them not to speak of it as of a serious thing.

He Marries  
Mary Vignon.

Contrary  
to the Discipline of  
the Re-  
form'd.

Of which  
he makes a  
publick acknowledgment.

The said Marriage was directly opposite to the Discipline of the *Reform'd*, which did expressly prohibit a Man's Marrying a second Wife, after having committed Adultery with her during a first Marriage. Moreover, it was Celebrated in the Roman Church, upon the Account of *Mary Vignon*, who had Power enough to prevail with him to do it. The Truth is, that he made Publick Reparation for it : But that did not hinder people from judging, that he might easily have avoided that false step, and that *Mary Vignon* would have made no difficulty, in order to become *Duchess de Lesdiguieres*, to be Marry'd by a Minister, if he had desir'd it. Besides, the *Reform'd* did not like the prospect this New Marriage gave him, for the Establishment of his Family. The Catholick Religion was always put at the Head of all the hopes the Catholicks him with : And whereas the favour of the Court was necessary for his designs, they did not fail to insinuate to him, that he might expect a great deal more from it, by turning Catholick, than by remaining steady, by a scruple of Honour to the profession of a Religion that was run down, and which they had resolv'd to blot out of the Memory of Men.

Notable  
Artificers of  
the Duke  
de Luines,  
to gain  
him.

On the other hand, *Luines* had designs, in which he was in hopes *Lesdiguieres* would be of Use to him ; and therefore in Order to gain him, he flatter'd him with the Dignity of Constable. Not that he design'd to give it him : But aspiring to it himself, he durst not venture to ask it in his own Name, for fear of a denial. That great Office which plac'd almost all the Regal Authority in the hands of a Subject, had not been fill'd since the Death of the last Duke de *Montmorency*, to whom *Henry* the Fourth had given it. The design of introducing



roducing Arbitrary Power, did not suit with the great Authority of a Constable: Therefore the Court design'd to suppress it; and it was actually abolish'd in the beginning of Cardinal de Richlieu's Ministry. It had been vacant about seven years, when the Duke de Luines undertook to have it dispos'd of again: But in order to meet the less difficulty in it, he resolv'd to revive it, under a Name, more illustrious than his own; not doubting but after that, he would easily find a way to get it for himself. He certainly was very well acquainted with the foible of *Lefdiguiere*, to undertake to abuse him, as he did: And had he dar'd to put the same Trick upon the Duke a'Epernon, he would never have been Constable.

In Order thereunto, he pitch'd upon two different Men, to whom he gave two different Commissions. The one was to persuade *Lefdiguiere* to turn Catholick, in hopes of being made Constable. The other had Orders to represent to him, that that Grandeur would create him a World of Enemies, and that he would do better, to persuade the King to give it to his Favourite; and to rest satisfy'd with certain advantages which would be granted to him, to make him amends for the said Refusal. The Commission of the first was known to the King, who was not as yet acquainted with the pretensions of the Duke de Luines: But that of the second was only known by the said Duke, who was unwilling the King should be acquainted with that secret Intrigue: Besides, he only gave it to stop the Progress of the first, which succeeded better and faster than he desir'd. The first that was employ'd about the Duke de *Lefdiguiere*, was the same *Degean*, who had serv'd the Duke de Luines, to incense the King against the Queen his Mother, and against the Marshal a'Ancre. The King repos'd a great Confidence in him ever since that Affair; and sometimes gave him private Commissions, without the knowledge of his Favourite. As he had done after the Queen Mother made her escape out of Blois. He made use of him to write to the Bishop of *Lyon* to repair to that Princess, and to dispose her to an Accommodation. *Degean* relates it himself, tho' other Memoirs,

1621. moirs do not speak of it, as of a thing done without the Dukes knowledge. But if what *Deagean* says about it be true, it was enough to make the Favourite his Enemy. A Man that had a Genius for Affairs, who was Subile, Dissembling, Ambitious, and Bold, was capable of doing too much with an easie Prince, who repos'd some Confidence in him, to be agreeable to Persons, who had neither Wit nor Experience enough to oppose him. Therefore, the Duke took a pretence to send him to *Lefdiguieres*, to remove him from the Court; and in Order to keep him at *Grenoble*, a Place of first President of the Chamber of Accounts, was bought for him in that City, under pretence that it would hinder people from penetrating into the real Motives of his abode in that Province.

Altho *Deagean* was very sensible for what reason he was confin'd in *Dauphine*, yet he accepted the Commission that was given him; relying perhaps, more on the Gratitude of *Lefdiguieres*, than he had reason to trust to the Duke de *Luynes*. And flattering himself, that he wou'd promote his own Fortune the better, by opposing the Protection of a Constable, against the Jealousies of a Favourite. The success can never be unhappy, when matters are well dispos'd. *Deagean* easily perswaded *Lefdiguieres* to change a Religion which he little matter'd: But in Order to render his Sollicitations the more Powerful, he made use of the Wiles they us'd to practice. There still remain'd a Scruple of Honour in *Lefdiguieres*, which perswaded him, that it was a shame for a Man of his Age to change his Religion. But he remov'd it by private Conferences, by reason that Publick ones made too much Noise, and that *Deagean* had no mind to make any. He got Ministers, whom he had gain'd to meet him at *Lefdiguieres*, as if it were accidentally, and whom he seem'd not to know, that the meeting might seem undesign'd. Those Traytors, after some feign'd resistance, never fail'd to yield to *Deagean's* Reasons; and to give him a fair pretence, to press *Lefdiguieres* to overcome those little Scruples. *Le Visconte* Professor at the College of *De*, who was an *Italian*, and who had been a Fryar, was one of them.

What Empire *Deagean* gains over *Lefdiguieres*.

Feign'd Duties of Religion.

them. He suffer'd himself to be vanquish'd in a Conference; 1621. after which, he confess'd Ridiculously, that it was impossible to Answer *Deagean's* Arguments. That Comedy was Acted so grossly, that it was impossible for *Lefdiguieres* not to perceive it. It was pleasant to see *Deagean*, who had pass'd the best part of his Life in the Dignity of Clerk of the Finances, to become a Champion in a dispute of Religion; and without using any other Arguments but certain Vulgar Sophisms, repeated over and over, to reduce all of a sudden, Persons of some Reputation, and better Vers'd than himself, in matters of Controversie, to confess that his Reasons were convincing. Nevertheless, those Artifices acquir'd *Deagean* so great an Empire over *Lefdiguieres*, that he Govern'd him as he pleas'd; and that when the General Assembly offer'd to create him General of the Churches, to maintain him an Army of 20000 Men, and to pay him 100000 Crowns a Month, and to give him sufficient security for the payment of it, in any Protestant City he should be pleas'd to chuse; the said *Deagean* dissuaded him from accepting of the said Offers, and even dictated the Answer he made upon that Subject. He did the same with all the Letters *Lefdiguieres* writ to the Assembly.

This great Credit of *Deagean* had like to have broken the measures of the Duke de Luines, who intrusted the second Commission, I have mention'd, to the Marquess de Bressieux, which tended to cross the Negotiation of *Deagean*, and to persuade *Lefdiguieres* to yield the Dignity of Constable to that Favourite, upon which Condition, he was allow'd not to turn Catholick. This New Deputy was order'd by an Article of his Instructions, to obtain a promise from *Lefdiguieres*, before he did reveal his Commission to him, that he would conceal it all from *Deagean*: But he could never prevail with him to do it; and for fear of worse, he was oblig'd to stick to the Terms of the first Commission, and to content himself with pressing *Lefdiguieres* to turn Catholick. But the Duke de Luines, imputing to the Marquess, who perhaps was not inclin'd to pursue so great a Cheat; the ill

a a

Bressieux  
order'd to  
ruin the  
works of  
Deagean.

success

1621.

Bullion  
succeeds  
in it better  
than he.

success of his design, imploy'd Bullion in the same Intrigue; who prevail'd so far upon *Lefdiguières*, as to persuade him to come to *Paris*, to renounce the Constableship, and to yield that Dignity to the Duke of *Luines*; to advise the King, whom he said he would oblige, to Raise his Favourite to that high Place; and finally to serve against the Churches, still professing the *Reform'd* Religion. *Lefdiguières* resisted a little at first; but finally he was so good, as to consent to all; and was not ashamed to serve in the Quality of Marshal General, under a Constable, who was hardly any thing of a Souldier. The Duke *d'Epervin*, more resolute, and more haughty than he refus'd to Obey either; and whereas he had the art to keep the Court in awe of him, the Court was oblig'd, in order not to lose him to give him the Command of a small Body, without receiving Orders from any Body.

Lefdiguières  
does not  
hearken to  
his friends.

Such Low, and such abusive Wiles were practis'd to obtain this consent from *Lefdiguières*, that had not his Mind and Heart been weaken'd by Age, it is not to be believ'd, that he would ever have submitted to such unworthy proceedings. The best friends he had among the *Reform'd*, being acquainted with what pass'd, by reason that the Duke *de Luines* had had the cunning to Publish it, to raise difficulties upon that Affair, omitted no means to raise his Courage again; and to make him sensible, how shameful it was for him to Sacrifice his Religion and his Honour, towards the Ambition of the Duke *de Luines*. But those who possess'd his Reason, made him pass over all those considerations; and he only seiz'd to persevere in the *Reform'd* Religion, to deceive those that had still some confidence in him. The Catholick Zeal will undoubtedly appear very tractable in this Affair: But at the same time it cannot be deny'd, that the Roman Church alone knows, to what degree treachery and Hypocrisie may be carry'd innocently; and within what bounds they are to be kept, to make them part of the service of God. What *Deagean* did to remove the Scruples of *Lefdiguières* about Religion, is so singular upon that Subject, that it deserves a Place in History. Among

Notable  
Gale of  
Deagean.



mong the Ministers he had brib'd, there was one of the Low-  
er *Leaguers*, in whom *Lefaignieres* repos'd a great deal of  
Confidence, who had been his Chaplain, and who had se-  
cretly abjur'd the *Reform'd* Religion. He acquainted *Deagean*  
with all his Masters secrets, and told him the Reason  
for which *Lefaignieres* express'd, in a certain Conjunction, a  
little more repugnancy to pleasure the Court, than he was  
wont to do. The cause of that little disgust was a certain  
Suspicion, which was given him of some designs form'd a-  
gainst the *Reform'd* in *Dauphine*, in which he was to be in-  
volv'd. When *Deagean* had Learn'd that secret, it was  
easie for him to destroy the Suspensions of *Lefaignieres*, whose  
mind he turn'd as he pleas'd. Therefore, the said Minister  
doing him such good Services, he would have been a Loser,  
by his changing of his Religion publicly, by reason, that  
being then no longer able to penetrate into his Master's secrets,  
he would no longer be able to betray him. But *Deagean* pro-  
vided against it by a Notorious Cheat. He obtain'd a Brief  
for that Minister from the Pope, who allow'd him to per-  
form the Function of his Ministry for three years longer, on  
condition, that he should neither Preach against the Do-  
ctrine of the Roman Church, nor Administer the Sacra-  
ment according to the *Reform'd* manner. I do not know,  
which ought to appear most singular in this to Men of sense,  
the Niceness of that Villains Conscience, who would not  
be guilty of Hypocrisie without Leave, or the Popes com-  
plaisance, who under the pretence of his being useful, al-  
low'd him to make a sport of Religion for three years to-  
gether, and to abuse God and the World with impunity.  
They did not do so much for *Lefaignieres*. They only ex-  
cus'd him for a while from keeping his Word. The  
Truth is, that he had made a promise in Writing, to imbrace  
the Roman Religion: But since they did not perform their  
promise to him in recompence of it, they did not press him  
to put his in Execution. Moreover, when they found that  
he press'd the conclusion too fast himself, they desir'd him  
not to make so much haste; to reduce his Ambition to less  
Employments, and to keep his Religion in lieu of the Dig-

1621. nity which he was perswaded to yield to another : As if a Man, who was ever ready to Sacrifice his Conscience for Temporal Advantages, would be so far in Love with Piety, as to think himself rewarded for the refusal of such Advantages, by the Liberty of professing his own Religion.

*Luines is  
made Con-  
stable.*

There happen'd three, very singular Incidents in that Negotiation. That the only Man who could be thought capable of the first Dignity of the Kingdom, should consent to fool himself to get it for another. That the King should be so weak as to be perswaded, that a Man who was not able to Exercise a Regiment, without the help of a better Souldier, deserv'd to be Constable. That all the Court should Adore that Master-piece of Fortune, and that the Princes should submit to an Authority so ill plac'd. A Brother of his was also soon after made Marshal of *France*, who was hardly a better Souldier than himself, and who show'd at the Siege of *Montauban*, at the cost of many brave Men, that he did not understand how to charge a Mine. The Truth is, that the King soon repented the complaisance he had had for his Favourite. The Crowd of Courtiers that attended that new Constable, displeas'd the King, who finding himself almost forsaken, whereas his Favourite was follow'd by all the Court, call'd him sometimes with a spightful Air, King *Luines* : And let fall some Expressions of the desire he had to humble him. That was his Foible ; he could not indure the greatness he had rais'd himself. Tho' incapable to keep his lawful Authority, he was Jealous to see it in the hands of those to whom he had given it.

*Lefdi-  
guieres re-  
mains at  
Court.*

But whatever *Lefdiguières* could do, did not prevent his being in danger of being secur'd at Court. He had been warn'd of it by the way, and he fail'd but little of Experiencing, that the said Advice was well ground'd. Nevertheless, the Court obtain'd so many things of him, that they thought him secure ; and whereas he was always to remain with the King ; they look'd upon his presence, as a sufficient Pledge of his Fidelity. By that means *Dauphine*, in which there was a great deal of Reform'd Nobility, was retrench'd from the Union of the Churches ; 12 or 13 Pla-

ces were secur'd, in which he promis'd to put Catholick 1621. Governors and Garrisons; and he was set up for an Example to many of the *Reform'd*, whom the Court would oblige not to meddle with the Assembly, and even to bear Arms against their Brethren. But tho he assur'd every Body, both by Word of Mouth and in Writing, that he did not design to change his Religion; yet he Writ to Cardinal *Ludovisi* who had lately succeeded *Paul* the V. and who had taken the Name of *Gregory* the XV. after his Election to the Pontificat, to congratulate his Exaltation. He had formerly promis'd that Cardinal out of a Compliment, that when ever he came to be Pope, he would turn Catholick: And that Jest was imploy'd as an Argument to persuade him to do it; as if he had been oblig'd in Honour to do it, after so positive a promise.

During these Transactions, the Assembly of *Rochel* remain'd steady; and the Court was not without disquiets on their side, by reason that they were sensible, that there were many Male-contents in the Kingdom, besides the *Reform'd*: So that they were glad to find, that some of the *Reform'd* Lords were willing still to offer their Mediation, in order to an Accommodation. The Dukes of *Rohan* and *de la Trémouille* undertook it, after having taken measures with *Du Plessis* about it, and Writ to the King upon that Subject. But *Favas* finding himself fool'd at Court, and that the Government of *Leitoure* had been given to *Blainville*, in spite of him destroy'd the Project of that Mediation. He carry'd at home in *Guyenne*, after the King's departure from *Bordeaux*; and he seem'd to be unwilling to meddle any farther with the General Deputation: But he was unhappily oblig'd to come back to Court, in order to have the management of the Negotiation of that Agreement. He spoil'd it by his uneven Temper; and the Court, which knew him, made use of him to deceive the *Reform'd*, and to reconcile some Princes with the Constable, who built great designs upon the War of Religion which they saw at hand. Those Male-contents were the Count *de Soissons*, a young Prince, who had partly the Genius of his Father, and the Dukes *de Nevers*, and *de Mayenne*.

Mediation  
of the  
Dukes de  
Rohan,  
and de la  
Trémouille.

Of which  
Favas  
ruins the  
Project.

1621. *Mayenne*. *Villarnoul* Son-in-Law to *Du Plessis*, suffer'd himself to be perswaded to tell the Count, that the Accommodation of the Assembly with the King was concluded : And *Favas* himself had the Complaisance to Write to the two Dukes, that he was going from the Court, with a perfect satisfaction for the Assembly. Nevertheless, he repair'd to *Roche*, with a greater mind to exasperate matters, than to Reconcile them.

*Du Plessis* and *du Moulin* broke the Course of the Mediation, those two Lords were willing to take upon them. So that, they were reduc'd to endeavour only by their Letters, and by their Deputations to persuade the Assembly to keep within the bounds of their Allegiance. *Du Plessis* particularly behav'd himself so, that he was suspected of having lost part of the Vigour of his mind with Age, and to be mov'd by Interest as *Lesdigueres*. *Du Moulin* also joyn'd with them. He had been at *Sedan* ever since the Synod of *Alets*. He did design to call at *Roche*, in returning from the Synod to *Paris* : But things were so imbroil'd before he could come away, that he durst not follow his Inclination, for fear of making himself Criminal, by Communicating with a prohibited Assembly. His Prudence in this point avail'd him nothing, the Court would have him guilty, Right or Wrong. He receiv'd notice at *Lions*, by a Letter from *Dielincourt* his Colleague, that he would be taken up, as soon as he came to *Paris*. This News oblig'd him to take a by way to go home, where he tarry'd but one Night, and went from thence to *Sedan* ; where the Duke de *Bouillon* gave him the place of Professor in Theology, and of Minister in Ordinary. *Tillemont* his Enemy did not fail to Write Violently against that retreat, which he endeavour'd to represent as a Mercenary flight.

*Du Moulin* in danger of being secur'd. The pretence the Court had to seize upon him was, that the English Ambassador had desir'd *Du Moulin* to Write to the King his Master, to exhort him to assist the Elector Palatine his Son-in-Law. That Prince having too soon taken the Name of King of *Bohemia*, which had been offer'd him by the People, lost a Battle near *Prague*, and his New Kingdom,



together with his Ancient Patrimony, which the Emperor 1621.  
 call'd him off, as a Rebel. *France* suffer'd it calmly, by  
 reason that the Policy of *Spain* and of *Rome* prevail'd in  
 their Council, and represented that War, as a War of Re-  
 ligion. *Jaquin* himself remember'd, that he had been a  
 Member of the League; and Writ a Pamphlet, to hinder  
 the King from succoring the *Bohemians*, in which he urg'd  
 so many Reasons to prove, that all the Advantage of that  
 War would remain to the Protestants, and all the damage  
 to the Catholicks; that *France* lost that opportunity of ruin-  
 ing the House of *Austria* in *Germany*; and that they look'd  
 upon the Ruin of an Ancient Ally of *France*, as a Triumph  
 of the Catholick Church. The King meddled no farther  
 with this War, than by a Solemn Embassy, at the Head of  
 which, he plac'd the Count *d'Auvergne*: And that serv'd  
 only to render the Catholick League the stronger, and the  
 Emperor more formidable. But the Coldness of the King of  
*England* Scandalized, even those that profited by his Weak-  
 nesses. He did not relish certain Maxims of Honour, which  
 he was continually put in mind of; and he thought it a  
 piece of Policy, not to assist Subjects against their S. veraigns,  
 even in the Case of a manifest oppression. He apply'd that  
 fine Policy, which no other Prince ever bethought himself  
 of, to the Affairs of his Son-in-Law: And his Ambassador  
 who was sensible, that he was despis'd every where for that  
 false Prudence; had a mind to draw him out of that Error.  
 He look'd upon *De Moulin*, as a Man capable to revive the  
 Courage of that Prince, by whom he was very much re-  
 spected. *De Moulin* writ, after having excus'd it a while;  
 and his Letter was given to the Courier the Ambassador  
 sent into *England*. But it was soon after put into the hands  
 of the Ministers of the Cabinet Council, whither it were  
 done designedly by the Courier, or by the Ambassador; or  
 whither it were intercepted by some Wile; or finally, whi-  
 ther King *James* himself, who had particular Ingagements  
 with the King of *France*, had Communicated it to the Mi-  
 nisters of that Prince. The said Letter was look'd upon as  
 being very Criminal, by Reason, that the Condition of the  
 Churches

Coldness of  
*James*  
 the I. about  
 his Policy  
 of the Pa-  
 latinate.

*De Mou-*  
*lin writes*  
*to him and*  
*his Letter*  
*falls into*  
*the hands*  
*of the Coun-*  
*cil of*  
*France.*

1621. Churches of France was set out in it, and their approaching Ruine alledg'd, as a proper Reason to excite the King of England to assist his Son-in-Law, whose Prosperity was a Refuge to the Reform'd, as his Ruine was a Presage of Decay for them.

The Jesuits, whose Bane *Du Moulin* was, were glad of that Opportunity to ruine him, and having neither been able to Corrupt him by fair Offers, nor to destroy him by divers Conspiracies against his Life, they imagin'd that he could never scape them that time. But they were deceiv'd, and he escap'd that Snare by the Diligence of his Retreat. It was from *Sedan* he writ to the Assembly of *Rechel*. It is uncertain whether he did it of his own accord, or by the Order of the Mareschal de *Bouillon*, who was of the same Opinion with all the Grandees of the same Religion; or whether his Friends perceiving that his Enemies had a mind to represent him as a Seditious Person, who inclin'd People to Rebellion by his Advice, advis'd him to disprove them by such a Letter. But it is certain that it was written with great Vigor, and that he declar'd in it, that the Assembly would be answerable for the Ruine of the Churches, in case their refusing to break up should occasion it. The Effect of that Letter was, That it increas'd the Divisions to the utmost Extremity. Some Members of the Assembly withdrew, and never could be prevail'd upon to come again. Others acquainted *Du Moulin* that his Letter had been read, but not approv'd of, and begg'd of him not to communicate it to any body, lest it should serve as a Pretence for those, who had a mind to withdraw out of the Union.

Effect of  
those Letters to the  
Assembly.

It were to be wish'd, that the Assembly had follow'd that Advice, only to try what the Court would have done after their Separation; in order to render the Cause of the Churches the clearer, by removing the Pretence of Disunion from those, who had too much Faith and Credulity. The Event shew'd, that if those Members of the Assembly, who would not break up without Security, were not the most prudent, yet they were the best inform'd; and those who hinder'd them from taking such Measures for their Safety, had cause

to repent at leisure, their being too Credulous. Two things stoppt the Negotiation: The one was, that the Assembly could not resolve to beg Pardon for meeting at *Rochel*, by reason that they pretended, that they might lawfully do it, after so positive a Promise, as they had receiv'd for so doing at *London* from the King. That Confession of having done ill was of greater consequence than it seem'd to be at first, since it imply'd a tacit Acknowledgment that the things promis'd had been perform'd: The Consequence of which was, that it would stop their Mouths for the future upon the Business of the two Councillors, of *Leitoure*, and of *Bearn*. *Favas* insisted upon those Considerations with great Vehemency. The other was, that they were willing to see at least something done upon their Complaints, before their Breaking up, for fear of being shortly oblig'd to begin all things anew, as it had happen'd more than once. Moreover, the Decay of the Reform'd Religion in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which those who were for the Dissolution of the Assembly, made use of to make them dread the Events of War, was taken in another Sence by many, who look'd upon it as a good Reason to take Precautions against the Oppression, of which the Affairs of *Germany* gave a Presage.

*Difficulties  
which stoppt  
the Negoti-  
ation.*

Nevertheless, the Assembly not being able to withstand the Advice of all the Grantees, from whom they receiv'd Letters upon Letters, and Deputations upon Deputations, to induce them to submit, oblig'd the Lords, who had offer'd their Mediation before, to resume the Negotiation of an Agreement. The thing seem'd to be brought pretty near a happy Conclusion that time. The said Lords found an Expedient, which apparently was like to satisfy every body. They thought fit that the Assembly should break up for form sake, without removing above one or two small days Journey from *Rochel*: That the Deputies should remain in Places of Safety, under pretence that they could not go Home, by reason of the Declaration which render'd them Criminal: That they should tarry for the King's Answer, in a Readiness to assemble again in case he should break his Word: That it should be done without mentioning the Right they pre-

*New Con-  
ditions of  
Accommo-  
dation.*

tended to have had to Assemble: That before the said Separation, the Council should agree with the Deputies General, about seven Articles they were to present to the King: But that he should not dispatch them till the Assembly were actually dissolv'd, and the Members gone Home: And that in order to enable them so to do, the King would revoke the Declaration, by which they were declar'd Criminals.

Seven Articles which the Court agrees upon.

Those seven Articles, which were treated of several times with the Deputies General, and which were at last agreed upon, with some Modifications, contain'd in Substance, that the *Reform'd* should not be oblig'd to use the Words of Pretended Reform'd, in speaking of their Religion: That the King should remedy the Political and Ecclesiastical Affairs of *Bearn*: That *La Force* and his Children should be maintain'd in their Places, as they had been during the Life of the Late King, and paid their Arrears and Pensions; and that *Lescun* should have his Employments restor'd him: That the Settlement of the Places of *Dauphine* should be deliver'd according as it had been promis'd by the Treaty of *Loudun*: That the Modification of the Article of that Treaty, which spoke about the Reception of two Councillors in the Parliament of *Paris*, should be remov'd: That the *Cabiers* of the Assembly of *Loudun* should be speedily and favourably answered: That care should be taken for the Payment of Ministers, and of the Garisons: And finally, That the King's Soldiers should be remov'd from such Places where they created Jealousies.

To amuse the Reform'd.

But the Intention of the Court, by these Negotiations, was only to amuse the *Reform'd*, as they us'd to do, in order the better to take their Measures, and to break those of the Assembly, by flattering the Credulous with the appearances of an approaching Peace. The truth is, that the Resolution of making War had not been taken in the King's Council without Difficulty. Though there was a great Party that press'd the Ruin of the *Reform'd*, the Wiser of the Council were against it; particularly the three oldest Ministers that remain'd of the ancient Court, who could not abandon the late King's Maxims. They thought it a piece of Rashness to attack a Party that had Two hundred strong Places, the least



of which might tarry till a Breach was made before they did 1621.  
 Capitulate, and of which, many could sustain long Sieges before good Armies: That there was no likelihood of improving their Divisions, which would cease immediately as soon as a War should be declar'd against them, by reason that then the most Simple would begin to fear for themselves. Moreover, that there was not more Union at Court than among them, by reason of the Jealousies about the Government: That the *Reform'd* had the Reputation of being good Soldiers, and good Politicians: That there was no reason to believe that they had given over their foreign Correspondencies: That the Conformity of their Condition would ingage those Countries that profes'd the same Doctrine, to succour them. That the Allies of *France* would be troubled at that War, because it would enable the House of *Austria* to oppress them, while the King should be diverted from Foreign Affairs by those Domestick Broils. That the *United Provinces* would be expos'd to all the Forces of *Spain*, which would take the Advantage of the Civil Wars of *France*, to oppress that State, which the King had so much Interest to preserve. That the King had no Money, by reason that the Avidity of his Favourites devour'd all his Revenues; insomuch that all the Money of several Years was spent, and that all the Expence was still to come.

The Duke de *Luines*, on his side, had no Inclination to make a War. *Du Pléssis* had given him some Advices upon that Subject which stuck to his Heart, and which made him fear, either that the Malecontents would increase the Party of the *Reform'd*, or that a Peace would be made at his Cost. But on the other hand, the Ministers were all for taking Arms. The Queen expected a kind of Regency while de *Luines* should lead the King from Province to Province; and perhaps she had higher Designs. The Bishop of *Lucon*, who was one of her Creatures, had a mind to make himself necessary. The Prince of *Conde*, who expected to have the Command of the Army, no longer remember'd the Services he had receiv'd from the *Reform'd*. *Puiseux*, Son to the Chancellor, who had succeeded *Villeroy*, both in the Secretary of State's Place, and in his Passion for the *Spanish* Maxims, was at the Devotion

The Duke  
de Luines  
is little inclined to it.

But the  
Queen.

The Prince  
of Conde.

Puiseux.

1621. of *Spain*, and press'd the Duke by so many Reasons, and found so many Expedients to cure him of his Fears, that finally, he inspir'd the same Sentiments in him. The Clergy of *France* being ignorant and corrupted, thought their whole Duty was comprehended in the Extirpation of *Heresie*; and they offered great Sums, provided they were employ'd in that War. The Pope, who has the Art to persuade Princes that they are obliged to sacrifice the Repose of their State to his Grandeur, and who always advances his own Affairs at the Cost of others, seconded that Advice by all his Authority. But the Ministers of *Spain* in particular, who were the principal Promoters of that Cabal, omitted nothing to engage *France* in a War, which, according to all human appearance, was to set the first hand to the Decay of the Monarchy: The Policy of *Spain* was so refin'd at that time, that they made those serve towards their Projects, who had most Interest to oppose them; and that they engag'd *France* voluntarily in a Civil War, of which they ought to have dreaded the cruel Consequences, after having experienced it for the space of Five and thirty Years.

The Spaniards make the King resolve upon War.

Some are for destroying Root and Branch

But finally, the thing was resolv'd upon, after the Duke de *Luynes* had obtained the Dignity of Constable, which gave him the Command of the Armies. He was thereby deliver'd of the Fear of being obliged to make the Prince of *Conde* too Powerful, by giving him the said Command. But when that Difficulty was remov'd, there arose another, which was of no less Consequence. There were two Opinions about the Degree to which they should proceed in the Ruine of the *Reform'd*. Some said that it ought to be done at once; that the best way was to destroy both the *Heresie* and the *Hereticks*, and to imitate *Charles* the Ninth, who only Consented to the Massacres of 1572, on condition that nobody should be suffer'd to escape that might upbraid him with it. The Pope was of that Opinion, and was seconded by the Cardinals, by the Clergy of *France*, and by the Jesuits. The Pope offer'd on that Condition, to contribute Two hundred thousand Crowns, the Cardinals as much, and the Clergy the same Sum. The Jesuits, who are us'd to take, offer'd nothing

nothing, unless we impute to their Intreagues, the Offer of 1621. Thirty Millions of Livres, which was made by some of the \* Grand Farmers, for the Confiscation of the Estates that be-  
 long'd to the *Reform'd* on this side the *Loire*. It is very well known, that those subtle Politicians have more than once slippt their Necks out of the Collar, when Money has been requir'd of them, by proposing Advices or Expedients to raise some, without contributing any thing towards it themselves. But some were of a more moderate Advice, or rather more Politick, who were for laying Religion aside, and only to wage War against the *Reform'd* as Rebels; and to let the *Edicts* subsist in favour of such as should remain quiet in their Houses.

*Parti-  
sans, or  
such as  
thru the  
King's Re-  
venues.*

*And others  
for forcing  
the most  
Peaceable.*

The Reasons of the first Advice were, that in case any Dis-  
 tinction were made among them, those that should be spar'd  
 would prove the most dangerous: That they would perhaps  
 prove one day the Recourse of their Party: That they would  
 remain at Home, not out of Fidelity, but out of Prudence:  
 That they would keep a Correspondence with those that  
 should be in Arms: That they would be their Spyes, to give  
 them Notice of whatever should relate to them: That they  
 would secretly assist them with Money and other Necessaries  
 towards the War. But the Reasons of the others were, That  
 the Distinction that should be made of the Peaceable, and of  
 the Rebels, would be a certain way to weaken the Party by  
 dividing them: That a considerable Number of Persons, in  
 hopes of preserving the Liberty of their Religion by their  
 Obedience, would retire home, and would behold the De-  
 struction of the rest without moving: Whereas in case they  
 declar'd War against the whole Party, the most Peaceable  
 would be forc'd to join with the others for their Common  
 Defence: That for that Reason it would be imprudent to re-  
 nite near four hundred thousand Men, to which the Num-  
 ber of the *Reform'd*, capable of bearing Arms, was thought  
 to amount: Besides, That such as would be spar'd by that  
 Policy, would remain at the Mercy of the Conqueror after  
 the Destruction of the rest: That this Distinction would  
 hinder the *Protestant* Allies from taking any Jealousies about  
 that,

*Reasons of  
the first  
Advice.*

*Reason of  
the second*

1621. that War, and would persuade them that they did not aim at their Religion, but that they were arm'd against a Cabal that was always ready to trouble the State, and to joyn with the first Malecontents who had a mind to exclaim against the Government.

Which is followed.

This Advice prevail'd, and Experience shew'd that the Reasons of the first were all Illusions. The *Reform'd*, who were put in hopes that the Edicts would be observ'd, gave little or no Assistance to the others: and during the whole course of the War, the Catholicks, and particularly the Gentlemen, were much kinder to the *Reform'd* in Arms, than to the *Reform'd* that remain'd Peaceable. They gave the most considerable and the most certain Advices: It was from them, those Cities that were resolv'd to hold out a Siege, bought Provisions and Ammunitions; and from whom, in a word, they receiv'd the greatest Testimonies of Correspondence and Sincerity. The reason of it was, That there were many Catholicks, who not being blinded by the Zeal of Religion, foresaw what the Event has but too much demonstrated, and what even the Catholick Historians have not scrupled to write; that under pretence of reducing the *Reform'd*, the Court conceal'd a Design to Establish Arbitrary Power; and that the Ruin of what they call'd a Cabal, would serve as a Step towards the Oppression of the whole Kingdom. The *Reform'd* on the contrary being blinded by Promises of Liberty, avoided all Commerce with those that were in Arms, for fear of giving the Court a Pretence to involve them in the Destruction of the others, as their Accomplices; and there were many, who in imitation of *Lesdiguieres*, were not ashamed to bear Arms against their Brethren. The worthiest Persons amongst them, only succor'd them with Prayers and Tears, which the Fear of Oppression only allow'd them to shed in secret.

Reasons publish'd to blind the *Reform'd*.

During the whole Course of the War, the only Cry was, that the King's Arms were only design'd against the Rebels: That the Edicts should be observ'd in favor of the rest: That they had no thoughts of destroying the *Reform'd* Religion: This is what was written abroad; what all the Pensioners of the



the Court preach'd up and down; and what was Publish'd in all the Declarations. In order to hinder People from penetrating into the secret Reasons of those Reports, the Court publish'd others, which could do no harm, and which were so plausible, that they might pass for true. They said that it was not reasonable to force Consciences that were us'd to a long Tolleration; that what had been good 60 years before to prevent the Introduction of *Herese*, while Liberty of Conscience was unknown, would be dangerous after having relish'd it so long: That it was not fit to give any Jealousie to the Protestant Neighbouring Princes, lest they should come to the Assistance of the *Reform'd*; whereas none was to be expected from the Catholics Abroad, who were desirous to make the War last, to hinder *France* from crossing their Designs: That the King had many faithful Subjects among the *Reform'd*, who ought not to be Confounded with those Rebels. Others added moreover, in order to make their Reasons the more weighty, that the *Reform'd* were useful in *France*: That they were born Enemies to the Enemies of the State: That in case there were none of them left in the Kingdom, it would be necessary to send for some from Abroad, far from destroying those who were born there. The *Reform'd* were not the only Persons that said this; there were Catholics even in the Council, who were really of that Opinion; and at the beginning of the present Reign, there still were Ministers who had been bred in the Policy of Cardinal de *Richelieu*, who held this Maxim as a true one, and who express'd it in the very Terms I have us'd.

This Difficulty being remov'd, there appear'd a third. Some were of Opinion to begin the War without delay, in order to suppress the *Reform'd*, who were astonish'd, and not in a Posture of Defence. It was the Advice of the Prince of *Conde*, who expected to make a better Figure in the War than at Court, where he was oblig'd to have base Complaisances for the Favorite, and where he was look'd upon with an ill Eye by the Queen-Mother. *Du Vair*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Jesuit Confessor to the King, seconded it with all their Might. *Jeanin* and the other old Ministers,

who;

1621.

New Difficulty about the time of beginning the War.

1621. who were not heartily inclin'd for a War, oppos'd it, and thought that it would be proper to talk of a Peace on the contrary in threatenng a War; and in the mean time to prepare for the last, in case the *Reform'd* should refuse the first on Conditions worthy of the King. The Duke de *Luines* joyn'd with the last, but for other Reasons. He saw no Money ready for the War; he had rather apply the Finances to his own, and to his Friends Advantage, than to a doubtful Enterprize. He was at a Loss to whom he should trust the Command of the Armies. He was not secure of the Foreigners. He had no body to whom he could confide the Provinces he should leave behind him, in marching with the King towards the Southern Provinces. In fine, the Number of the *Reform'd* Lords made him dread Diversions where-ever they had any Authority.

How those  
Difficulties  
were re-  
mov'd.

But he was so happy, that all those Difficulties were level'd. He gain'd most of the Great ones. *Chatillon* was bought with the Promise of a Marshal's Staff. The Marshal de *Bouillon* remain'd long Newter. *Lesdiguieres* fool'd himself, and many others follow'd his Example. He met with no Oppositions from Abroad. The King, under pretence of a Journey into *Picardy*, secur'd himself on the side of the *Netherlands*, and *Spain* freely granted him all the Assurances he could desire, being far from putting any Obstacles to a War they desired passionately. *Cadenet*, Brother to the Favourite, who was created Duke de *Chaunces*, easily prevail'd with the King of *England*, who thought himself oblig'd to lose all the Opportunities which a good Politician would have improv'd, to make himself Arbitrator of *Europe*, when there was a Necessity to succor Subjects against their Prince in order thereunto. The *United Provinces* were not in a Condition to Break with *France*. It is true, that as that Crown had had some hand in the Divisions of that State, and seem'd to favour the Party of *Barnveldt*, they had also given some Discontents to the Prince of *Orange*. But those petty Subjects of Complaint did yield to greater Interests: The Terror of the Prosperities of the House of *Austria*, did not permit the States to fall out with an Allie so necessary as *Leis* the Thirteenth. The Court sow'd the utmost Divisions among the *Reform'd*. They endeavor'd

to revoke the Power of those who were deputed to the Assembly. They endeavor'd to make the other Cities jealous of *Rochel*, either as designing to promote their own Advantage at their Cost, or as designing to become the Center of their Union, and to ingross all the Authority. Though all the *Reform'd* were not susceptible of those Diffidences; yet there were always some who suffered themselves to be caught in the Snare of those false Impressions.

Notwithstanding the Court gave ear to all the Propositions of the Mediators, with as much Application, as if they had had a sincere desire of Peace: People were strangely surpriz'd to find in the middle of those Negotiations, when the Court thought that they had taken sufficient Measures to succeed in their Enterprize, that the King repair'd to *Fontainebleau*, from whence he writ to the Duke de *Bouillon*, and to *Du Plessis*, and some others, that the Obstinacy of the Assembly was the Occasion of his Journey, and that it oblig'd him to repair to *Tours*, and perhaps farther, if it were necessary, to be near at hand to give his Orders. He mix'd with this Advice, Assurances of his good Intentions, in favor of those that should remain within the Bounds of their Duty. The next day after his Arrival, he revers'd the Priviledge of Elections, and removed the Offices for the Receipts of his Revenues, out of the Cities held by the *Reform'd*, by an expresse Declaration, and transfer'd them to Catholick Cities, under pretence of hindering the *Reform'd* from seizing upon the Royal Treasure. But he restor'd that of *Saumur* by a Brief, to satisfy *du Plessis*, for whom a far greater Affront was preparing. This Edict might reasonably pass for a Declaration of War; but it did not open the Eyes of those who were inclineable to a Peace, and they continu'd their Mediation, some with Sincerity, and others to please the Court, which was desirous to amuse the *Reform'd* by those Appearances. So that Conferences were held still, in which all things seem'd to tend to an Accommodation. The Constable seem'd to open his Mind freely to the Deputies, and to consent to a Peace upon tolerable Conditions. For which reason the Agents and Media-

*The King goes immediately from Paris.*

*And removes the Offices for the Receipts of his Revenues out of the Reform'd Cities.*

1621. *tors* left *Paris* with *Pauas*, to repair to *Rochel* by divers ways, and upon different Days, in order severally to dispose the Assembly to receive the Conditions they brought them. But without tarrying longer than the next day after *Pauas's* Departure; a Council was held in the King's Presence, in which a Settlement was drawn of Forty thousand Foot, and Eight thousand Horse, to be distributed in the Provinces according as it should be necessary. The Government of *Bearn* was given to *Thermines* in the same Council; *La Force* was deprived of all his Places; the Survivorship of them was taken from his Son the *Marquess de Mompoullin*, who created Jealousies in the Favorites, and in the Jesuits by his great Accomplishments, and by the Share he had in the King's Favour; and he was order'd to retire from the Court. That Prince permitted those who govern'd him, to dispose of his Inclinations, as they did of his Finances, and of his Authority; and always approv'd the Reasons that were alledg'd to him, no longer to love what he had most lov'd.

Settlement  
of War  
drawn in  
the middle  
of the Nego-  
ciation of  
Peace.

New Trou-  
bles in  
*Bearn*.

The Pretence us'd for that Disgrace, was, That Peoples Minds began to be heated again in *Bearn*, and that the Affairs there seem'd to be upon the Point of a new Revolution. *La Force* was irrag'd, that instead of making him some Reparation for the Affront he had receiv'd from *Poyane*, who had taken Arms, not only without his Leave, but without his Knowledge, the Court had sent him an Order by *Salu-die* to lay down his Arms, approving the Actions of *Poyane*. The *Marquess d. La Force* press'd his Father to resent that Affront, and look'd upon the Proceeding of the Court as a bloody Injury, to oblige an old Governor of Province, an ancient Officer of the King's Household, to disa in before the Governor of a Town, who ought at least to have honour'd him as a Superior, and to communicate his Designs to him, though he were excus'd from receiving Orders from him. Moreover, it was too sensible an Affront from the Court to *La Force*, to send Orders to an inferior Officer, without acquainting him with it. Therefore the *Bearnois* being already, as uneasy at the Alterations that had been made among them,



them, as they were fatal to their Liberties, the Discontents and Intrigues of their Governor soon dispos'd them to improve the Occasion. The Earnestness the General Assembly express'd for their Affairs, encreas'd their Courage, and easily persuad'd those People, who were naturally Confident, that they would soon be as Free as the *French*. *La Force* being flatter'd with that Hope, writ to the King in the Month of *February*, a Letter that was very pressing, and well written, upon the Refusal the Court had made to hear the Deputies of the Assembly. That Letter perhaps prov'd one of his greatest Crimes. The Court no longer relish'd those free Contradictions. He Remonstrated with too much Boldness, how much the Severity of the Court encreas'd Peoples Terrors. He complain'd that the Catholics of the Province said publickly, that the King was resolv'd to declare a War against the *Reform'd*, and to destroy them; and he concluded by a pressing Exhortation, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to hear what the Deputies of the Assembly had to say.

That Letter and the Advices the Court receiv'd from *Beaun*, that the Towns, out of which the Garisons had been remov'd, were revolted, made them forget that *La Force* had obey'd the Order he had receiv'd from *Salvadie* without replying: That he had caus'd the Tower of *Montgiscard* to be restor'd and dismantled, which the *Benfins*, accus'd of the Conspiracy of *Navarreins*, had fortify'd to annoy that Place: That in order to observe some *Detour*, he had deliver'd that Fort, not to *Poyane*, who had besieg'd it, but to Councillors, that were deputed by the Sovereign Council of *Pau*, who caus'd it to be demolish'd. The King not being satisfy'd with turning *La Force* and his Children out of their Imp'oyments, order'd the Duke of *Epemon* to turn them out of *Beaun*, and to reduce the People to their Allegiance. The Court did not do the Duke that Honour out of a Pure Effect of Good Will; but lest in case they should fight him in a Time of Troubles, he might grow jealous of the Forces that march'd towards

*The Duke d'Epemon is just thither.*

1621. his Governments, and put himself in a Posture to hinder the Progress of the Favorite, who did not love him; tho his Policy oblig'd him to dissemble, and to express an exterior Friendship to him. The Court gave him nothing to help him to make that Expedition. He had not so much as time allow'd him to raise Money and Men; and he march'd towards that Country with so small an Army, that had he not rely'd upon the Correspondencies the Court held in the Towns, his Enterprize would have been a great piece of Rashness. The Truth is, that *La Force* was not yet ready, and that he made his Preparations like a Man, who was uncertain what he had best to do. The Succors of the Provinces, who had undertaken the Preservation of *Bearn*, fail'd him, and that of the Assembly General was yet at a great distance. Therefore he had recourse to Submissions, and endeavour'd to stop the Duke's March by reiterated Offers of Obedience and Fidelity. But the Duke made no less hast for that, and for his first Expedition he besieg'd *Orthez*. The Place was in a Condition to make a long Resistance, during which, Forces might have been assembled, which might easily have dissipated the Duke's, who had neither a Place to retire to, nor Provisions, or Ammunitions. Moreover, there were more Men in the Town capable to bear Arms, than there were in the petty Army that besieg'd it. Nevertheless, The Force of their Correspondencies within prov'd so effectual, that they surrendered without tarrying for the Cannon, as if they had only tarry'd for the Duke's coming to their Gates, to commit that Piece of Cowardize. That Success afforded the Duke *d'Epemon* all that he wanted, by reason that the Town was very well provided. *La Force* judging by this Success what he had to trust to from all the rest of the Country, retir'd out of the Government. After which all the Towns that were in his Party being astonish'd at the Capitulation of *Orthez*, and at the Retreat of the General, surrender'd upon the first Summons. The Truth is, that the Duke's Severity, as soon as any body show'd

Compliance  
of the People of Or-  
thez.

*La Force*  
retires.

show'd the least Inclination to resist, struck a Terror every where. Those very Places that obey'd, had the Grief to see their Fortifications demolished; but every where else, Confiscations, Banishments, Hanging, were the Duke's daily Sports, whatever the Author of his Life reports. We have a Specimen of it, by the poor Pretence he took at *Oleron*, to Execute a wretched Soldier he found in the Town. The Duke Condemn'd him to dye, because he had manag'd the Work of some slight Retrenchments which it had been cover'd with. That did not render him more Criminal than those who had set him at Work, and who had taken him into their Service. Nevertheless, he was Executed; but not being able to persuade himself, that what he had done deserv'd Death, he imputed his Crime to his being a *Provençal*, and reproach'd the Duke at his Death, that he was the Victim of his Hatred for that Province.

But those Rigors of the Duke render'd his Expedition very short, and very successful. After the Capitulation of *Orthes* he soon made himself Master of *Oleron*, of *Sales*, of *Nar*, of *Sauveterre*, and finally of *Pau*; and having order'd all things according to his Mind, he left the Country in a full Submission. That Expedition did not last above three Months, which afforded him time to come back to the King, who was before *St. John d'Anzeli* at that time. The War was begun in *Poitou* as soon as in *Bearn*, and with the same Success. Though the Duke d'*Epernon's* Commission was known by every body, and that the Settlement of War drawn in the King's Council was become Publick, the Mediators being stupified by some strange Charm, would still persuade themselves that it was nothing, and that, provided the Assembly would obey, the King would proceed no farther; so that their Letters, and their Advices still retarded the Affairs of the *Reformed*, and afforded the Court time to take all their Measures at leisure. Nevertheless, *Favas*, being informed by *Chalas* his Colleague, in the General Deputation, who

tarry'd

1621.  
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*All Bearn  
is subdu'd.*

1621. tarry'd with the Court, with what pass'd after his Departure, acquainted the Assembly therewith, and gave them an Account of the Illusions they had been amus'd with, while the Court was preparing to laugh at them and at him openly. As that Settlement of War had been drawn the next day after his Departure, he receiv'd the News of it the next day after his Arrival; so that he was enabled at once to inform the Assembly with the Disposition of Peace, in which he thought he had left the King's Council at parting, and of their Resolution for a War, of which the News was written to him.

*Sedition at  
Tours.*

They heard at the same time that he arriv'd at *Tours* on the 18th of the same Month. One *Martin*, who kept a Publick House there, had embrac'd the *Reform'd* Religion; and that Change had occasion'd some jests, and some Satyrick Songs, which had often expos'd him to the Laughter of the People. The Magistrates not having suppress'd that License, though contrary to the Edicts, and to sound Policy, the Catholick Children had learnt those Songs, and the said *Martin* dying soon after it, they sung the said Songs while his Corps was Carrying to the Ground. Some of those that accompany'd the Corps being disturb'd at that Noise, gave one of the Children a Box on the Ear. The simple Catholicks, who diverted themselves at those Childrens Play, and who often excited them to do what they durst not do themselves, cry'd out that he was kill'd, because he was a Catholick. Whereupon the People rose immediately, fell upon the *Reform'd*, abus'd, wounded, and affronted all those they met. The Night did not appease their Fury. The next day the Seditious went to the Church-yard of the *Reform'd*, dug up the Corps, which had been slung into the Ground in haste, tore it in pieces, and committed a thousand Indignities against it. From thence they went to the Temple, and burnt it: They plunder'd the House of the Sexton, and committed great Violences against him. This Rage lasted three days; but finally, it was  
appeas'd



appear'd for want of Matter, by reason that the *Reform'd* hid themselves, and that the most considerable retir'd in such Places, where they expected to find most Safety. The Magistrates barely made some weak Informations of the Fact, and imprison'd some of the most Miserable; but as if the *Reform'd* had been as Guilty as the rest, some of them were also secur'd to keep the Catholicks Company.

Those Mutineers seem'd to have look'd upon the King's Journey to *Fontainebleau* as the Signal of their Enterprize; and the People judg'd by the Coldness of the Magistrates, that they were certain the Court would approve those Proceedings. Nevertheless, the thing was look'd upon to be of too much Consequence in that Conjunction, to be wink'd at. The Court was sensible that the Impunity of those Violences would open the Eyes of those they design'd to blind, by the fair Promises of the Observation of the Edicts; and that in case Despair should re-unite the *Reform'd*, their Ruine would prove a difficult Task. Moreover, it was an Example of very ill Consequence, which appear'd, in that the People rose at *Poitiers* as well as at *Tours*, beat down the Wall the *Reform'd* had built about their Church-yard, broke the Tombs, violated the Sepulchres, and endeavor'd to demolish the Temple. Those Violences did not extend to Persons, by reason that the Place in which the *Reform'd* perform'd the Exercise of their Religion, was at a great distance from the City; and that the Magistrates, who dreaded Reprisals, put a stop to the Disorder. But the Punishment of the Seditious was very inconsiderable, and did not terrifie the Mob so much, as to hinder them from committing the like Excesses in divers other Places, as at *Croissy*, at *Maze*, and elsewhere.

*And elsewhere.*

1621. The Court dreading the Consequences of the Sediti-  
 on of *Tours*, receiv'd the Complaints of the *Reform'd*,  
 who desir'd that an Exemplary Punishment might be  
 made of it; and in order to blind them with an ap-  
 parent Satisfaction, the King issued out a Declaration  
 on the 20th of *December*, by which he took the Peace-  
 able *Reform'd* into his Protection, and injoyn'd the  
 Parliaments, and all other Officers to whom the like  
 Edicts are commonly directed, to make them enjoy a  
 Liberty suitable to the Edicts. Moreover, he sent the  
 Mild *Malleville*, Master of Requests, to *Tours*, with a  
 Commission to try the Guilty without Appeal. The  
 said Commissioner, without making any Informations,  
 but those that had already been made by the Judges  
 of *Tours*, put the *Reform'd* at Liberty, and Condemn'd  
 some of the Catholick Prisoners to Dye. That Severi-  
 ty renew'd the Sedition, and the People being in a  
 greater Fury than ever, ran to the Prisons, broke o-  
 pen the Doors, put the Condemn'd at Liberty, Plun-  
 der'd the Houses of the *Reform'd*, and among the rest,  
 that of a Notary, whose Minutes they tore. The  
 Commissioner being Terrify'd, was constrain'd to  
 hide himself; and the Mutineers could not be appeas-  
 ed untill the Magistrates promised them to obtain a  
 General Pardon for their Crime; that the Catholick  
 Prisoners should be put at Liberty, and that the Pro-  
 cess should be burnt. The King, whose Authority was  
 concern'd in that Second Sedition, took his time to do  
 himself Justice; and leaving *Fontainbleau* to march  
 towards *Poitou*, he came to *Tours*, and there caused  
 four or five Wretches to be Executed, who had been  
 concern'd in that Tumult; but the most considerable  
 escap'd. The Execution of those Wretches calm'd the  
 Minds of those, that had been terrify'd by those Vi-  
 olences committed in so suspicious a Conjunction. The  
*Reform'd* kept at Home, and saw without any Emoti-  
 on, the Weight of the War fall upon the small Num-  
 ber

The Court  
 stops the  
 Progress of  
 it.

The Sediti-  
 on is re-  
 new'd.

Punishment  
 of some of  
 the Crimi-  
 nals.

ber of those that follow'd the Orders of the Assembly. 1621. Moreover, They accus'd them of Obstinacy, and of being the Cause of their own Misfortunes, by an affected Consideration of future Misfortunes. In a Word, the Effect of that Shadow of Justice, which the King did the *Reform'd* on that Occasion, was such, that the very Catholicks wondred at it, and made Jest of the Simplicity of those Wretches. An Historian, who speaks of those Affairs like a passionate Catholick, nevertheless says, upon that Subject, *That he does not wonder that the Vulgar, whose Impetuosity is blind, should be caught in such a Snare; but that he cannot imagine how it could deceive the Grantees, the Gentry, and the Officers of that S. &c, who had been repented till then Wise Politicians.*

*Which dazzles the Reform'd.*

On the Fourth of the same Month, the King published yet another Declaration before his Departure from *Fontainebleau*, of the same Stile with all the rest. It began with a Protestation of having all along been desirous to cause the Edicts to be observ'd, as the most effectual way to make his Subjects live in Peace; of having wink'd at the Infractions committed by some of the *Reform'd*; of having endeavour'd to make them sensible of their Duty by Divers Edicts publish'd on purpose. From thence it proceeded to the Motives of the Declaration given at *Grenoble*, in the Month of *October* last past, to interdict the Assembly of *Rochel*; and complaining that it had not hinder'd the *Reform'd* from assembling in the said City and elsewhere; from ordering divers Acts of Hostility, as by Reprisals; from Electing Chiefs; from Fortifying of their Garisons; from Raising Men and Money; from Lising Soldiers, Casting of Artillery, Buying of Arms and other Amunitions. It added, That notwithstanding all this, the King had granted several things, desir'd by the Memorials presented to him by the Deputies General: But, that finally he was resolv'd to go as far as *Touraine*, and

*New Declaration.*

1621. to march himself towards *Poitou* and elsewhere, to be near to apply a Remedy to those Evils; being resolv'd to maintain the Publick Peace, to cause the Edicts to be observ'd, in favour of such as should keep within the Bounds of their Allegiance, and to chastise the Rebels: Whereupon he confirm'd a new, all the Edicts and Declarations, and order'd them to be kept in favour of those that were, and should remain within the said Bounds of their Duty, whom he took, as well as their Families and Estates, under his Protection and special Safeguard; commanding his Officers and Governors of Cities to see it performed. He order'd the same thing for the Catholics, to the Officers of the Places in which the Reform'd were the strongest. After which he came to *Blois*, from whence he repaired to *Amboise*, and afterwards to *Tours*, to *Thouars*, where the Dutcheſs de la *Trimouille* receiv'd him, and finally to *Saumur*, out of which he turn'd *Du Plessis* in a very Unkingly manner.

*The General Assembly defends it self in Writing.*

While the Court was so diligently employ'd about the Preparations of War, the Assembly was near as diligent in putting themselves in a Posture of Defence; being equally troubled with the little Union they observ'd in their Bosom, and with the little Authority they had in the Provinces, and the continual Contradictions of those who thought they were the Wifest, who did nothing but Preach Obedience to them. As soon as they were inform'd that the King had refus'd to hear their Deputies, they order'd them to put those Remonstrances in Writing, which they were to have made by Word of Mouth. They did it accordingly, and in order that every body might be acquainted with them, they publish'd them. After having declar'd, that the Reason which oblig'd them to make them publick, was, that they were not allow'd to speak to the King; they set forth all the Promises that had been made to the Assembly of *Loudun* in the King's Name, the Prince



of Conde's, and the Duke de Luines; and they related the very Expressions they had us'd; and among the rest, what the King had said to those who carry'd the Nomination of the Deputies General to him, that he would perform the Promises of the Prince, and of the Duke. They complain'd that those Solemn Promises had been violated; and having observ'd at what time the King took his Progress into *Bearn*, they thought it was a great Injustice to impute it as a Crime to the Assembly, to have met upon the Word of a Prince, of the Favourite, and of the King himself.

After which they proceeded to the Particulars of those things in which, the Court had not perform'd their Promises: *viz.* That the Settlement of the Places of *Dauphine* had not been deliver'd, though it was an Affair but of half an Hour. That the Reception of the two Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris* had been deferr'd as long as possible could be. That it had not been perform'd till after the Convocation of the Assembly. That only one of them had been receiv'd in Reality, the Reception of the other being evaded by the Clause of Modification, which oblig'd *Le Cog* to resign his Place to a Catholick. That every thing had been alter'd in *Bearn*, and the Assembly of *Rochel* declar'd Criminal, without hearing the Persons concern'd. That the Exercise of the *Reform'd* Religion had been interrupted at *Clermont de Lodeve*, though it was a Place of Surety. That the Catholicks hinder'd the Execution of the King's Orders by Force of Arms, and the Proceedings of the Commissioners sent to re-establish it there. That the King's Council declar'd that the King's Authority was concern'd in it; but yet that they Authoriz'd it by Conniving at it. That *Privas* had been taken from the *Reform'd*, though it was a Place, where, according to the Edicts and Briefs, nothing ought to be Innovated. That during Eighteen

*Particulars of their Complaints*

1621. Months last past, the Court had detained the Sums promised for the Maintenance of the Garisons, and for the Sallaries of the Minist'ers. That Seditious Sermons against the *Reform'd* were tolerated. That their Dead were taken out of the Ground again. That their Temples were burnt. That their Ministers were turn'd out. That the Delivery of the Places, in which they were to perform the Exercise of their Religion was hindered; and among the Places in which those Excesses were committed, they mentioned *Moulins, Burges, Baux in Provence, Lion, Dijon*. That their *Cahiers* were not answered, and that when any of the Articles were answered, either the Answers were not put in Execution, or they were contrary to the Intention of the Edicts. That the Commissioners sent into the Provinces, either refus'd to perform their Office, or perform'd it ill, by a visible Collusion. That all this proceeded from the Council and Malice of the Jesuits. They Concluded, Imploring the King's Favour, and earnestly desir'd the Revocation of the Declaration which treated them as Criminals, protesting that they only desir'd the Liberty and Safety of their Religion, to remain inviolably ty'd to their Allegiance.

*The Marshall de Bouillon writes to the King.*

The Marshall *de Bouillon* writ from *Sedan* to the King, the same day that the Remonstrances appeared. He freely expressed the Reasons of Diffidence that had been given to the *Reform'd*, by the Threatnings of Revoking the Edicts, that is, to take away the Liberty of their Consciences, the Safety of their Lives, their Estates and Dignities. He said that the Affair of *Bearn* had been anticipated; that the Promises had been ill executed; that Garisons had been put in divers Places without Necessity; that the Assembly of *Rochel* was us'd with too much Severity. He intreated the King to hear the Remonstrances of their Deputies, and to reject the Councils of those that advis'd him to force the Consciences of his Subjects. But the Council was hard-

hardned against those Advices which tended to Peace; 1621. and seem'd not to relish them, only the better to take their Measures.

The Jesuits answer'd the Reproach that was made against them of exciting a War, in Writing. In order to refute it, they made use of the Sermon the King's Confessor had lately Preach'd at Court, that the King was oblig'd to protect all his Subjects, even those that were of a different Belief from his. That Answer tended to persuade that their Society was innocent of all the Ill they were accus'd of; and that they only apply'd themselves to *Convert* those that *Stray'd*, and to prevent the Progress of *Heresy* by their Sermons and Writings. They made it a Crime for the *Reform'd* to suppose in their Complaints, that the King suffer'd himself to be govern'd by the Jesuits. And they said that all the Articles set down in their Petition were false; and for an Instance of the Innocence of the Society, and of the little Share they had in the Violent Councils that were daily given to the King against the *Reform'd*, all their Actions were represented in it in a manner full of Fury and Venom. That Apology could not deceive those who had any Sense. It was very well known that the Theology and Morality of the Jesuits are always Slaves to their Policy; and that it is impossible to guess their Sentiments by their Sermons. It was easie to oppose to the Moderation of the Jesuit *Arnoux*, the Seditious Sermons of the Monks of the other Orders, who being more Impetuous, and Humber'd than the Jesuits, declar'd inconsiderately in their Pulpits, what those cunning Politicians had the Art to cover with a profound Dissimulation. Even at *Samur*, a *Franciscan* Fryar had had the Boldness to say, comparing those who were for tolerating the *Reform'd*, to the Soldiers that Spit in the Face of *Jesus Christ*, that for his Part, who was afraid of no body, he declar'd publicly, that a *War was necessary*. We may

jdg

*Reply of the  
Jesuits to  
the Writing  
of the  
Assembly.*

1621. Judge by that, what Liberty they took in Places of less Consequence than *Saumur*, where they stood in no dread of the *Reform'd*. Moreover, it was very well known, that in the Application of the Jesuits towards the Conversion of those they call'd, *strayed*, all means were lawful alike to them; and that according to their Maxims, success rectifies the most Violent and most Unjust Expedients.

*Lefdiguières* before and after his coming to *Paris*, acquainted the Assembly with all that *Deagean* inspir'd him with, and endeavour'd to persuade them, that they were to blame to complain. The Assembly answer'd him pretty Vigorously, and took him to Witness himself of the Royal promises, upon the Account of which they did repair to *Rochel*. But when he Writ to them from *Paris*, with Reproaches and Threatnings, declaring that he would bear Arms against them, unless they did submit to the King's Pleasure, they answer'd him upon the same Tone, which broke off all manner of Correspondence between them. He had play'd his part so well till then, that he had deceiv'd the most clear sighted; and that he seem'd equally well affected to the Peace of the State, and the preservation of the Churches. His Refusals of joyning with them, being mix'd with such specious Reasons, and with such moving Protestations, that even those that did not believe him, did not know what to Answer him. During the War of *Privas*, the Provincial Assembly of *Anduse*, deputed the Marquess *de la Charse* to him, who represented all the Grievances under which the *Reform'd* Labour'd to him. He omitted nothing to persuade him to take some useful Resolution for the good of the Churches. He imploy'd in his Discourse all the Motives of Religion, of Honor, and of Interest; the good of the State, the Advantage of the common Cause, the particular interest of his Person and of his Family; Remonstrances, Reasonings, Conjurations, &c. But he could not prevail upon his Mind which was prepossess'd by *Deagean*. *Lefdiguières*



1621.

eres lessen'd as much as he could by his Answer, the Subjects of Complaint and of diffidence alledg'd by the Marquess. He endeavour'd to prove, that all the proceedings of the Court were Just; and gave no other Advice, but that of Obeying, and of submitting. But he accompany'd his Advice with so many fair Words, and with such assurances of his Affection for the Churches, that the Marquess was constrain'd to seem satisfy'd with his Refusal; and to seem to believe that he spoke from the bottom of his heart. He never put off his Mask till he came to *Paris*, and oblig'd himself to serve against the Churches.

But as there were Members of the Assembly at *Rochel*, who acquainted the King with all the Transactions there, The Assembly directs a Project to defend themselves. there were Persons at Court, who gave the Assembly a faithful Account of all the Resolutions that were taken there against them. So that, after they knew that the King was gone from *Paris*, they did Nominate Nine Commissioners to draw a settlement of War: And on the 10th of *May*, after having heard that Seditions were made in all parts against the *Reform'd*; That the King had made a settlement of near 50000 Men on his side; that he had made a New *Edict*, which at the bottom was only a Declaration of War; That he was gone from *Fontainebleau* fully resolv'd to begin it in *Poitou*; That consequently there was no longer any reason to rely on Negotiations, they agreed upon 47 Articles prepar'd by their Commissioners, which Regulated the Distribution of the Provinces, the Generals that should Command there, their Power, their Office, the Authority of the Provincial Councils and of the Assembly; the Discipline they should observe in their Arms; The manner of Treating Prisoners of War, and of managing Military Enterprises; what should be freed from Spoils, and what should be observ'd for Correspondence. They also contain'd Regulations for the Finances; and the manner of Raising them, of receiving them, and of laying them out. The last made Provision for the Subsistence of the *Reform'd*, that should.

1621. should be oblig'd to quit their usual abode, and to abandon all their Estate during the War. But the first was the most remarkable, by reason, that it contain'd the division of all the Churches of the Kingdom into Circles, which were to have each their General, and to furnish a certain part of the Men and Sums, that were necessary for the common defence. Those Circles had been Instituted long ago: But they were only compos'd at first of some Neighbouring Provinces, who were to Assemble themselves by the Deputies of their respective Councils, as soon as any of them should be attack'd; and were oblig'd to assist each other, as soon as requir'd. They had United those in such a manner which were able to maintain their Correspondence with less difficulty, and that border'd in part upon each other. Some Alterations were made about that Institution upon the Occasion of the approaching War: particularly, in that a Man of Quality was created General of every Circle: so that the said Division seem'd to be form'd upon the Model of the Circles of *Germany*, from whence the very Name of Circle was borrow'd.

*The Marshal de Bouillon refuses the Place of General.*

Those Circles were of an unequal Extent, according as the Provinces of which they were compos'd, had more or less Churches or strong Places; and by that Inequality of Extent, the *Reform'd* had endeavoured to make them partly equally strong. There were Eight of those Circles. The first was composed of the Isle of *France*, of *Normandy*, *Pickardy*, *Beausse*, *Berry*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Perche*, *Touraine*, excepting the Isle of *Boucharde*, which was joyn'd to another Circle. The Generality of that great Circle was design'd for the Duke of *Bouillon*. Moreover, the Office of *General* *issime* of the whole Party was offer'd him; but he refus'd it upon the Account of his Age, and of the Gout, which he was very much troubled with. He remained Neuter, as to Action; but he often gave the Assembly good Advices, which were not followed. Among the rest he advis'd them to put a Carison of

of Six thousand Men into *Saumur*, by reason that it was 1621.  
 not likely that the King would leave a Place of that Con-  
 sequence behind him; and that if they did put a suffici-  
 ent Garison into it, to resist the first Effort of his  
 Arms, the War would soon be at an end. The Assembly  
 believed him, and sent Forces to secure that Place; but  
 upon some ill Advice, they were countermanded, after  
 they had begun their March. Soon after it, when they  
 heard that the King was marching that way, they were  
 sensible of the Fault they had committed, in not provid-  
 ing the said City with Men, Amunitions, and Money.  
 They endeavoured to repair that Fault by Diligence; but  
 the King made yet more Diligence than the Assembly, and  
 before the Relief they sent was got half way, he had turn-  
 ed *Du Plessis* and his Garison out of *Saumur*.

The Second Circle, composed of *Poitou*, of *Bretagne*,  
 and of the City and Isle of *Bouchard*, was to be Governed  
 by *Soubise*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*. *La Trimouille*  
 had the Government of the Third, which was to contain  
*Angoumois*, *Saintonge*, and the Islands. The *Lower Guy-*  
*enne* made the fourth Circle, and *La Force* was Governor  
 of it. The Fifth, given to the Marquess his Son, compre-  
 hended *Bearn*, and the Dependencies thereof. The *Upper*  
*Languedoc*, and the *Upper Guyenne*, which made the Sixth,  
 was to be Commanded by the Duke de *Rohan*. The Se-  
 venth, which contained the *Lower Languedoc*, the *Ceven-*  
*nes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivarets*, was to be Governed by *Cha-*  
*tillon*. And the Eighth, composed of *Burgundy*, *Provence*  
 and *Dauphine*, was left to *Lesdiguieres*, from whom it  
 could not be taken. *Rochel* made a Circle apart in that  
 Division; and there was a particular Exception in favour  
 of them in the Forty seven Articles I have mentioned,  
 which exempted them then and for the future of having  
 any Governor besides their Mayor. Of all those Circles,  
 none but the *Upper Guyenne* made any Resistance that year,  
 so that it proved by so much the more easie for the King to  
 vanquish, that he had in effect but the Eighth part of the

1621. *Reform'd* of his Kingdom to deal with; since even in that Circle which made some Resistance, several Towns and Captains made none at all.

*Sent of the  
Assembly.*

The Catholics made a great deal of Noise about these Settlements, and for that the Assembly had caused a new Seal to be engraven, in order to fix it to their Ordinances and Commissions. The Constable himself represented that Action as a publick Declaration of their Resolution to withdraw from their Allegiance to the King; of designing to establish a New *Holland* in *France*, and to settle a Republick there, of which the Assembly retained the Superiority. It was easie to persuade it to the King, who was bred with an Aversion to the *Reform'd*, and was ever susceptible to the Jealousies, that were inspir'd in him about his Authority. But to say the Truth, it was a wretched Reproach; for if the War was just on the side of the *Reform'd*, the Regulations made, in order to sustain it, and the Seal engraven in the Name of their Union, could not render it Criminal. The Question was, whether the *Reform'd* were in the Right to take up Arms; by reason that granting, that it could be no Crime in them to make Laws to unite themselves, nor to agree about a Seal, as a General Mark to know each other by. Moreover the said Seal was only an Emblem of their Religion, the same as is still often met with in the first Page of the Books of Religion, written for the use of the *Reform'd*. There only were some Words engraven about it, which signify'd that they took up Arms *for Christ, and for his Flock*. The first Letter of the last Word not making a good Impression upon the Wax, the Sence was different, and the Words that appeared, signified only *for Christ, and for the King*. This Diversity might persuade some People that they had two Seals; and there are some Writings of Catholics, in which there are Remarks that show that some have read it one way, and others another; but I find nothing positive about it in the *Memoires* I have seen.

Besides.



Besides these Regulations, the Assembly did defend themselves by Apologies and Manifesto's, while the King press'd them with Sword in hand. All the Lords upon the Discontents of which they reckoned, had made their Peace with the Constable, and serv'd against them. The Duke *de Mayenne* commanded a Body of Men in *Guyenne*. The Prince of *Conde* commanded another in *Berry*, where he besieged such Places as did not open their Gates to him, and disarm'd the *Reform'd* that made no Defence. He took by a Form of Siege *Sully* and *Sancerre*; and the *Reform'd* of *Blois*, of *Tours*, and other Places, where they were not much to be feared, were obliged, like the rest, to suffer themselves to be disarm'd. Count *de St. Paul* being assisted by the Marshal *de Vitri*, made himself Master of *Gergeau*; and thus the *Reform'd* had no Retreat left them about *de Loire*. The Duke *de Longueville* disarm'd them also in *Normandy*; and they received the like Treatment in all the Provinces the King left behind him. This Proceeding so contrary to the last Declaration, which promised such great Matters to those that should remain at Home, cast a Terror and Repentance in the Hearts of all those unfortunate People, who regretted too late their having repos'd so much Confidence in a Court, accusom'd by the Duke *de Luines* to violate them, as soon as they found a specious Pretence to do it. The fair Words of those who committed those Violences could not remove their Consternation, being then afraid that the Catholicks would only wait for the happy Success of some Battle or Siege to Massacre them. Insomuch that many of them fled out of the Kingdom, or retired in such Places, where they were in hopes of meeting Friends and Protectors. *Witch can be a great Joyment.* *Sedan* was crouded with them. Even those who could not resolve to quit their Estates, sent their Children or Wives into Places of Safety, and remained at Home, almost perswaded that they should be the Victims of some Bloody Orders, or of some Popular Sedition.

1621.

Trick put  
upon Du  
Plessis to  
get Saumur  
out of  
his hands.

But nothing made so much Noise, as the Trick that was put upon *Du Plessis*, who was the King's old, and Faithful Servant. The King sent him word that he designed to take up his Quarters at *Saumur*, and *Villarnot* his Son-in-Law was told positively, that he had sent to Court to learn the Kings Intentions, and that no more should be done on this Occasion, than had been done on others, when the King and Queen Mother had lodged there. That *Du Plessis* should only draw out the Garison of the Castle for Form sake, and that after the King had tarry'd there as long as he thought convenient, he would leave him the Government of the Place, as he had possessed it till then. *Lesdiguieres* and the Constable engaged their Words to him for it positively. Nevertheless, *Du Plessis* was turned out of the Castle, under Pretence to Lodge the King there, and they did not so much as allow him one Chamber for his Family. Soon after it, he was told that the King designed to keep *Saumur* at least for three Month longer; and finally, he was offered a Recompence for it. He never would accept any Composition; and he expressed a great deal of Concern to find, that after Two and thirty Years Tryal of his Probity, he was suspected of not being able to preserve the same Probity to the end of his Life. He insisted strongly upon, that there remained still near four Years of the Time for which the last Brief confirmed the keeping of the Places of Surety. He proposed Means to remain in the said Place, without giving the King any Jealousies; and represented, that the said City was a Refuge to many peaceable Families, who were come thither out of the Country and elsewhere, to avoid the Spoils of War. That their Terrors would be revived, in case the Appearance of Surety, they expected to find in the City, should be removed; and the natural Inhabitants would forsake all themselves, if he received a Treatment, of which they would think the Consequences would prove fatal to them.

All this produc'd nothing but Promises by Word of Mouth, and in Writing, Sign'd by the Constable, and by the King himself, to return him the Place in a certain time; and to amuse him in the mean time, they left him the Title of Governor, and put Count de Saulx, Grand-Son to *Lesdiguières*, who still profess'd the Re-form'd Religion, into *Saumur*, to keep the Place as long as the King laid that he would detain it; but in order that *Du Plessis* might only have the Shadow of the Government, a Catholick Garrison was put in it. Soon after that, *Du Plessis* retir'd to his House of *La Foret* upon *Saivre*, where he soon discover'd that he was fooled. This Disgrace drew a thousand Reproaches from the Assembly upon him. They called him Coward, Hypocrite, and Deserter. They had been calous of him for some time; and they had like to have seiz'd upon *Villarnoul*, the last time he came to *Richel* with the Instructions of his Father-in-Law. His Councils, which always thwarted those of the Assembly, and that were ever contriv'd with *Lesdiguières*, had created great Jealousies; so that the seizing of *Saumur*, which was only a Trick of the Court, was look'd upon in the Assembly as a piece of Treason of *Du Plessis*, which they upbraided him with in very obliging Terms. Time justify'd him, even to those that were most suspicious; and when they saw him dye within some years after it, without having receiv'd from the Court the just Recompence, either of the Government, or of the Expences he had been at, nor yet of his Goods, and particularly of his Books, which had been expos'd to a kind of Plunder, nor of the Amunitions he had paid for with his own Money, nor of several other things, in which he had been a great Sufferer, they found that the Court had impos'd upon his Good Nature and Sincerity.

1621.  
They amuse  
him with  
Promises  
even in  
Writing.

Reproaches  
made to  
him by the  
Assembly.

1621. The King published another new Declaration at *Niort* on the 27th of *May*, which declaring all the Cities and Persons Criminal, who sided with the Assembly, and particularly, the Cities of *Rochel* and *St. John d'Angely*, of which, the one harbor'd the Assembly, and the other was preparing to sustain a Siege, forbad all the *Reform'd* to adhere to that Party, or to acknowledge the General Assembly, or any other Assembly, Circles, *Abridgments*, Councils of Provinces, or Congregations that held any Correspondence with the Assembly of *Rochel*, or that should be held without positive Leave from the King. All their Adherents were declar'd guilty of High-Treason in it, and Condemn'd to the Punishments expressed in the Ordinances. The Cities of *Rochel* and of *St. John d'Angely*, and those that follow'd their Examples, were depriv'd of all the Grants, Privileges, Franchises, and other Favours they had obtain'd from the Kings. But that which was most remarkable, was a Command made to all the *Reform'd* Gentlemen and others, of what Quality soever, even in the Cities and Communities, to repair to the register Office of the Bayliwick or Seneschalship of their Precinct, there to declare that they would serve the King against those that adhear'd to the Assembly: That they did renounce all manner of Communication with them, and that they disown'd whatever might be resolv'd on there, or in any other Assemblies of the same Party; which the King moreover would oblige every one of them to give in Writing for their Discharge. This was Executed with so much Severity, that the Duke *de Sully*, and the Marquess *de Rosy* his Son, were forc'd to serve as Examples to others, and to sign the Declaration in the Terms of that Ordinance. Care was taken to send a particular account to Court of the manner in which it had been rejected, or received, in those Places where it was sent; and it was observable, that where-ever there were Persons brib'd by the Court, the Obedience was very exact.

Thus

The King's  
Declaration  
on against  
the Cities  
of Rochel,  
and of  
St. John  
d'Angely.

Which ob-  
liges the  
*Reform'd*  
to renounce  
the Party  
of the As-  
sembly in  
Writing.



Thus far the King had met no manner of Opposition, and all the Governors of the Places of Surety that happen'd to be in his Way, deliver'd up their Places to him with as much Ease as *Du Plaisir*, but their Prudence had more Interest in it. They all secur'd Recompences for their Cowardize; and that Commerce was so much in vogue during that War, that no body surrender'd up a Town to the King, without obtaining something for it. Even four of them, who had surrender'd their Towns up generously to the King at first, without bargaining for it, bethought themselves, seeing the Advantages others got by their Obedience, and prevail'd with some Places to revolt, in order to have an Opportunity to make a Treaty by which they might get something. *Parabere* surrender'd *Niort* with Ostentation. *Louvieres*, who was only Deputy Governor in *Foucaucou le Comte*, deliver'd the Place without acquainting the Governor with it, who was absent. After which, he had the Confidence to lock himself up in *St. John d'Angeli*, in order to form some Division there, under pretence of Serving during the Siege of that City, which the King threatn'd; and *Sorbise* was either so imprudent, or so ill inform'd, as to receive him. *Chatcauneuf*, Governor of *Pons*, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by *Lisdiguieres*, though he had been one of the hottest, and most obstinate of the Assembly. The Truth is, that the Court seem'd to Besiege that Place, the better to colour that Treaty. Those Bargains were in vogue even in those Provinces where the King was not in Person, and *Mongomery*, who Commanded in *Penterson*, a small Sea Port Town in *Normandy*, deliver'd it up to the King on certain Conditions. *Argenton*, the only Place of Surety the Reform'd had in *Berry*, was deliver'd up to the Prince of *Conde*, upon the Account of such a Bargain. As soon as the King was Master of any Place, he caus'd the Fortifications to be demolished; which might have seem'd strange, had not the World had evident Proofs before

1621.

Self-interest  
of all  
the Govern-  
ors of the  
Town of  
Surety.

The King  
demolishes  
the Fortifi-  
cations of  
the Cities  
that are  
delivered  
up to him.

1621. of the Disingenuity of those that Govern'd him. Those Towns which surrender'd at the first Summons could not be treated as Rebels; and whereas they belong'd to the Churches yet for above three years to come, according to the last Brief, confirm'd since by the Writing the King had given to *Du Plessis*, the King ought to have been satisfied with their Submission, without depriving the *Reform'd*, who kept within the Bounds of Duty, and who surrender'd them so handsomly of those Refuges. But the Design of that War, was to revoke the Briefs; and whatever Distinction the Court had promis'd to make between the *Reform'd* that were Peaceable, and the Factious, they were resolv'd equally to take all the Places of Surety from them.

*Apology of  
the General  
Assembly.*

The Apology of the Assembly appear'd about the time of that Commerce of Cities, under the Title of *Declaration of the Churches of France, and of the Sovereignty of Bearn, in their Assembly at Rochel, of the unjust Prosecution they are prosecuted with by the Enemies of the State, and of their Religion, and of their lawful and necessary Defence.* All the Editions of that Apology are not alike; some have Articles that are not in the others: Some of them have not, what we read in others; that the Edict of *Nantes* was made at a time when the *Reform'd* might have shared the Kingdom with the Catholicks, if they had pleased; which they had renounced, by reason that they only desired the Liberty of their Consciences; and that having subscribed the Peace on those Conditions, they were in the right to make War, when that Condition was violated, to preserve by Arms, what they had lost by a Cowardly Peace. But at the Bottom, the beginning of that

and

and perhaps this air of Loſtineſs would have been excus'd, 1621.  
 had the Aſſembly had ſtrength enough to have made it good.  
 After the accuſtom'd Proteſtations in Maniſeſto's, and an Invi-  
 vitation of *French* and Foreigners to hear the Complaints  
 which they had to make, by the way they reſuted the Reproach  
 of Rebellion, and fell foul again upon the Project of ruining  
 the Reformed ever ſince the ſitting of the States in 1615. where  
 there was a Propoſal made for petitioning the King to fulfil his  
 Coronation Oath. More eſpecially they lay hard upon the Je-  
 ſuits, and principally upon the King's Confeſſor, whom they  
 attacqu'd with a long Invective. They ript up his Behaviour  
 at *Bearn*, his Attempts againſt the Parliament of *Paris*, whoſe  
 Decrees he had cauſ'd to be cancell'd; and againſt the Univerſi-  
 ty, whoſe Cenſures he had cauſ'd to be diſannull'd: his Credit  
 greater then that of the Biſhops, who in three days had pre-  
 vail'd to get the Decree of Compensation paſt, which the whole  
 Clergy had ſolicited fifteen years in vain; the Tricks which he  
 us'd to abuſe the King's tender Conſcience, and the Authority  
 which he aſſum'd to himſelf, to be of his *Council of Conſcience*.  
 From thence they paſt to the Maxims of his Society, touching  
 Faith and Promiſes engag'd to Heretics; to the Teſtimonies of  
 the Clergy's paſſionate Violence; to the unjuſt Acts of the Par-  
 liaments; to the Admonitions whiſper'd in the ears of the Re-  
 formed at Court, that they muſt either quit the King's Service or  
 their Religion. Nor did they forget the Affairs of the Counſel-  
 lors in Parliament; the Corruption of the Governors of the Pla-  
 ces of Security; the ſeditious Sermons of the Preachers; the  
 plundering of Churches; the digging up the Dead out of their  
 Graves; the cruel uſage of thoſe that lay Sick and upon their  
 Death-beds in Hoſpitals, where they were deni'd requiſite Nou-  
 riſhment and Remedies; and the forcing of Children from their  
 Mothers Arms. They complain'd further, That when the Re-  
 formed had recourſe to the Magiſtrates for Juſtice, they were  
 flouted and laugh't at; and that when they went to lay their  
 Complaints at the King's feet, they were treated as Rebels.

After this, they proceeded to the Affairs of the Aſſembly of  
*London*; and having laid open the Original and Benefit of thoſe  
 Aſſemblies, they juſtifi'd this by the manifold Oppreſſions, of

A a a

which

*Invective  
 againſt the  
 Jeſuit Ar-  
 noux.*

1621. which they had so much reason to complain. They set down at large the series of all their Differences and Contests with the King, till their Breaking up; and till the Promises made 'em by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Lunes*; and made it out how all those Promises had been violated. They gave an Account of the King's march into *Bearn*, and of all the Violences which had been there committed. And here they hinted all along at the Sophism which the Jesuit *Arnoux* had made use of, to justify the Breach of a Promise made to *Sales*, when he was put out of *Navarreins*, that there should be no Innovations introduc'd. This Promise, said he, either relates to the Conscience, or to the State. It concerns not the Conscience, continu'd he, because it is contrary to the Precept of the Church: if then it be a State-Promise, it ought to be refer'd to the *Secret Council*, whose Opinion it is, that it ought not to be kept. This Sophism would not suffer the King, who was rather a good Prince than a Logician, to follow his own Inclination, which was to be as good as his word.

Then they proceeded to make a display of the Artifices which the Court made use of to corrupt *Lefdaignieres*; the War of *Priwas*; *Mommoranci's* Exploits; the way which they took to gain *Chatillon*, and ruin both *la Force* and his Children. They urg'd the common Reports, that gave out nothing but the destruction of the Protestants, and went so far as to limit the time within three months. To these things they added the new Exploits of the Duke of *Espernon* in *Bearn*, and of the King himself at *Sau-mur*. They took notice of the Cunning of the Court, who had invited the Duke of *Rohan*, and the Duke of *Subise*, his Brother to meet the King, to the end that *Auriat*, who betray'd 'em, might more easily surprize *St. John d'Angeli*; which he attempted in vain, because they kept out of the snare. They add the small Satisfaction which the Court had given to the particular and general Commissioners; and they observ'd that when *Lefdaignieres* had written to the Assembly to oblige 'em to break up, he would never promise 'em any thing in the King's Name, but only upon his own score; by which it was apparent, that he was willing to reserve an Excuse to himself, that he could not possibly alter the King's mind. But in regard it

was



was charg'd upon the Assemblies General as a Crime, that they refus'd to break up, before they had receiv'd an Answer to their Papers which the *States General* refus'd to give 'em, they set forth the Inequality of these two sorts of Assemblies: for that the *States General* met together to make Laws and Regulations of State, the Authority of which ought solely to flow from the King. But the Assemblies of the Reformed meeting only to demand Reparation for Wrongs and Oppressions, which fix'd 'em within the Rules of ordinary Justice, whereby the Parties were not oblig'd to withdraw themselves, till their Complaints were adjudg'd; they concluded with a Protestation, That they had no Design against Regal Authority; they glori'd in the Services that were done the two last *Henries*, by the Reformed against the Catholics; they offer'd all Obedience and Service to *Lewis XIII.*, and implor'd his Royal Succor, and the Compassion of Foreign Princes, but principally God's Assistance against their Oppressors. This Apology was sign'd by the Moderators and Secretaries.

*Why the Assemblies refus'd to break up, before their Papers were answer'd.*

There was an Answer made to it in the King's Name, but there was nothing in't to shew that it was own'd by the King. 'Twas said that the Oath sworn to exterminate Heretics, of which they made such loud Complaints, was no new thing; but that it had never been put in execution; that they never murmur'd against *Henry IV.* who had taken it; and that *Lewis XIII.* had taken care to free himself from such a cruel Obligation by a Declaration set forth on purpose. They eluded that Reproach thrown upon the Jesuits, for meddling more then became 'em with the Government, by saying, That the Ministers had as much Authority over the Reformed; as if there were any Comparison between the one and the other; That it was hereditary to their Sect, to seek the Oppression of Kings in their Cradles; which they prov'd by King *James's* hatred of the Puritans of *Scotland*. To destroy the Advantage which the Reformed pretended to have over the Catholics, in being more obedient to their Sovereigns, they alledg'd, Assemblies held in opposition to their Approbation; the Oath, the Regulations and Seal of the Assembly of *Rochel*. 'Twas asserted, That the Succor which the Reformed had given to Kings, proceeded from

*A violent Answer to it in the King's Name.*

1621. Interest, because they procur'd their own Security by it; besides that they had shar'd it with the Catholic Nobility: And here 'twas thought necessary to add, that *Leitonre* was neither a City of Security, nor Marriage; that it belong'd by Inheritance to *Fontrailles*; and 'twas deem'd no more then what was reasonable; that the Reformed shou'd take it for full satisfaction, that it was given to *Blainville*. Upon the Refusal to receive the two Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris*, it was repli'd, That Parlements were more ancient then the Reformed; that there was no Law which justifi'd the admitting of *Heresies* into it, as if the Edicts of *Nantes* and *Loudun* had not the force of Laws. And lastly, That the Reformed had enough to content 'em in the enjoyment of the Chambers, half one half t'other, without thrusting themselves into Parlements. 'Twas alledg'd, That they had no cause to complain of the non-performance of some Promises by the King, in regard there was no Law which oblig'd him to pay 'em: as if so many Brevets, one after another, more especially, that which granted a certain Sum to the Reformed in compensation of Tythes for their Ministers Salaries, ought not to have bin as effectual as any express Law. Then follow'd a storm of railing Expressions, which made the Reformed responsible for all the Confusions and Disturbances which had happen'd in the Kingdom for sixty years together: as if they had bin the Contrivers and Authors of the League under the Two last Reigns; or of those Troubles, of which the prodigious Fortune of Marshal *d'Ancre* had bin the occasion. The Violences committed at *Pau*, during the Procession of the Eucharist, were palliated, by saying, That the People were either to get out of the way, or fall upon their knees: 'twas alledg'd, that such a thing might be done by the favour of an ambiguous Expression to delude the Catholic's Zeal, and that it was Prudence to do it sometimes. The Reformed were accus'd of drawing upon themselves the Sedition at *Tours*, by reason of a Box o'th'ear which one of 'em gave a Child; and therefore adjudg'd it a sufficient Reparation for their Losses, that four or five of the *Canaille* were hang'd for it. As to the forcing away of Children, of which the Reformed made great Complaints, the Answerers endeavour'd to make it lawful, by saying, That  
the

the Children became Catholics by Choice at the Age of Fifteen 1621. years ; and that there was a very ancient Law which allow'd 'em to be Masters of their Choice at that Age. So that the express Provisions of the *Edict of Nantes* were lookt upon as nothing by the Authors of that Answer.

Therefore two particular Accidents deserve to be recounted here, to shew what Sincerity was observ'd at that time in the Conversion of Children.

A certain Inhabitant of *Paris* growing jealous of his Wife, by whom he had several Children, was so far transported by that exorbitant Frenzy, that he kill'd the poor Woman ; for which he was punish'd according to his deserts. But his Relations having demanded the Children, to the end they might be bred up in the Religion which their unfortunate Father profess'd, there was a Decree made in Parliament, That the Right of their Education was devolv'd to the King, by reason of the Father's Crime, so that the Children were brought up in the Catholic Faith. Another Man, originally a Native of *Normandy*, had three Children ; He put one to the Colledge of Jesuits ; and some time after he return'd to *Paris* with another of his Sons, with a design to put him also to the same place ; but understanding from the first, that he was refus'd the Liberty of his Conscience, the Father carri'd 'em both away, with an intent to place 'em in the Colledge of *Sedan* : but a Priest, his Kinsman, forc'd 'em away from him upon the Road, and sent 'em to the Jesuit's House at *Pont a Mousson*. The Father prosecuted him for a Rape before the Bailiffs of *Rheims*, who, after a tedious Suit, condemn'd him at length to the Gallies for Contumacy. But the Priest appealing from the Sentence, remov'd the Cause into the Grand Chamber. *Servin*, Advocate General, pleaded long and hard for his Client, and put the stress of the Dispute upon this Issue, Whether or no a Father who had renounc'd his Right by the *Edict*, by declaring his Intentions to put Children under the Tuition of Catholic Regents, which he could not chuse but know to be such, could reassume when he pleas'd his Right to their Education, and take away the Children from their Catholic Tutors ? He concluded that the Father's declaring his Resolutions to entrust such Regents with the Education

*Forcing away of Children.*

1621. of his Children, was a sufficient Renunciation of his Right, and that he could not recover it back. For form's sake also the Children were brought into Court in their Father's presence, the one above Eleven years old, and the eldest about Thirteen years of Age: at what time, being prepar'd before-hand what to say, they desir'd to be bred up in the Catholic Religion. Thereupon a Decree was made conformable to *Servin's* Conclusions: The Priest was discharg'd from his Condemnation; the Children were sent to the Colledge of *Navar*, under the Tuition of the Principal, and the Father was condemn'd to pay the usual Quarterly Pension, and to supply the rest of their Maintenance; and besides that, he was forbid to take away his Children from the said Colledge, under the Penalty of Thirty thousand Livres. Never was Edict so Notoriously violated as was that of *Nantes* by this Decree, in those Articles which forbid the inveigling of Children to change their Religion, and which permitted the Parents to send 'em to Catholic Colledges, upon assurance that they would not molest their Consciences. By this the World may judge, whether the Assembly had just cause to complain or no; and whether the Replies of their Enemies were of any convincing force against 'em. This Decree was made the 22<sup>d</sup> of *December*.

Affairs of greater importance, this year, will not permit me to insist upon particular Acts of Injustice done the Reformed in several places, either in reference to Legacies, or charitable Gifts to the Poor, which were sure to be adjudg'd to the Catholics, as soon as they demanded 'em; or in respect of their Church-Yards and Burying-Places, which were the occasion of a thousand Brabbles every day; or in relation to things that might be reckon'd in the number of Favors. But that I may not make a general Omission, I shall only recite two Examples, which deserve to be remember'd. The first is, That in *February*, the Parliament of *Paris*, by a Decree, declar'd a Soldier of the Reformed Religion incapable of the benefit of a Monk's place, for which he had Letters of Assignment, and condemn'd him to pay back the money which he had receiv'd. Those Places were very small Pensions which some Monasteries were oblig'd to pay to maim'd Soldiers, who were no longer able to work or do duty



for their living. They that enjoy'd these Pensions, were also bound to wear a Cross upon their Cloaks ; and in regard the Monks were desirous to be exempted from admitting the Reformed, because they scrupl'd to wear a Cross, the National Synods had given leave to such as were maim'd and infirm, to dispense with that Scruple ; permitting 'em to wear a Cross, as the Symbol of their present condition : so that before that Decree, the Reformed had enjoy'd the Benefit of those Pensions, as well as others. But in regard this prov'd a fatal Year to 'em, new Pretences were found out to exclude 'em from it. 1621.

The second Example is, That upon a Process remov'd into Parliament, by reason of a Corps interr'd by the Reformed in a part of a Catholic Church-Yard, of which they had bin a long time in possession, the Catholics bethought themselves of a brangling Shift, which exempted 'em from granting other Church-Yards to the Reformed ; and gave 'em leave to reassume those parts of the old ones which the Commissioners had either adjudg'd or left 'em. I have otherwhere observ'd the Alterations which the Parliament of *Paris* and the Clergy had caus'd to be made in divers Articles, both general and particular, of the *Edict of Nantes*, and principally in the 45<sup>th</sup> Article of Particulars, that mentions the Delivery of Church-Yards. There was so much Honesty and Justice in that Article, as it had bin decreed at *Nantes*, that tho it had been absolutely alter'd, nevertheless it had bin put in execution, as if there had been no Alteration in it from the Original. The Commissioners were agreed upon this Point, and it is not above twenty Years since the Reformed enjoy'd certain places at one end or other of a Catholic Church-Yard, which had been assign'd 'em by vertue of their Decrees, with the Advice and Consent also of the Catholic Clergy of those places, and of the Catholic Communities, because they chose to grant 'em a Portion of the old Church-Yard rather, then buy 'em a new one. Honesty had also prevail'd so far in this Particular, that this Article was reprinted according to the Draught as it was at first agreed upon, and so it is to be found in all the Editions. But this Year the Reformed were depriv'd this petty Convenience: *James Talon*, first Advocate General, pretended that those Editions were falsifi'd ; but:

1621. but accuses no body for being the Author of that Falsification, and caus'd the Ediſt and the particular Articles, as they were regiſter'd by the Parliament Regiſter, to be brought to the Hearing. But certain it is, that the Alteration of that Article did not exempt the Catholics from allowing the Reformed other Church-Yards in recompence : However *Talon*, a Man of great Wit and Subtilty, found a way to extract out of that Article by the force of Conſequences, Interpretations and Meanings, which the Article never mention'd expreſſy, and gave out a Decree, prohibiting the Reformed to bury their Dead in the Church-yards belonging to the Catholics, and which order'd 'em to provide other Burying-places at their own Charges. About a Year after, he caus'd another Decree to be ſet forth, which commanded a new Edition of the Ediſt, according to the Original remaining in the Regiſters. Wherein there appear'd ſomething to comfort the Reformed for the damage which *Talon* had done 'em by his Cavilling : For they who in our days fought after new Tricks and Shifts to elude the Ediſt, and chiefly the particular Articles, had the Confidence both to report and write, that thoſe Articles were never regiſter'd in any Parliament. It muſt follow then that they were torn out of the Regiſter, ſince they were to be found in that which the Advocate General caus'd to be carri'd to the Audience, and according to which the next Years Edition was printed. I ſhall add, for the more clearly making out the Falſhood of that Pretence, that they had bin veriſ'd in the Parliament of *Rouen*, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* upon the 5<sup>th</sup> of *Auguſt* 1609. and inſerted into the Regiſter the next Year, upon the 27<sup>th</sup> of the ſame Month, in purſuance of Letters Patents dated *July* 15.

*Tilenus*  
writes a-  
gainſt the  
Aſſembly of  
*Rochel.*

I do not here pretend to give an Account of all the Writings that appear'd for and againſt the Reformed upon the ſubject of the Wars ; but I cannot omit a Pamphlet which *Tilenus* wrote under the Title of, *An Advertiſement to the Aſſembly of Rochel.* Nor could the Jeſuits themſelves write in a more venomous and embitter'd ſtile. He preach'd Patience as if there could never be any end of it. He maintain'd that Kings were never bound either to their own Ordinances, nor to the Decrees of their Predeceſſors ; which he ſupported by ſuch weak Reaſons, as might  
be

be easily confuted by diftinguifhing between the nature of thofe 1621.  
 Laws. He asserted, That when Kings brake their Words, it  
 behov'd the People to have fo much fubmiffion as to believe, that  
 as they had good Reafons to promife, fo they had as good Rea-  
 fons to retract their Promifes. He exclaim'd againft the Tole-  
 ration allow'd at *Charenton* for the Luxury of Marriages ;  
 againft the Flight of *Moulin* ; againft the Affembly, of which  
 the greateft part difown'd their own Proceedings ; and who by  
 their own ill behaviour had expos'd above Three hundred of  
 the Reformed to great dangers in the Provinces on this fide  
 the *Loire*. After this, he difcovers a little too openly the caufe  
 of his ill humor, by calling in queftion the Synod of *Alets*, be-  
 caufe they had approv'd the Decifions of that of *Dordrecht*, not-  
 withftanding the Opinion of fome Minifters who by no means  
 approv'd it ; and he accus'd of too much feverity the ill uſage  
 of the *Arminians* in *Holland* ; and yet, if he might be believ'd,  
 when the Reformed were deliver'd up to the Fury of their im-  
 placable Enemies, by means of unjuſt Acts, and Breaches of  
 Word, that cry'd loud to Heaven, they did amiſs to complain.  
 Such is many times the Moderation of thofe that preach up To-  
 leration : they would engrofs it all to themſelves : but if others  
 act with never fo little vehemency more then ordinary, nay, if  
 they do but figh and bemoan themſelves, their very Groans and  
 Sighs are not to be endur'd.

In the mean time, the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubiſe*, who had Siege and  
reducing of  
St. John  
d'Angeli.  
 a long time refus'd to yield to the Importunities of the Affembly,  
 having bin diſguſted by the Court, where the Prince of *Condé*  
 and the Conſtable were the Duke of *Rohan*'s Enemies, reſign'd  
 themſelves wholly to the Orders of the Affembly ; and after  
 ſome Submiſſions on their part, and ſome Offers from the  
 Court which ſignifi'd nothing, they reſolv'd to hold out *St.*  
*John d'Angeli* to the laſt. The Duke of *Rohan* left his Brother  
 in the place, and after he had furniſh'd it with Men and Ammu-  
 nition, went into *Guyen* to raiſe more Forces. On the other ſide  
 the King, after he had ſummon'd *Subiſe* by a Herald, beſieg'd  
 the City ; and *Subiſe*, by the foul Practices of *Londrieres*, who  
 diſcourag'd both the Soldiers and Inhabitants by his diſcourſes  
 and his counſels, being conſtrain'd to ſurrender the place, march'd

1621. out sooner then he would have done, had he not been afraid of being forsaken. All the security which either the City or the Garison had, was a wild and general Capitulation; by which the King promis'd only in writing to the Inhabitants their Lives, their Estates, and the Liberty of their Consciences and Persons; reserving to himself the disposal of every thing else as he should think convenient: declaring at the same time that he did not pretend to make any Treaty, but only to grant a Favour. However the Capitulation, as slight as it was, had the hard fate to be but very ill observ'd. The Soldiers plunder'd the Town, and yet constrain'd the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and the principal Inhabitants, to give 'em a Certificate, and forc'd another from the Minister, that they had behav'd themselves civilly. On the other side the King retiring to *Cognac*, set forth a Declaration, which was verifi'd at *Bordeaux*; wherein to put the greater value upon his Clemency, which had spar'd their Lives and Estates, and given Liberty of Conscience to the Reformed of *St. John d'Angeli*, he order'd the Fortifications and Walls of the City to be raz'd, and the Moats to be fill'd up: He took away their Charters and their Franchises, and made the Town liable to Taxes for the future: He cancell'd their Government by Mayor and Sheriffs, and annex'd the common Stock of the Town to the Royal Demesnes; leaving 'em, out of his special Grace and Favor, their *Election* and ordinary Jurisdiction. Upon which Declaration a certain Historian, very much devoted to the *Roman* Church, observes, That it would have been taken for a just punishment of that City, had they not since that, us'd many very Innocent and Catholic Cities after the same rate.

Privileges  
of the City  
abolish'd.

*The End of the Seventh Book.*

THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.  
THE SECOND PART.

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THE EIGHTH BOOK.

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A Compendium of the Eighth Book.

**M**arshal de Bouillon's Letter. The King marches into Guyenne; the Siege and reducing of Clairac. The King's word ill observ'd. The Pope's Breve to the King. The Reformed every where unfortunate. The Siege of Montauban. La Force defends the Place. The King raises his Siege. Chamiere's Death. The Duke of Mayenne dies. The blame falls upon the Constable. The Jesuit Arnoux's disgrace. The Duke of Luines dies. Assembly of the Clergy. A violent Harangue of the Bishop of Rennes. The History of Dominic de Jesus Maria. Sedition at Paris. The Church at Charenton burnt. The Reformed forsake their Houses. They are accus'd of setting Fire to the Bridges of Paris, and the Prison at Lion. The Circle of Lower Languedoc displaces Chatillon. Great Confusion in that Circle. The Condition of the Court. The King returns to Paris. A remarkable Writing of Jeannin, advising Peace. The Opinion of those who were more inclin'd to War. The Reformed take new Courage. The King departs from Paris. His Success in Poitou;

in Guyenne, where he treats with la Force. The sack of Negrepelisse, and St. Antonin. Lefdiguieres interposes for Peace. Factions at Mompellier. Sedition against the Catholics. Bitter Harangue of the Bishop to the King. Remarks upon the Stile of that Harangue. The Church of Foix laid waste. Attestation given to the Monk Villate. The King forbids the Reformed to forsake their Houses. Count Mansfeild treats with the Reformed. Proposals of the Marshal de Bouillon to the Duke of Rohan upon that occasion. The Court gains Mansfeild. The King makes use of Foreign Catholics in France. The Negotiations for Peace renew'd. A Writing set forth upon that occasion. Siege of Mompellier. Capitulation made by Lunell, ill observ'd. Small Cities ill defended. Success of the War in several Places. Chatillon made a Marshal of France. Seditions at Orleans, Fronzac and Lion. The Original of the word Parpailler. Other Originals. Of the word Hust. Violence of the Sedition. The Reformed are disarm'd. War against Rochel. Soubise solicits for Succor from England. Treaty of Peace reassum'd near Mompellier. Conclusion of the Treaty with an Edict. Rigour of the Parliaments. Advantages of that Peace. Qualifications of the Edict of Peace. All the Cities accept the Peace, which is ill observ'd by the Court. Treaty at Mompellier. The King returns to Paris. De Puisieux in Favour. The Bishop of Luson made a Cardinal. Character of that Prelat. After what manner he receiv'd the news of his Promotion. Excessive Flatteries. Foul Play offer'd the Rochelois. Enterprises of Valence at Mompellier; where he takes the Duke of Rohan Prisoner, and makes a divison of the Consulship. General Papers. Extravagant Answers. Exercises forbid. The Reformed excluded from Dignities in the University of Poitiers. The singing of Psalms in the Streets and in Shops forbid. A common Soldier deprived the Benefit of an Oblate. Attempts upon paternal Right. A Declaration establishing a Commissioner in Colloquies and Synods. A National Synod. Galand the first Commissioner ever present to a National Synod. He is admitted out of pure Obedience. Deputies sent to the King, who sends back the Deputies laden with his Orders. The Court inclin'd to favour the Arminians. A Writing publish'd by la Militiere.

*Answer*

*Answer of Tilenus. Authority attributed to the Kings of France. Imposture set up against the Synod of Dordrecht. Obedience of the Synod of Charenton. Assassinations ill paid. Propositions made to the Synod by Galand on the King's behalf. A new Deputation to the King, and the effect of it. Oath of Union. A Citadel built at Mompellier. Mariald opposes it in the name of the Reformed of the City. Presages of a new War. The death of du Pleffis. The death of Marshal de Bouillon.*

**W**Hile the King lay before St. John d'Angeli, he receiv'd 1621.  
the Submissions of the Duke of Tremouille, who had sur- Marshal de -  
Bouillon's  
Letter.  
render'd Taillebourg without much entreaty. On the other side,  
Marshal de Bouillon at the same time sent him a Letter full of  
smart Remonstrances: of which the principal Heads were,  
The retiring of the Reformed, which he attributed to the noto-  
rious-violation of the Declaration of the 24<sup>th</sup> of April. He ob-  
serv'd how the Reformed, notwithstanding their peaceable De-  
meanor, were disarm'd. How there had been taken from 'em  
four Towns upon the Loire, which had never had any Corre-  
pondence with the Rebels: How the boldness of the Preachers  
was left unpunish'd, who preach'd nothing but Sedition, and  
equall'd to Martyrdom the death of those who were slain in the  
War against the Heretics: How severely the Judges put in exe-  
cution the Declaration of the 27<sup>th</sup> of May; and forc'd not only  
Men and Women, but ev'n Children too, not Fifteen years  
of Age, to take the Oath to disown the Assembly of Rochel:  
How they that were desirous to retire, were stop't upon the  
High-way; which was also done to those who went no farther  
then Sedan, tho that City were under the King's Protection. All  
which, said he, perswaded those affrighted People, that the King  
had some design upon their Religion, under pretence of hum-  
bling Rebels. To this he added some things that concern'd him-  
self, by reason of the little care that had been taken to observe  
the Treaty of Protection made with him for his Principality of  
Sedan.

1621.  
The King  
marches  
into Guy-  
enne.

In the mean time the King, continuing his Conquests, march'd into *Guyenne* with his Army, where he met with the same facility, in reducing all the Places which the Reformed held in that Province, which he had found in *Poitou* and *Saintonge*. The Treaties which the Governors made with him, regulated the march of his Army, and he went from City to City, presenting himself before the Gates of such Towns into which he was sure of being receiv'd. *Boesse Pardaillan* refusing to acknowledge *la Force* for General, out of a jealous Humor quitted the Party, and surrender'd about twenty Towns to the King. 'Tis true, that the greatest part of 'em being betray'd, betook themselves again to their Arms, so soon as they thought they might safely do it. *Panissaut*, animated with the same jealousy, constrain'd *la Force* to quit several Places where he was inferior in number. *Lusignan* surrender'd *Puimirol* with a frankness void of Self-Interest. But when he saw himself laugh'd at for going about to approve himself an honest man, at a time and in an Affair that no body regarded Honesty, he betook himself to his Arms again; and then they were forc'd to give him Ten thousand Crowns to pay his Debts. The City of *Tonneins* also, desirous to signalize her Loyalty, found her self expos'd to the same Raillery. For several Lords of the Army being constrain'd by bad weather to shelter themselves in the Town, together with their Baggage, were well receiv'd and entertain'd by the Burgeses, and some small Parties wandring from the Body of the Army being in no small danger, had the Town had any intention to have fall'n upon 'em, were treated as in a friendly Country. But for all this, when they complain'd of some damages done 'em by the King's Soldiers, and urg'd their above-mention'd Kindnesses as proofs of their Loyalty, Answer was return'd 'em in an insulting manner, That they were not to produce as marks of their Fidelity, what they had done for want of Courage. This was the way to enforce men to be Rebels, thus to brand their Obedience with the ignominious Name of Cowardice. And indeed such usage as this, ought to be a Motive to all Men of Courage, rather bravely to die in the generous Defence of themselves, then stoop to an ignoble and fawning Submission, that renders 'em the Scorn of their Enemies.

The



The Duke of *Mayenne*, who prosecuted the War in that Province, had perform'd some petty Exploits, and taken in some small Villages, which had put themselves in a posture of defence. But the King met with no resistance till he came before *Clairac*, which adventur'd to sustain a Siege. But 'twas the ill luck of this City, that there were several People who staid within it, to no other purpose then to discourage others; so that the City did not hold out so long as it might have done, had not the Garison and others bin treacherous among themselves. The Town surrender'd at discretion; which done, the King granted the Inhabitants their Lives, and the exercise of their Religion. He excepted six persons only out of Pardon, and hang'd up three or four, among which was the Minister. The King was accusom'd to the punishment of such as wore that Character; and thus it was, that the Jesuits, under his Name and Authority, rejoic'd at the Sacrifices of their Enemies which they offer'd to their malice. They had perswaded the King while he lay at *Poitiers*, to condemn to death *Clemenceau* and *Mallerai*, the one a Minister, the other an Advocate residing in the Town. But because they had escap'd their Clutches, the Minister being fled to *Rochele*, and the Advocate to *Nerac*, they resolv'd not to lose all their sport, and therefore had 'em executed in *Effigie*, and their persons defam'd with ridiculous Satyrs. This Rigor was observ'd in all Places that made any Resistance. The bloody Council of Clergymen thought it the most proper course they could take; in regard that punishment always betokening a Crime in those upon whom it was inflicted, those Rigours formed in the King's mind that prepossess'd Opinion wherein he had bin bred, that the Reformed were Rebels.

The Clemency afforded to *Clairac*, had but little effect; for that the Soldiers enter'd the Town, and plunder'd as much as they could carry away. Nor is it true that they were hinder'd by *Bassompierre*, as was reported by a certain ignorant and malicious Scribler; for that he was at *Paris* all the while that *Clairac* was besieg'd, and did not return till the Siege of *Montauban*. Besides, they were the cause that a good part of the Garison was destroy'd in passing the River. True it is indeed, that the Garison had a general Pass for their safeguard upon their march.

1621.  
Siege and  
taking of  
Clairac.

1621. marching out, and that the common Soldiers were permitted to wear their Swords. But under pretence of saving 'em from the Fury of the Soldiers of the Royal Army, they were order'd to cross the water. But that was no more then perfectly in order to lead 'em to the slaughter; for the King's Soldiers fell upon 'em, and stript a great many. Which unexpected Violence so terrifi'd the rest, that there not being above two or three Boats provided for their passage, while they crowded too numerously into 'em, the Vessels sank, and left 'em to the mercy of the water. Others thinking to escape by swimming, to avoid one sort of death, met with another. There was also a Rope that cross'd the River for the use of the Ferry-boat. But the King's Soldiers seeing that several of those poor Creatures hung by the Cord, most barbarously cut it; so that they perish'd with the rest of their Companions. Had there not bin extremity of foul play among the Commanders, it might have bin an easy thing to have prevented this Disorder, in regard there were then upon the place several Gentlemen of the Constable's Household, and some other Officers, who took no care to restrain the Cruelty of the Soldiers. But this Siege as well as that of *St. John d'Angeli*, had cost the Lives of several of the Nobility; so that they resolv'd to sacrifice these poor Wretches to their revenge. The Fault of those that permitted these Barbarities, was laid upon the common Soldiers: however, for fear of the same usage at another time, two or three of those who had cut the Cord, were hang'd for a shew of satisfaction.

*A Breif  
from the  
Pope to the  
King.*

While the King press'd hard upon *Clairac*, he receiv'd a Breif from the Pope, wherein he congratulated his Victories; exhorted him not to lay down his Arms till he had subdu'd *Rochelle*, and depriv'd the *Heretics* of every thing that serv'd 'em for their security. He extoll'd his Enterprize to the Skies, and gave him great hopes of an issue correspondent to such prosperous Beginnings, together with strong assurances of the protection of the Saints. Among the rest of his Eulogies, there was one very particular, *That he had follow'd the Example of his Ancestors, who had paid as much Honour to the Instigations of the Popes, as to the Commands of God.* The more sincere sort of Catholics acknowledg'd this *Breif* to be a real Truth, tho others who

who were aſham'd of it, would fain had it paſſ'd for ſuppoſi- 1621.  
tious. 'Twas dated the Tenth of July.

During the continuance of this Siege, and the following months, the Duke of *Mayenne* continu'd the War in the Quar- The Reform-  
med unfor-  
tunate ev-  
ery where.ters aſſign'd to his Conduct, and made himſelf Maſter of *Mas de Verdun*, *Mauveſin*, and the Iſle of *Jourdain*, giving ſatisfaction to the Governors: But to the end that all men might have their ſhare in the miſeries of the War, the Sums which were promis'd the Governors were paid 'em by the Inhabitants of the parts adjoining. The Duke of *Eſpernon* employ'd his time in burning the Houſes and Mills about *Rochel*; and the Duke of *Montmorency* perform'd ſome petty Exploits in *Languedoc*, which tended all to annoy the City of *Nimes*. The Duke of *Rohan*, who expected that *Montauban* would be attack'd after the reſt, kept himſelf in the parts adjoining to *Caſtres* and *Albi*, to provide for their ſecurity, and held himſelf up with much more Courage than good Fortune. The Aſſembly of *Rochel* fought for Succor from all parts, but nothing ſucceeded to their wiſhes; all Foreigners refus'd 'em the aſſiſtance which they implor'd. The Intrigues of *Vatteville Mont-chreſtien*, whom they had ſent into *Normandy* with ſeveral Commiſſions to raiſe men, prov'd abortive by his death. *Mombrun*, who endeavor'd to raiſe ſome Forces in the *Dauphinate*, was not able to do any thing conſiderable, by reaſon of *Leſdiguieres*'s return, who prevented him: And the Count *de Suſe*, who had a deſign upon *Grenoble*, being known by a Catholic Peaſant that ſerv'd him for a Guide, was led into a Precipice with his Followers, from which he could not ſave ſo much as one ſingle perſon; and he himſelf had perish'd thro the Rigor of the Parliament, had not the King commanded 'em to ſurceſe their proſecution: So that till then all things gave way to the King's good Fortune; inſomuch that he made himſelf Maſter of about Fifty Towns, of which ſeveral were able to have given him as much trouble as *St. John d'Angeli*; yet all ſubmitted, before ſo much as one great Gun was fir'd upon 'em; nor do I reck'n in thoſe which either he or any of his Generals had bin forc'd to beſiege.

But *Montauban* put a ſtop to the Career of all this Proſperity. The City and Parliament of *Tholouſe* had engag'd the King

1621. to sit down before that Place, at a time when the Season was already far spent, and that his men were quite tir'd out with labour, and the hardships which they had undergone. But *Montauban* was such an annoyance to *Tholouse*, by reason of the Excursions which the Inhabitants made, ev'n to the Gates of that great City, that the *Tholousains* promis'd to supply the King with ev'ry thing that was necessary for the Siege, provided he would but undertake it. And the good Success which had all along till then attended him, made him easily believe that *Montauban* would be as little able to withstand the Torrent of his Prosperity as the rest. Thereupon the Duke of *Mayenne*, and Marshal *de Themines* had Orders to make the Approaches. The former of these two had made himself Master of several Towns in the Neighborhood, but he could not surprize *St. Antonin*, notwithstanding that he had gain'd the Governor, whose name was *Penaveire*. That faithless person had sold him the Town for Two thousand Crowns, for the payment of which the Duke had subscrib'd a Writing. But the Consuls coming to desire some Order from him which concern'd 'em, he gave 'em the Writing by mistake. Upon sight of which, the Consuls testifying their Astonishment by their Looks, the Governor perceiv'd his Error, but put it off with a good face, and a ready presence of mind. However he could not remove the Jealousies which that Accident had rais'd; so that after that, he could not deceive the Consuls, who trusted him no longer, but stood upon their own Guard.

*La Force*  
*defends the*  
*Place.*

In the mean time the Siege of *Montauban* prov'd unsuccessful. *La Force* and the Count *d'Orval*, Son of the Duke of *Sulli*, were got into it, and held it out like men of Courage. And as for the Correspondences which the King held in the place, they all fail'd; because that they who were the chief Conspirators were slain, and the rest were discover'd. The Duke of *Rohan* also reliev'd it with a considerable Reinforcement, notwithstanding all the Precautions of the King's Generals, or the Duke of *Angoulesm*, who kept the Field with a flying Camp. After that, several Proposals were made for a Peace; but the King refusing to grant any Accommodation but only to the Duke of *Rohan*, and he denying to accept any other than a general



general Peace, those Projects came to nothing ; nor could they find any Expedient to colour the raising the Siege. However the King was forc'd to draw off, after he had wasted near three months time before that place. *Chamier*, a Minister and Professor in Theology, who was slain with a Cannon-shot, was one of the most considerable among those whom the Besieged lost. But the King mist a great number of brave Gentlemen, and among the rest the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was kill'd in the Attacques of *Ville-Bourbon*. He was a Prince of a surpassing Prowess, but who made too great an ostentation of it, and took delight to expose both himself and others without any shelter to the Enemies shot, out of a Vanity little becoming a great Soul. However it brought him to his end at length, as he had bin the cause that many others by his Example had sacrific'd their Lives to the same vain-glorious Emulation. They of *Montauban* had notice that the Army would suddenly dislodge, by a Soldier of the Religion, who the evening before the Siege was rais'd, fell a playing upon the Flute the Tune of the Sixty eighth Psalm : which the Besieged took for a Signal of their deliverance ; nor were they deceiv'd.

*The King  
raises the  
Siege.*

They who had bin the occasion that the King receiv'd this disgrace, threw the blame upon the Reformed who serv'd in his Army. But the Constable, who had collected from several Circumstances, that his power with the King was declining, began to reflect upon the Advice which had bin several times giv'n him, to have a care of Civil Wars, of which the least ill Success would make him bear both the reproach and the loss. He perceiv'd it more especially at *Tholouse*, where many ill offices were done him. 'Tis true, that he was still in so much credit as to procure the Banishment of the Jesuit *Arnoux* from the Court, who, tho he were beholding to him for his Preferment, ceas'd not however to plot and contrive his Ruin. The King also took another Confessor of his recommendation. Nevertheless the Constable began to consider, that 'twas high time to think of Peace, and all that he lookt after was, which way to recover the Reputation which the King's Military Glory had lost before *Montauban*, to the end he might put the more honourable Conclusion to the War. But he dy'd before the end of the year

1621. during the Siege of *Montburt*. He also underwent the same destiny with all the rest of the Favorites. For he was neither pitied by any body, nor lamented by his Master. All his Grandeur dy'd with him, and he hardly left behind him sufficient wherewithal to defray the Expences of his Funeral.

Passionate  
Harangue  
of the Bi-  
shop of  
Rennes.

During the Siege of *Montauban*, the King gave Audience to the Deputies of the Assembly of the Clergy, which being met, and having began their Session at *Paris*, had bin remov'd to *Poitiers*, and from thence to *Bordeaux*. They offer'd the King a Million of Gold, provided he would oblige himself to lay it all out in the Siege of *Rochel*. They consented only that the King should erect Receivers Offices, and Provincial and Diocesan Comptrollers of the Tithes. *Cornalier*, Bishop of *Rennes*, made a Speech to the King, and sang triumphal *Poems* before the Victory. He return'd the King Thanks for what he had done for the Church, hoping that in a short time there would be but one Religion in *France*. He reckon'd the War, according to the Principles of Ecclesiastical Charity, among the *wholesom* and *gentle* means, of which the King made use to bring things to a happy Conclusion. He accus'd the Reformed, with great Passion, of all the past Troubles, and of having aspir'd to shake off their Yoke, with an Intention to share the Crown among 'em. He added several Complaints, which he accompani'd with all the Aggravations that could embitter 'em; that they had turn'd the Churches of the Diocess of *Rieux* into Stables; that they had carri'd away the Pyxes wherein the Sacrament was kept; that they had shot the Crucifix through and through with their Musquets; that they had ti'd it to their Horses Tails, and dragg'd it to *Tonneins*; that they had salted their Meat in the Fonts of Baptism, after they had carri'd it in Procession round about the Church, as they did in a certain place within the Diocess of *Pamiers*; that in a place adjoining to *Mompelien*, they had cut off a Curate's Nose, and when they had done, threw him headlong from the top of the Steeple. However, 'twas not then a proper Season to take notice of these Extravagancies, supposing his Stories had bin true, which could be thought no other then the hair-brain'd Pastimes of Licentious Soldiers; nor to desire that Punishment might be inflicted

flicted upon the Guilty only, as the Bishop of *Lusson* did in 1615. 1621.  
 when he presented the Papers of the Chamber of the Clergy  
 at the rising of the States. There were also muster'd up many  
 more Crimes of the whole Religion; nor were the Innocent dis-  
 tinguish'd from the Guilty: And he demanded extremity of  
 Remedies, as being to be appli'd for the Cure of extraordinary  
 Milchiefs; and the more vigorously to move the King, he quo-  
 ted the Examples of sundry Princes whom Heav'n had punish'd  
 for neglecting the extirpation of Crimes of the same nature.  
 He applauded the King for having taken up the Rod of Iron,  
 and exhorted him roundly to pursue his Resolutions. He could  
 not find any milder term, through his whole Speech, for the Re-  
 formed Profession, then that of Irreligion: nevertheless his pas-  
 sionate vehemence against the Professors of that Doctrine, did  
 not take him off from thinking of the Affairs of the Clergy, nor  
 from manifesting his great care for the preservation of their  
 Immunities and Revenues. He desir'd that the Reformed might  
 not perform their Exercises within the Ecclesiastical Demains  
 and Lordships; but above all, that the Agreements which the  
 Clergy had made with the King might be punctually observ'd.  
 He built his Request upon a Maxim, which would have bin of  
 great advantage to the Reformed, had it bin inviolably adher'd  
 to. *The Word of God*, said he, *is call'd Truth*: In like man-  
 ner *the Promises of Princes ought to be firm and stable, not va-  
 riable nor feigned*; and this he was for having take place, chiefly  
 in what concern'd the Church. But in regard there was no que-  
 stion to be made but his tacitly impli'd meaning was, That the  
 fruit of that same constancy of the King's word, did no way be-  
 long to the Heretics, he farther desir'd, That the Tempest con-  
 jur'd up against'em, might not be alay'd after the usual man-  
 ner; but that all the places of security might be utterly demo-  
 lish'd. He blam'd Violence in matters of Religion, when it did  
 not tear up Errors by the Root; and acknowledg'd, That what-  
 ever was introduc'd by Force, was neither of long continuance,  
 nor of any value toward the propagation of Faith, which ought  
 to be free. But for all that, he prest the King to imitate *Philip  
 Augustus*, and the Father of *St. Lewis*, who utterly extirpated  
 the *Albigensis*, the Heresy, and their Habitations. So that accord-  
 ing

1621.

ing to the Principles of that pious Cruelty, he made no scruple of commending and justifying Violence, so it were put in practice for the extermination of the Reformed and their Doctrine. He exhorted the King more especially to reduce *Rochel* into a Country Town, and to disperse the Reformed into the Villages, in imitation of *Constance*, who confin'd the *Gentiles* thither, and who for that reason were call'd *Pagani*, or Villagers; upon which immediately the whole Empire became Christian. This Harangue, tho full of venom and virulence, was not however without a certain briskness, which is requisite for Invectives, that they may not seem tedious.

But the death of the Duke of *Maine* had like to have caus'd great disorders in the Kingdom. The Reformed were in danger of being massacr'd at *Paris*, when the news was first brought thither. That name was in high veneration among the common People, who bare the League in remembrance. Inasmuch that the multitude resolv'd to revenge his death upon the Reformed in that great City, who were the most quiet and peaceable throughout the whole Kingdom. All the whole week, from the 21<sup>st</sup> of *September*, till Sunday the 26<sup>th</sup>, was spent in deadly Menaces. Now it happen'd that some days before, a *Carmelite* Fryar, who call'd himself *Dominic de Jesus Maria*, arriv'd in that City, having acquir'd both in *Spain*, in *Italy* and *Germany*, a great reputation of Piety. It had cost him however nothing but the Mops and Mows of a detestable Hypocrisie, and bloody Counsels against the *German* Protestant Princes. He was, by birth, a *Spaniard*, as also by his inclination and education. After some time spent in Travel, and some stay at *Rome*, and in the Emperor's Court, he became so famous, that the greatest Princes thought it an Honour to 'em, to have a veneration for him. He was the Promoter of the *Bohemian* War, by reason of those Acts of Injustice which he perswaded the Princes of the House of *Austria* to commit against the Protestants, and by means of that same inhuman Zeal with which he inspir'd and animated the People. One Artifice which this Monk made use of to inflame their minds, was, that he always carri'd about him an Image, which he call'd, *The miraculous Image of our Lady of Victory*. It was a Picture of about a Foot and an half in height, and about a

Foot

The Story  
of Domi-  
nic de Je-  
sus Maria.



Foot broad, wherein the Nativity of Christ was painted. It was found under a huge heap of Chips and old rotten Wood: The Figure of the Virgin also, by some mischance or other, had both the eyes torn out; and this same wretched Monk reported every where, without any other proof than his own word, that the Heretics were they who had committed that Sacrilege. This Picture he carri'd always about him, and he never shew'd it without a world of Imprecations upon the heads of those who had so rudely disfigur'd it. He made use of it in *Bohemia*, to incense the *Imperialists*, and spur 'em on to a War with the People of that Kingdom who were revolted. He made use of it in *France*, to animate the Catholics to undertake the utter destruction of the *Huguenots*. At length he carri'd it to *Rome*, where the Pope sanctifi'd it with a Consecration upon the Altar of *St Paul*, and together with all the Cardinals, all the People, and all the Clergy, paid such extravagant Honours to it, as if he would have justifi'd the truth of those Reproaches which the Reformed throw upon the Church of *Rome* in reference to Idolatry. After the ruin of the Reformation in *Bohemia*, where it had bin so potent, this Monk came into *France* to make his advantage of the Civil Wars, and there to do the Catholic Religion the same service as he had perform'd in *Germany*. He was receiv'd at *Paris* as a man that was full of the Spirit of God, and whose Actions were all as so many Miracles. The People crowded after him, and some persons of Quality also; but to render himself more venerable, he would not be seen every day, affecting to lock himself up in a Convent of his own Order. Nevertheless he was obedient to his Superiors, who understanding the knack of inflaming the Peoples desire by feigned denials, grounded upon the pretended humility of this Hypocrite, suffer'd him at length to appear, when they thought it seasonable to act the Farce. Then this pretended Saint receiv'd the Homages that were paid him, next to Adoration, they kiss'd his Feet; they thought themselves sanctifi'd by touching the hem of his Garment; they carri'd away pieces of it, which they kept as Reliques; and thought 'em the cause of a thousand Miracles, of which there was not so much as the least appearance. 'Tis easy to apprehend what a predominancy his Speeches had over a People.

1621. People so prepossess'd, to whom this Villain preach'd nothing but Sedition and Violence. But the Chancellor, the Duke of *Mombazon*, together with the *Sorbonne*, abhorr'd these Affectations, and maugre the passion of the People, constrain'd this Monk, who said he was sent from the Duke of *Bavaria* to the King, to depart *Paris*, and pursue the delivery of his message. However, during his Journey, he behav'd himself still after the same manner, and he had like to have bin the cause of a thousand mischiefs, in places where the People bewitcht with his Grimaces, were inclin'd to Sedition. Infomuch that ev'n at *Saumur* itself, where the Catholics had receiv'd so many kindnesses from *du Plessis* for 32 years together, while he was their Governor, they resolv'd to massacre their Fellow-Citizens of the Reformed Profession. But *d'Aiguebonne*, who commanded there in the absence of the Count *de Sault*, by his diligence prevented the fatal effects of that desperate design; and so well secur'd the Gates of the City, that the Promoters of the Conspiracy durst not make any Attempt. These wicked effects of the Monk's piety, lost him his reputation in *France* among all honest men, who perceiv'd that his Zeal had something too much of the *Spaniard* in it, which kept 'em from being deluded by his counterfeit Sanctity; so that after this Journey, there was no farther talk concerning him.

Sedition at  
Paris.

But at *Paris*, all the care that was taken for the security of the Reformed serv'd to no purpose. They judg'd that they were not to forbear the continuance of their Public Exercises, because of the Threats of the People, in regard it would be a diminution of the King's Authority, who had taken 'em into his Protection, and would shew a distrust of his Word and Justice. Therefore on Sunday the 26<sup>th</sup> they went to *Charenton*, and the Duke of *Mombazon* order'd all things the best he cou'd for their security, guarding the Road in person, by his presence to protect 'em in their return. But for all that, the seditious Rabble fell upon those that lagg'd behind; so that from words they fell to blows, and some few were kill'd. Among the rest, one Woman that would not bow to the Image of the Virgin set up over St. *Anthony's* Gate, was murder'd; and a Priest, mistaken by the multitude for a Minister, had much ado to escape their hands, by  
the

the assistance of the Duke's own Servants. Some Houses also, where the People, out of compassion, had shelter'd some of the Reformed, were forc'd open and pillag'd. And all this was done under the very Noses of the Guards and Archers, who were appointed to conduct the Reformed, and might have prevented these Violences, had they but let fly two or three times among the Rabble. But the veneration they had for Catholic Blood, would not permit 'em to shed the least drop for the preservation of the *Huguenots*. So that in less then a minute the City was all in an uproar: the Chains were drawn up; the Citizens were order'd to stand to their Arms; and Guards were set at the Gates: But Night was more powerful then all the Orders which the Magistrate could give, and sent the seditious Mobile to their own Houses.

The next day, the Mutineers not daring to attempt any thing in the City, where their Party was not strong enough, ran all to continue their Violences at *Charenton*. Where they pillag'd some Houses; but their chief spite was at the Church, which they burnt; together with the Shops where the Booksellers left their Books of Devotion, which they durst not sell in other places. The Library was robb'd; the Walls of the Cloyster pull'd down; nor did the Fury of these People cease, till their Rage had no more Materials to work upon. 'Tis true, that the Duke of *Mombazon* and the Parliament caus'd two of the chief Actors to be seiz'd, who were also executed for an example to others. But while he was at the Parliament, busy in consultation by what means to stop the Career of these Enormities, the Sedition broke out again in the *Fauxbourg St. Marceau*, where the greatest part of the Reformed Artificers, who are debarr'd from keeping Shops in the City, were set up, to the end they might follow their Employments without molestation; and in this Uproar also one or two of the Reformed were kill'd, and some Houses pillag'd. But at length the Tumult was appeas'd, and the Parliament having issu'd forth a Decree, putting the Reformed under the Protection of the King and the Law, which was presently dispatcht away to the several Bayliwicks under their Jurisdiction, this same Spirit of Violence was suppress'd for some time, to

*The Church  
of Charenton  
burnt.*

1621. the great grief of those who in several places were prepar'd for Insurrections no less dangerous.

*The Reformed quit their Habitations.* But for all this, the Reformed began again to quit their Habitations, and many People left *Paris*, as others quitted other places, who had hitherto flatter'd themselves that they should live in security, so they had no hand in the War. They likewise, who staid behind, lock'd themselves up in their Houses for some days, tho in continual fears; or else they conceal'd themselves among the Catholics, with whom they had contracted a friendship either upon the score of Kindred, or Neighborhood, or some tie of Interest. As for the Ministers, they were in the number of those that retir'd; and tho they alledg'd for themselves St. *Cyprian's* Reasons, fearing, as he did, that their presence made the Sedition more fatal to their Flocks, yet their abandoning their stations was censur'd by a sort of People who are always finding some fault or other in the conduct of other men.

*They are accus'd of setting fire to the Bridges of Paris.* But tho the Seditious themselves were suppress'd, yet the Spirit of Sedition was not laid; for some Houses hapning to be a fire at *Paris*, and the Flames taking hold of the Houses adjoining with that fierceness as to burn down the two Bridges, call'd *Pont aux Marchands*, and *Pont au Change*, the People presently accus'd the Reformed, as if they had bin the Authors of the Conflagration. Nay, they would have had it believ'd, that they had a design to have set the whole City on fire, to revenge the burning of their Church at *Charenton*. But, after all the most diligent Inquisitions that could be made, they could not find the least Pretence to make good that Calumny: a clear discovery being soon after made, that the Accident happen'd through the negligence of a Maid-servant. There happen'd also such another Mischance at *Lion* much about the same time. A Gentleman returning out of *Germany*, and taking Post in that City, had a Quarrel upon the same occasion with one of the Canons of that City, who assume the Title of Counts of *Lion*. Upon which the Canon riding before to stay for the Gentleman upon the Road, discharg'd two Pistols at him, but mist with both: on the other side the Gentleman had a better Aim, and kill'd



ki'd the Canon fairly, according to all the Maxims allow'd by men of the Sword ; nevertheless he was seiz'd and imprison'd at *Lion*. The next day the Jail happen'd to be a-fire, and very much endamag'd both the Prison and the Palace. Presently the Catholics knew where to lay the fault : for because it had so fallen out, that the Gentleman's Servants, and some of the Reformed had bin heard to say, that the Gentleman was wrongfully imprison'd, in regard he had done nothing but what was grounded upon the Law of Self-defence, therefore the Catholics would have it, that either the one or the other set fire to the Prison. But the Informations acquitted the Parties accus'd, and made it appear that the Misfortune happen'd through the carelessness of the Keeper and his Servants. Thus the seditious discourses of the Monks both in public and private, had insus'd this malignant Spirit among the vulgar Catholics, that the blame, whatever happen'd, was by them laid upon the Reformed ; and that they lookt upon the most moderate and most peaceable, as People that were always hatching and contriving mischievous designs, and seeking an opportunity to put the Kingdom in confusion. So that they found themselves in the same condition with the Primitive Christians, who were accus'd by the hot-headed *Gentiles* of all the Misfortunes and Calamities that beset the State, whether Famine, Pestilence, Inundations, or Drowth.

During these Events, the Circle of *Lower Languedoc* was in a miserable condition. *Chatillon* made no other use of his Authority, then to prevent the Reformed in those Quarters from succouring their Friends in other places ; and it may be easily conjectur'd, what they might have bin able to have done, had he bin faithful, by what they did in despite of all the disturbance which he gave 'em. *Montauban* was reliev'd, notwithstanding all his opposition ; and as negligent as he was in the preservation of the places, of which the Assembly had given him the Government, the Duke of *Montmorancy* made no great progress. Nevertheless there were so many People who were sensible that *Chatillon* was intent upon his own Affairs, to the prejudice of the Public Concerns, that at length the Assembly of the Circle which then sat at *Mompelien*, turn'd him out of his employment ;

1621. ment; and the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November*, set forth a very large Declaration, containing the Reasons of their Severity. They accus'd him of having betray'd the Churches, and of making his own Fortune at their Expence: For having rais'd men, not for the service of the Reformed, but to understand the utmost strength of the Circle; what number of Soldiers they could raise; and what quantity of Arms and Ammunition they were able to provide: For having often let the Enemy escape, when they might have been easily defeated: For having thrust out of employment such persons as he knew to be too well affected to the Common Cause: For having giv'n notice to the Enemy to stand upon their Guards: For having represented to the Reformed the Mischiefs greater, and the Remedies more difficult then they were: For having kept private several Matters, which he ought to have communicated: For keeping Spies, which he sent to the Court, to discover the Secrets of the Reformed: For having favor'd and receiv'd into his friendship those who had surrender'd their Strong holds to the King: For having scornfully affronted the Assembly of *Rochel*: For having by his own Authority disannull'd their Resolutions: For having restor'd to the Enemy the Booty taken from 'em in a just War, without so much as demanding, at least by way of compensation, what had bin plunder'd from the Reformed: And for suffering the loss of great quantities of Arms stor'd up with great Expences. But he had done one thing contrary to the interests of the Party, which did him more harm then all that was laid to his charge: For he had drain'd the Province of *Cevennes*, by a Levy of Six thousand men, which he had sent into the *Venetian* Service. And this was the reason that the Province could not raise the one half of the Soldiers that were promis'd, when the Duke of *Rohan* was constrain'd to take Arms.

The great  
Confusion  
in the  
Circle.

This displacing of *Chatillon*, put the whole Circle into an extraordinary Confusion; for that *Chatillon's* Party was very potent in those Quarters. They who were not Members of the Assembly, nor had any share of the Public Command, complain'd that the Assembly abus'd their Authority, and some Provinces murmur'd against it. *Berticheres*, whom they had elected for Lieutenant-General, endeavour'd to keep his ground without any

Supe-

Superior ; to the end that having a more spacious Country to 1621.  
surrender, he might be able to make an Accommodation so  
much the more advantageous with the Court. And indeed  
there was nothing which preserv'd to the Reformed what was  
left in the Circle, but that Affairs at Court were not in much  
a better posture, where the Constable's death had wrought great  
Alterations. Every one aspir'd to be Master of the King's Fa-  
vour, that they might have the sole Authority in the Govern-  
ment. But whether it were that the Pretenders obstructed one  
another, or that the King, who, as I may say, was but just  
got out of Wardship, as yet too sensibly remember'd the  
trouble which the greatness of his Favourite had put him to ; or  
whether his distrust of those who were about his person, kept  
him upon his guard against Surprizes, he would not suffer him-  
self to be prevail'd upon, all of a sudden, by any new Affection : so  
that, in the mean while, the Cardinal *de Retz*, *Schomberg*, Grand  
Master and Superintendant, and *de Vic*, to whom the Seals  
were committed, took upon 'em the greatest share in Affairs.  
The Prince of *Condé*, who was desirous that the King should  
continue the War, join'd with 'em, in regard they were all of  
the same mind ; and this is one thing very remarkable, that the  
Marshals of *France*, and such as might pretend to the same Dig-  
nity, appear'd as much inclin'd to Peace, as the Officers of the  
Long Robe and the Finances were averse to it. The Prince  
therefore, and the three Ministers, who were of his Opinion,  
did as much as lay in their power to stop the King's return to  
*Paris*, where they expected nothing less then to be oppos'd by  
the old Ministers ; and where the Prince was afraid lest the Au-  
thority should devolve again into the hands of the Queen-Mo-  
ther. To this purpose, having persuaded the King to march  
toward *Bordeaux*, they propos'd to him the making himself  
Master of *Chatillon*, a Town belonging to the Marshal *de Beau-  
illon*, upon the River *Dordogne* ; and the Expedient they had  
found out to compass their design, was to treat with the Garri-  
son of the place, which stood Neuter as the Master did, in the  
same manner as they had practis'd with *du Plessis*. The effect  
of their Consultations therefore was, that the King should en-  
ter into the Castle, under pretence that 'twas his pleasure to  
lodge

1621. lodge there; and that when he was in, he should turn out the Garri-  
son that kept it for the Duke of *Bouillon*. But this City, as well as  
all the rest, which belong'd to that noble person, was comprehend-  
ed in the same Treaty, upon the confidence of which the Duke  
liv'd peaceably at *Sedan*, and never concern'd himself in the  
War; so that the Proposals of surprizing it, was manifestly op-  
posite to Honesty and Sincerity. However that sort of Policy  
that mov'd upon the hinges of Craft and Injustice, was justifi'd  
while the deceased Constable was in favour. Nevertheless, in  
regard the honest men were more numerous then they who  
gave this pernicious Advice, they persuaded the King to aban-  
don the Attempt, and so it fell to the ground.

1622.

The King  
returns to  
Paris.

The King then having left the best Orders he could in the  
Provinces to hinder the Reformed, who were brought very low  
in *Poitou* and *Guyenne* from rising agen, return'd at length to  
*Paris*, where the old Ministers recover'd a little credit with him,  
and inclin'd him to Peace. The Chancellor and *Jeannin* deem'd  
it very necessary, and made no question but that it was more  
proper to destroy the Reformed then War. There is to be seen  
a small Treatise compos'd by the last of these two, which per-  
haps may be lookt upon as one of the most authentic Pieces that  
are to be produc'd in favour of the Reformed; and which ut-  
terly overthrows the Pretence, which was taken from their sup-  
pos'd Rebellion, to exterminate 'em. He acknowledges almost  
in exprels words, That the Catholics were the Aggressors in  
that War, and that the Reformed acted meerly in their own de-  
fence: at least it is to be deduc'd from his discourse by evident  
Consequences. He presupposes, That it behov'd the Reformed  
to be united, since it was evident to 'em that there was a design  
upon their Religion; and he sets down several Reasons why  
they had cause enough to think so: That so long as they believ'd  
the King's Intentions to be no other then to chastise Rebels, there  
were many who continu'd in perfect Obedience; but that they  
found themselves no more kindly us'd then they who had tak'n  
Arms: That the principal Members of the Council publicly gave  
out, that the King would no longer permit any other exercise of  
Divine Worship then that of the Catholic Religion: That the  
Preachers

A remark-  
able Wri-  
ting of  
*Jeannin*,  
advising  
Peace.



Preachers stuff their Sermons with Menaces of the same nature, and endeavor'd to persuade men, that the following of any other counsel was profane, and favor'd of Impiety: whence it follow'd, that the War would prove more bloody and universal than it had bin, if the Reformed, united as it behov'd 'em to be for their common Interest, shou'd put themselves into a posture of defence. Farther also, and that clearly enough, he asserts, That the Aim of those who advis'd a War, was to take their opportunity, because the Foreign Protestants being busi'd at home, cou'd not attend the succor of those that were oppress'd in *France*. He made excellent Reflections upon the Wars which had been all along continu'd against 'em, with the same design to destroy 'em, sometimes by Fire and Sword, sometimes by Deceit and Treachery. Thence passing to give Sentence upon the occasion that had constrain'd their Enemies to grant 'em such a number of Strong-holds, he concludes, That after the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, and the Siege of *Rochel*, there was a necessity of allowing 'em a greater number, to secure 'em, says he, against our *Perfidiousness and Infidelity*. He observes, how much the Peace, which they were suffer'd to enjoy for five years together, under the Reign of *Henry III.* was to their disadvantage, through the Policy of that Prince, who excluded 'em from all Gratifications: a powerful means to infect the minds of those who are over sway'd by their own Interests. The King himself perform'd the office of a *Converter*, and his Reasons, which he accompani'd with Favours or Denials, as he thought proper, regain'd to his Religion all those who had a design to please him. Several also who continu'd in the Reformed Religion, for their own Soul's health, yet bred their Children up in the *Roman Religion*, for the security of their Fortunes. *Jeannin* adds farther, to demonstrate how disadvantageous a Peace would be to the Reformed, for that when they had a mind to betake themselves to their Arms after a long rest, they always found it a difficult thing to rouse up from their Repose and Tranquility, those who had for some time bin tasting the delights of Peace; besides, that there was less danger in attacking 'em, after they had effeminated themselves with the charming softnesses of an easy life. And he was so possess'd with this Opinion, that as he

1622. wrote before the Peace, to oblige the King and his Council to make it, so he publish'd another Writing, after it was concluded, to advise 'em to keep it.

*The Reasons for the War more prevalent.*

But the King's Infirmary lying on his Conscience side, they who assail'd him in his weakest part, prov'd most successful; and for fear the Counsellors of Peace should by their more weighty Reasons deface the Impressions which they had fix'd in his mind, they got him out of *Paris* as it were in hugger-mugger, in hopes they should have more power over him when they had him at the head of an Army. To say the truth, there was a strange alteration of Affairs after the King's return to *Paris*. But it seems, he thought a Peace would not be for his Honor in the present Conjuncture. On the other side, the Reformed had almost every where regain'd fresh Courage. The Duke of *Soubise* had recover'd their Affairs in the *Lower Poitou*, and in the Islands. *La Force* had re-incourag'd to the defence of their Liberties some of those Cities which their Governors had sold. He had wrested *St. Foy* out of *Theobon's* hands, by means of a Female Intrigue, in regard that Gentleman was in love with one of his Kinswomen. *Tonnains, Clairac*, and several other Strong-holds once more acknowledg'd the Reformed for their Masters. The Duke of *Rohan*, elected General of the Circle of *Lower Languedoc*, had by his Policy and Prudence, his Frankness and his Patience, reconcil'd the Differences which had for some time disunit'd that Province; so that the King had almost lost all the fruit of the preceding Campaign, which had cost him so much men and money.

*The King leaves Paris.*

*His Success in Poitou*

The King departed from *Paris* upon *Palm Sunday*, and by receiv'd Intelligence, that the Duke of *Espernon* having drawn off all his Forces for the security of his own Governments, there was not any strength in the *Lower Poitou* that could make head against the Duke of *Soubise*, therefore he was constrain'd to begin his Campaign in those Quarters; where the Duke, either for want of Judgment, or through the Infidelity of those who commanded under him, became the unfortunate Spectator of the slaughter of his men, and in one day lost the fruit of all his Labours. *Rohan* was surrender'd to the King, after a Siege of some few days; and these Successes bur'd in oblivion the Treatics

ties of Peace which had bin observ'd till that time; and the Duke of Rohan's Commissioners not arriving till after the Rout of his Brother, were enforc'd to return as they came. On the other side the King, upon some jealousy of the Duke of Tremouille, who had remov'd to Sedan the Prince of Talmont, his eldest Son, afterwards known by the Title of Prince of Tarente, whom he had left at Thouars under the tuition of the Dutches Dowager, dismissed from Taillebourg the person entrusted with the Command of that place, and secur'd the Castle for himself, which was of some consequence at that time. After this, the King march'd into Guyenne, where he presently retook all that the Reformed were Masters of; and where he utterly ruin'd 'em by the Agreement which he concluded with *la Force*. In pursuance of which, he honour'd him with the Batoon of Marshal of France, which had bin promis'd him above Twelve years before. Moreover, he gave him a Gratuity of Two hundred thousand Crowns, to recompence him for the loss of his Governments, which both he and his Children were oblig'd to quit. Thus it comes to pass sometimes, that Rebellion is more fortunate than Merit; and that a man by rendring himself formidable, secures to himself the reward of his Services, *La Force* surrenders to the King the City of St. Foy, where the King solemniz'd the Festival which the Catholics call by the name of *Corpus Christi* day; the Ceremony of which that City had not beheld for many years before. But *la Force* treated only for himself, obtaining for his Friends no more then a bare Act of Oblivion; which created him many Enemies in the Countrey, where many of the Nobility had follow'd him before. Moreover, 'twas twenty to one but that the King had broke his word with him, when he had left himself to the discretion of the Court, because his Son still held out one of the Strong-holds which belong'd to the Reformed, and made some Scruple to surrender it; which resistance they would fain have had to have bin lookt upon as a Collusion between the Father and the Son. But that Advice was rejected, as well for fear of the Consequences, as for the Reasons which the Prince of Condé gave, who obstinately oppos'd it.

*And Guyenne, where he treats with la Force.*

1622.

The King now hastning into *Languedoc*, was so fortunate as to meet with no Opposition by the way ; and for that, the Cities which he had no design to have attack'd, surrender'd merely out of fear of being besieg'd. *Negrepelisse* and *St. Antonin*, small Cities, not far distant from *Montauban*, were taken by Assault, and all the Cruelties imaginable committed. The Women suffer'd all that could be fear'd from the sensuality of Brutish Common Soldiers, and the Men were almost all massacr'd. The Pretence was, That *Negrepelisse* had cut the Throats of the Garison which the King left there the year before ; and that *St. Antonin* had stay'd too long before it surrender'd. They also, who retreated to the Castle first of all, after the Town was surrender'd, had their share of the same usage : And when they had surrender'd at discretion, the Council order'd twelve of 'em to be hang'd. There were some that follow'd the King, who by no means approv'd these Cruelties ; who rescu'd as many as they could out of the Soldiers Clutches, and redeem'd some Women and Virgins, that were threaten'd extremity of outrage, with their own Money. But the King, who was naturally good natur'd, and under whose Name these Cruelties were committed, was more concern'd than any body. So that his abhorrence of such Barbarities prov'd not a little serviceable to those that were inclin'd to peace, toward the disposing him to resume the firmer Negotiations for an Accommodation.

*Lefdignieres*, who had no longer any Competitor, renew'd his Pretensions to the Constable's Sword, and promis'd to turn Catholick, upon condition he might have that Dignity conferr'd upon him ; that he might be made a Knight of the Holy Ghost, and his Son-in-Law *Crequi*, a Marshal of *France*. But to comfort the Reformed for the loss of his Person, he became an earnest Intercessor for Peace. He had already had one Conference to that purpose with the Duke of *Rohan* at *Pont St. Esprit* ; where all the Pretensions of the Reformed had bin reduc'd to four Heads : The Restitution of all Places of Security ; Liberty of Politic Assemblies ; Payment of the Sums promis'd for the Ministers Salaries, and the maintenance of the Garisons ; and the disengagement of the Nobility that had bin ruin'd by the War. These Articles being carri'd to the King by the Commissioners



missioners introduc'd by *Bouillon*, were not agreed to, because the King's Forces had defeated *Soubize*, and put him in hopes of an easy conclusion of the War. But because the Season of the Year was far spent, and for that there were many things to be done, these Proposals were again brought into play, and many Journeys were made to and fro, for the obtaining of Peace. The Duke of *Rohan* also acted so far, that he had render'd himself suspected at *Mompellier*, and saw his Credit upon the brink of an utter declination. For there were several Factions in that City, who mutually fought to destroy one another. Among the rest, there was one which was call'd the Faction of the *Catharinots*. A word, of which I know not the original. However, it was the most Seditious of all the rest, and lookt upon as Traytors all those that did not tread after their steps. Now *Lefdiguieres* having sent the President *Du Cros*, to *Mompellier*, to persuade 'em to peace, that Faction stirr'd up a Sedition against him, and basely murder'd him. But the Duke of *Rohan* caus'd some of the most guilty to be severely punish'd, which did not a little humble the Insolent Cabal. The Minister *Souffrein*, who was accus'd to have a hand in that Murder, chose rather to remain suspected, than to expose himself to the Issue of a Criminal Prosecution, and withdrew from the City.

The same Mutineers also rais'd another Insurrection against the Catholics of the City; and they carri'd it so far, that their behaviour being represented to the King by the Bishop of *Fenouilles*, awaken'd in him that aversion which had been always instill'd into him from his Cradle against the Reformed. That Prelate was both eloquent and witty; and he made a sedulous use of his Parts to inflame the King's Indignation. He call'd the Conduct of the Reformed a Tyrannical Phrenzy of Rebellion and Heresy; and the condition wherein they kept the Catholics in his City, an Oppression great in it self, ingenious as to the Invention, exquisite in Cruelty, and universal in the Ravages it committed. He said, that Heresy, animated by Rebellion, which is the usual Spirit that attends it, was demonstrable by the accumulation of their Crimes; and he imputed to it what e're Impiety durst ever presume to think of, and put in execution, in opposition to that Veneration which is due to the Holy Saints. He laid before the

*Sedition against the Catholics*

1622. eldest Son of the Church, the Outrages that had bin committed against his Mother, so dreadful for their Number, so violent in the excesses of Fury, so solemn for the impudence of the Authors, so horrible for the Sacrileges that attended it, so abominated by Heav'n and Earth, that such Hyperboles would have been hardly tolerable in setting forth the horrors of a *St. Bartholomew's* Massacre. And to render the Reformed of his time more odious, he compar'd the modesty of the growing Reformation with the Reformation establish'd; and in regard he had borrow'd that same common place from the Letter of that same *Charpentier*, whom *Bellievre* had gain'd to write an Apology for Massacres, he envenom'd this Comparison likewise with Impostures, and perpetual Imputations of Rebellion. By the by, he girded the Edicts of Peace, which God, as he said, had never blest, and which had been as yet of little force to exorcize the spirit of Rebellion; so that his whole Speech was an express Exhortation to revoke 'em. He aggravated, as heinous Crimes, whatever the Laws and Necessities of War had enforc'd the Reformed to act in their own defence; and to raise a more tender Compassion, he complain'd, that after they had so ill us'd the Catholics, they depriv'd 'em of the liberty to bemoan their miserable Conditions. Yet all these horrid Crimes amounted to no more, then that they had imprison'd the Catholics at *Mompellier*; that they had constrain'd 'em to bear their share in the expences of the City; and that they had either demolish'd or deslac'd their Countrey Houses. But in regard all this might be easily excus'd by Reasons drawn from the consequences of War, or the necessity of putting themselves into a condition to sustain a Siege, for which the City was oblig'd to prepare themselves, he drew an Inference from thence, that they had threaten'd the Catholics with a general Massacre. The name of *Herefy* made a great noise throughout all his Speech; 'twas stuff'd all over with descriptions of those Propensities which it insus'd into men to ravage and destroy. He upbraided the Reformed with having romag'd the Graves of the dead, and digg'd 'em out of their Sepulchres; as if the same thing had not been done every day by the Catholics, who held it to be a duty of their Religion. This Crime was aggravated as if it had bin very usual, and  
gave

gave him an occasion to call the Reformed by the name of *damned Souls*, which by the counsel and instigation of Hell committed all manner of Crimes. And in the *series* of his Harangue he added, that they surpass'd the Devils in wickedness. The Body of a Nun, being found burid in the habits of her Order, gave him a new occasion to display the whole force of his eloquent Fury. And some Ecclesiastics being put out of the Town, for fear they should betray it, and some of the Canons being detain'd as Hostages, for the security of the Ministers, afforded him a large Theme for another most embitter'd Complaint. Some Distresses also levi'd in the Houses of those that refus'd to contribute toward the Public Charges, were lookt upon as Plund'ring: And the Crime was represented so much the more heinous, because the Priesthood was advanc'd above Angelic Excellency. Afterwards appear'd a long and pathetic description of a Church, without the exercise of Divine Worship; a Reproach for making use of the Materials of demolish'd Churches in their Fortifications, and for having forc'd thousands of Catholics to abjure their Doctrine. The War also which the King had undertaken was call'd Sacred, and he was exhorted to make no more Treaties with Rebels.

It would be a difficult thing to meet with such a violent Harangue, and where the most innocent things, or at least the most to be excus'd, by the necessity that constrain'd em, were blacken'd after the most odious manner imaginable. The torments of an infinite number of poor Creatures that were destroy'd in all places where the Catholics came, the burning of *Tonneins*, *Monhart*, *Negrepelisse*, and other Towns; their frequent Insurrections against the Reformed, their *forcing Conversions*, of which that War afforded various Examples, would make those tremble, and their hair stand an end, that read the Story, should I set 'em forth in the stile of this Harangue. But this is the Character of the Catholic Prelates; whatever it be that never so little touches the Respect which is due to their Grandeur, is by them cry'd down for Sacrilege, and is never to be excus'd: But whatever they do in order to the destruction of those that offend 'em, though never so opposite to all the Laws of God and Nature, is lawful and clear from all Reproach and Censure.

Thus

*Remarks  
upon the  
style of this  
Harangue.*

1622. Thus the City of *Foix*, the Metropolis of that Province, being inhabited by some Reformed Families, the Monk *Villarte*, a *Capuchin*, being sent thither by the Bishop of *Pamiers*, went thither toward the end of the last year, to do all the mischief he could, under pretence of preaching the Advent Sermons, and return'd thither to preach the Lent Sermons of this year. But his seditious Declamations, his Monastical Controversies, his Conferences offer'd to the Ministers, the pious Violences of the Governors of the Province, and the City, and the Treachery of some persons won over to their Party, brought over all the Families to the Church of *Rome*. There was not one withstood this Hurricane, but the Minister and his Wife, who was permitted to retire, nor so much out of Humanity or Justice, but to give the greater lustre to the Monk's Victory. And the Minister was spar'd, to be a testimony of the desolation of his Church, and to carry the news to the places of his retirement. To which purpose they caus'd a Trumpet to attend him, who under pretence of conducting him, sounded forth the Triumphs of the Monk over the Minister and his Flock, both in the streets of the City and in the Countrey. Nor had the Reformed at *Foix* any other then a limited Exercise, as I have said already.

Attestations  
given  
the Monk  
*Villarte*.

In the mean time the Ecclesiastics of *Foix* gave this Monk a Certificate, which made him lookt upon as the only Author of these goodly *Conversions*, and which assur'd the world that no other violent means was made use of then that of the Word of God. But 'tis observable, that they never bethought themselves of attesting in behalf of these *New Converts*, that there was nothing but what was free and voluntary in their change. The Art of *Converting* was then but in its Infancy: Time brought it to some perfection; for that in our days they never fail to cause these sort of Attestations to be sign'd by those that had suffer'd the utmost extremity of Violence at their hands. Moreover, the demolishing the Church, which was done by the bare Authority of the Inhabitants, without staying for the King's Orders, follow'd the Monk's Victory close at the heels; and the Catholic Churches of the City shar'd among 'em the Spoils of the Reformed. It may be judg'd with what moderation this

Affair



Affair was carri'd on by the precipitancy of the Catholics, who never consulted their Sovereign upon two Points of that importance. It may be said, perhaps, in their behalf, that they did nothing without the private encouragement of the Court, who took in good part what ever was serviceable toward the Conversion of the Heretics. But the Archbishop of *Amburne* haranguing the King upon his return to *Paris* after the Peace made, went a little farther then all this: He made the King an *Apostle* in his speech; and, to support his new Eulogy with a Reason, he added, that the King procur'd Conversions by his Prudence, and the concurrence of his just Arms. The meaning of his words is easily apprehended, which seem'd to intimate, that in Conversions of this nature, Terror wrought no less effectually then Instruction.

While the King lay at *Beziers*, where the Bishop of *Mompellier* had made him a Speech, he put forth a Declaration dated *July 25.* which renewing the ill-observed Promises of the King's Protection to those that liv'd in Obedience, and staid at home under the benefit of the Edicts, forbid all the Reformed to quit their Habitations, whether in City or Countrey, upon pain of forfeiting all the Favours that had been afforded 'em, and to be proceeded against as guilty of High-Treason, Deserters of the Kingdom, and Disturbers of the Public Peace. The Pre-He forbids the Reformed to quit their Habitations. tence for these Prohibitions was, That the Reformed forsook their Houses, to join with those that were in Arms; or with Foreigners that drew toward the Frontiers, and threaten'd the Kingdom with an Invasion. The truth is, that the greatest part of those that quitted their Houses, were forc'd to wander other where in search of their security. The heats of the Catholic Rabble, the seditious roaring of the Monks in their Pulpits, the uncontroll'd Licentiousness of the Soldiers, the promises of Protection a thousand ways broken, Capitulations ill observ'd, the frequent Tortures of those who surrender'd at discretion; the enormous fury of the Rascally Mobile against the bodies of those who had undergone the utmost extremity and Torments, yet stedfast to the end; and several other Circumstances of the present condition of the Reformed in *France*, were so terrible, that they expected a Massacre every day, which every body

1622. body strove to avoid, by withdrawing into places where there was more probability of safety. But to speak the truth, the Court was not free from Alarums; and if the Confederates had but had a little ready money, they would have made the Court repent their declaring War against 'em.

Count  
Mansfeld  
treats with  
the Re-  
formed.

Count *Mansfeld*, who was enter'd into the Confederacy against the House of *Austria*, and who after the overthrow of the King of *Bohemia*, had maintain'd his ground with good reputation, at that time besieg'd *Savern* in *Alsatia* with a considerable Army: but before he could take the place, he was constrain'd to retreat, for fear of the *Imperialists*, who were within some few days march of him with three Bodies of an Army much superior in number to his. In his retreat, he was constrain'd to cross *Lorraine*; which the Duke, who had not his Forces ready, durst not deny him. Now the Count, not having money, had no other way to keep his men together, but by the liberty which he allow'd 'em to do what they pleas'd: so that there was no likelihood that he could subsist any long time, provided his Parties could be hinder'd from roaming about from their main Body. Marshal *de Bouillon* therefore liking well the opportunity, and weary of the Neutrality which he had observ'd since the beginning of the War, and desirous to make one smart Essay before he dy'd, for the support of a Religion, of which, as he clearly perceiv'd, the Catholics had vow'd the destruction, bethought himself of treating with the Count, and found it no hard matter to gain him. To that purpose he promis'd him money, and that he should be conducted into *France* by numerous reinforcements of men that would very much augment his Army. He promis'd also to send him the Prince of *Sedan* his eldest Son, and the Duke of *Trimouille* to accompany him: and in a word, those Lords, assisted by the Counts of *Suze* and *Roussi*, and some others, sent their Friends and their Servants, who rendezvouz'd from all parts at the places that were assign'd 'em. These motions persuaded the Count, that all they who quitted their Houses, went to strengthen this Foreign Army, and make a considerable diversion upon the Frontiers of *Champaigne*. For which reason, several persons were seiz'd, upon suspicion of favouring the Duke of *Bouillon's* Enterprize; and besides some Officers

Officers of his Household, who were imprison'd in several places ; the Son of the *Vidame* of *Normandy* was secur'd at *Paris*, the Count of *Suze* at *Lion*, and the Duke of *Sulli* at *Moulins*, as being suspected to be of the Confederacy. In the mean time Marshal *de Bouillon*, who had promis'd money before he knew where to have it, made it his business to seek where to raise it : and he wrote to the Duke of *Rohan*, to see whether he could get any that way. His Letters however contain'd two things very opposite one to another : for at the beginning he exhorted the Duke to Peace, for fear the continuance of the War should compleat the ruin of the Reformed. He observ'd that their ill Successes proceeded from the dispersing of those who were able to bear Arms, but who were made incapable of succouring one another by their separation. He added, as it were, to lead him out of one discourse into another, that this misfortune was occasion'd by the want of Foreign Soldiers. For the supply of which defect, he offer'd the bringing in of Count *Mansfeild* to the assistance of the Reformed ; in order to which, he demanded three things ; an express approbation of his design ; money for the payment of his Foreign Forces, and assurance that he should be comprehended in the Peace, both he and his, if it happen'd to be made. But money was more difficult to be found, then the demanded Approbation and Assurances ; so that the Court had time enough to gain *Mansfeild*, and prevent his entering into *France*. Propositions therefore were made him of being entertain'd in the King's service, and some ready money fix'd his resolutions. But the Bishop of *Alberstadt*, a Prince of the House of *Brunswick*, to whom some part of the Forces belong'd, was willing to heark'n to Marshal *de Bouillon*'s Proposals, and to be contented with the small Sum which the Marshal offer'd for present necessity, till a more considerable could be rais'd : which differing Inclinations set the two Generals at variance, who never after that did any thing considerable ; so that after some Sieges attempted without Success, *Mansfeild* retir'd into the *Low-Countries*, where his Army was utterly ruin'd.

*Mansfeild  
gain'd by  
the Court.*

*France* would have bin very much incumber'd with him, had she hir'd his Army into her Service : She had no Foreign War, nor would the Council of Conscience permit the King to con-

cern himself with the King of *Bohemia's* Broils : and therefore there was an Expedient found to get rid of him, by sending him into the Service of the *Low-Countries* then in amity with the King, chusing rather that he should join with the *States*, then with the King of *Spain* or the *Venetians*, who both courted him. Thus the Churches of *France* were flatter'd with an appearance of hope that vanish'd as soon. Nor were the Reformed the first that treated with Foreigners : for the King had set 'em an Example, and sent into *Languedoc* some *German* Troops that serv'd under the Duke of *Mommorancy* : so that it could not be justly laid to their charge, that they went about to expose their Country to the Plunder and Ransack of Foreigners, since the Catholics were the first who had call'd the *Reiters* and the *Lansquenetts* into the Kingdom.

Negotiations of Peace renew'd.

In the mean time the fear of *Mansfeld's* Army render'd the King's Council more pliable, so that the Proposals of Peace were renew'd. But whether it were that the Duke of *Rohan's* Demands were too high, or that the Council were freed from the terror of *Mansfeld's* ever coming to hurt 'em, the Negotiation came to nothing, and *Lesdiguières* spent all his pains and his time to no purpose in promoting it. Nevertheless the Court began to hanker after Peace, of which they who were desirous to advance themselves in the King's Favour, or by the management of Affairs stood in great need, to the end they might not have too much variety of business to trouble their heads with at one and the same time. For as for the Cities that remain'd, they were of quite another consequence than the paltry Towns, the gaining of which had bin, till that time, the sole Fruit of the War. Only they were desirous that the King should grant the Peace, like the Lord and Master of it ; and they avoided a General Treaty, for fear the Union of the Reformed should be justifi'd, and as it were legitimated by a Treaty of that nature. These Sentiments were sufficiently express'd by the Author of a Treatise that appear'd upon this Subject, after the interview of *Lesdiguières* and the Duke of *Rohan*. And indeed, no less than three persons, of a different character, deliver'd their Opinions upon the Peace. The one a Reformed, who was desirous to obtain the Four Articles upon which the Lords were agreed ; the other



other was a Zealous Catholic, who was altogether for Extermination. The third a moderate man, who took the middle way between the other two Extrems; but who rejected the four Articles as contrary to the good of the State. The Author gave himself the name of *Francophilus*, because he was willing to give his judgment for those of the truly honest *Frenchmen*, who lov'd the Honour and Repose of the Kingdom.

He asserted, that it was not proper to allow the Reformed any longer possession of Places of Security, because the time allotted for 'em to hold those Places, was expir'd; That the Reasons why they were granted were out of doors; That the League was the true motive which induc'd *Henry IV.* to trust 'em in the hands of the Reformed: That he was willing to permit the Reformed to be in Arms, that they might be serviceable to him in case of necessity: That the particular safety of the Reformed after so many Wars, was but a second motive of less importance, and only serv'd as a pretence for the other; That the same Prince, before his death, began to re-assume 'em indirectly; and exacted Promises in writing from the Governour, which he sent thither, that they would keep 'em for his Service: That the Reformed had made an ill use of 'em, and by consequence, that they had forfeited their Right, if they had any: That they were the perpetual occasion of renewing the Troubles: That it was below a King to think there should be such Reasons of mistrust between him and his Subjects, that his word and Faith should not be as good as Places of Security. 'Twas also there maintain'd, That at first those Cities were not giv'n to the People, but to the Princes of the Blood, who had sided with 'em: That in reality, they were of no use to the Reformed, because the grant of 'em never could warrant 'em from being attack'd by the King; That 'twas not to be thought that the King had any design to ruin the Reformed, tho he had tak'n their Cities from 'em: And he prov'd, That 'twas not the Aim of the Council neither, by an Extract out of a Book call'd, *Les Armes Victorieuses du Roy*, wherein it was made out, that it was a great piece of injustice to force the Conscience; and that there was nothing incompatible with the welfare of the State in the Toleration of two Religions. This *Francophilus* was of opinion, That the

1612. Reformed might be suffer'd to hold Ecclesiastical Assemblies under certain Conditions ; to reduce Colloquies from four to one in a year ; but to hold Provincial Synods but once in three years ; nor for one Province to hold correspondence with another ; nor to have any more National Synods ; or if they had, not to meet above once in six years with the King's permission, and in such a place as he should be pleas'd to appoint, under the oversight of a Commissioner to be present on the King's behalf. As for Politic Assemblies, he deem'd it necessary that they should be suppress'd as pernicious, or to suffer 'em only at some time three years after the National Synods. He observ'd that the Nobility were never present at those Assemblies, but only to flatter, and get Pensions, whether in Peace or War, at the expence of the Common Cause : That the Commissioners of the Third Estate had the same Ends : That it was dishonest, unprofitable, and dangerous, for Ministers to leave their Churches, to be present at those Meetings. And in a word, he would have all these Meetings to be very rarely held, and after another manner then till that time they had bin allow'd. As to the Money, of which the Reformed demanded restitution, he was of opinion, That it ought not to be restor'd : 'Twas in his opinion Money ill bestow'd, which serv'd only to defray the Expences of Assemblies, where nothing but War was talk'd of. The disingaging of private Persons was to be referr'd to the King's Prudence ; who was to judge upon whom it was proper to confer his Favours, and how far it was fitting for him to extend 'em ; provided those Favours were requested not with their Arms in their hands, and with Rebellious Expostulations, but with tears in their Eyes, and testimonies of Repentance. He concluded, That if Peace were offer'd upon Conditions dishonourable to the King, a War would be more advantageous.

The Contents of that Treatise may well be thought to be written by a Person well inform'd of the Court's Intentions, since that afterwards they put in practise every thing that he asserted. The War then was continu'd ; and after the taking of several Little Places that might annoy the Army, the King sat down before *Mompellier*. But the Prince of *Condé*, who had the Command of these petty Enterprizes, discharg'd his duty after a most  
cruel

cruel manner. Always some unfortunate Creatures were 1622.  
sure to be executed in those Cities that were surrender'd  
to himself; and 'tis a wonderful thing, that those Rigorous Pro-  
ceedings did not animate the Reformed to be more obstinate in  
their Resistance: For there was not any Place that yielded,  
which could not have held out much longer, or that might not  
have obtain'd at least an honourable Capitulation. *Lunel* was  
one of those unfortunate Cities, where the Garison that sustain'd  
the Siege, underwent all the Cruelties that could be expected or  
feard from a faithless Enemy. For that instead of being safe  
conducted, as they ought to have been, they were almost all  
cut to pieces by the Soldiers of the Prince's Army, who gave but  
very slight and superficial Orders to prevent the slaughter. All  
the Baggage which they carry'd out was pillag'd; and they who  
had committed this Barbarous Action, re-enter'd *Lunel* with a  
daring confidence, carrying away those people Prisoners who  
gave them any hopes of Ransome, and making them the Porters  
of their Booty, as if it had been the Prize of a just and lawful  
War. But by good luck for some of those Prisoners, *Bassom-  
pierre* happen'd to be at the Gate as the Soldiers were coming  
out, who caus'd some of 'em to be hang'd; order'd the Priso-  
ners to be set at liberty, and their Baggage to be restor'd 'em.  
Howevert his was all the justice that was done to recompense the  
slaughter of the greatest part of the Garison that march'd out.  
Such an Action as this committed by the Reformed would have  
been a copious Subject for *Fenouillet's* Eloquence to have en-  
larg'd upon.

Moreover, Several of these Places had bin half demolish'd:  
And the Reformed being too late convinc'd of the truth of what  
*Sully* had often formerly repeated to 'em, that the too great  
number of Places which they coveted to hold in their hands, did  
but weaken up, and keep their Forces too much separated, they  
were desirous to preserve their Men for the most important Ci-  
ties, as *Nimes*, *Uzès*, *Mompellier*, and some others. Their Re-  
sistance in those of lesser Importance was only to amuse the Ene-  
my's Army, and that they might waste their Time, their Am-  
munition, and their Men. Which makes it apparent, whither the  
Catholicks had any reason to complain that the Reformed demo-  
lish'd

1522. lish'd their Houses, and levell'd the Fortifications of their Castles, since they as little spar'd their own Houses, as such Towns also which they had no mind to defend.

Success of  
the War in  
diverse places.

The Duke of *Momprenoy* likewise obtain'd some small Advantage over the *Reiters*, and the *Lansquenets*: But the reducing of *Aiguemortes*, which *Chatillon* surrender'd to the King, was of greater consequence. He had held it a long time as it were, in trust, and he was so well fix'd there, that the Assembly, who depriv'd him of the Government of the Circle, and who put him out of *Mompellier*, notwithstanding the numerous Party which he had there, could not dispossess him of that Place. All that they could do, was to declare the City an Associate with *Chatillon* in his Desertion, and to look upon it as a Town in hostility against 'em. Nor had they made but a very lame Answer, in the behalf of that Nobleman, to the Manifesto publish'd against him by the Assembly. The whole was reduc'd to a bare denial of those things which were laid to his Charge, which in reality were too evident; or to excuse some things, as done out of a good Intention: All the rest was only stufft with Recriminations and Reproaches. But his Advancement after all this made it appear, that their Suspicions were not ill grounded. For at length the Promises of the Court, with which he had bin so long time held in play, were fulfill'd to him; and the King created him a Marshal of France. But the Duke of *Vendome* had no such good success in Upper *Languedoc*, where the King had left a small Body of an Army. At first, he took in some Places inconsiderable for their strength; but having laid siege to *Britiste*, he was forc'd before that Pissful Hamlet, where the Garison behav'd themselves so manfully, that after two Months time lost, he was so happy as to receive an Order to attend the King before *Mompellier*, which gave him an honourable Occasion to raise his Siege.

Chatillon  
made Mar-  
shal of  
France.

Among several Persons of Quality that laid their Bones in the Approches of *Mompellier*, the Duke of *Fronsac*, a young Gentleman of great hopes; and the only Son of the Duke of *St. Paul* was slain; and his Death had like to have bin reveng'd by a Massacre of the Reformed. For the People of *Orleans* offer'd



fer'd to the Count of St. *Paul*, their Governour, to avenge the 1622.  
 Death of his Son upon the Reformed, their Fellow Citizens ; Sedition at Orleans.  
 and he had much ado to put a stop to their Fury, upon his refusal of their insolent Offers. But when the Corps of the young Prince was carri'd to *Fronfard*, where he was to be entomb'd, the Catholics could not be hinder'd from sacrificing several of the Reformed to his Ghost, notwithstanding the presence of the Count of St. *Paul* himself, whose menial Servants join'd themselves with the Catholics. Nor were they suppress'd, till they had in some measure appeas'd their bellowing Rage with the Aronements of Blood and Plunder. However the Count, to shew that he by no means approv'd such Acts of Violence, caus'd one or two to be hang'd. Nevertheless, I know not what excuse he could make for his Indulgence to his Servants, whose punishment would have bin much more exemplary, then that of any one cull'd out of the multitude. But the Sedition at *Lion* could not be so soon pacifi'd, where it brake forth most violently upon the 27<sup>th</sup> of *September*. It began among the Rabble, intermix'd with Lacqueys, who seeing a Reformed pass along in the Piazza of the Grey Friars, where he liv'd, began to abuse him, but he made his escape to a Neighbour's house. However, his Goods were plunder'd and burnt ; at what time some others of the Reformed crossing the Piazza in like manner, were set upon, and most injuriously handl'd by the same Canaille. There was then a certain new word, which was become in fashion, and which the Catholics had always in their mouths, when they had a mind to affront one of the Reformed. The word *Huguenot* was grown so stale, that they were accustomed to it ; and many very prudent and moderate People made use of it as a word equivalent to that of *pretended Reformed*. But instead of that, they afterwards invented another, which the Rabble swallow'd with extraordinary greediness. This was the pleasing Nickname of *Parpaillets* ; the Original of which word lies very obscure. Some assert, that the first time it was made use of, was at the Siege of *Clairac*. The Garison, say they, made a Sally one night, and to the end they might distinguish each other in the medley, they put their Shirts over their Cloaths ; which made the King's Soldiers, by whom

The Original of Parpaillets

1622. whom they were repuls'd, give'em the Nickname of *Parpaillots*, because that under that dress, they resembl'd Butterflies which have white wings, and of which there were great numbers flying about the Fields at that time: For the Vulgar in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* call those little Insects *Parpaillets*, or *Parpaillots*. This word being pronounc'd by some in view of the Soldiers as they march'd out of *Clairac*, was taken up by others, and in a moment spread over the whole Army; from whence it flew over all the Kingdom where the Soldiers were quarter'd. Nor were there many places in *France* where this word was more in use then at *Paris*, and it miss'd but very little of being as common in *Guyenne*; which renders that Province the most likely place from whence the word was first of all deriv'd.

Others refer it to some Surprizes of the Reformed, who either innocently or imprudently fell into the Snares that were laid for'em. And some making the Original of this word almost as ancient as the Civil Wars, refer it to the simplicity of the Reformed Chieftains, who went to *Paris* under the Pretence of the Marriage of the Prince of *Navarre*, to lay themselves at the mercy of their Enemies. For that upon the Massacre which ensu'd, they were compar'd by those People who insulted over their Credulity, to Butterflies, that fly of themselves to burn in the Candle. And because the Comparison might first of all perhaps be made by some one that liv'd in the Country where those Insects are call'd *Parpaillots*, therefore the *Gascon* word was retain'd, in derision, rather then the *French*. There are others who derive the word, with probability enough, from the white *Mandillions* which the Reformed wore in the first Wars; more especially in that which the Prince of *Condé* began, by his attempt upon *Meux*. Those white *Mandillions* behav'd themselves so well at the Battel of *Paris*, in the judgment of the *Turkish* Envoy, who beheld the Combat from the walls of the City, that he wish'd his Master but Six thousand such as they, to subdue the whole world. That sort of Habit was the reason that they were call'd *Papillons*, or *Parpaillots*, in *English* Butterflies, in regard their best men came from that Province where that word is in use. These Derivations might seem  
natural

natural enough, were it certain that the word was known long before the Wars of *Levis XIII.* But some derive it from an Original less noble, and say, that among those who were executed after the taking of Towns, some poor Wretch or other at the time of his approaching death, with an assurance that his Soul, so soon as it parted from the Body, should fly to Heaven, made use of the comparison of a *Papillon* or Butterfly; which being ridicul'd by the Spectators, they took an occasion from thence, to call all the Reformed *Parpaillots*, or *Butterflies*.

However it were, certain it is, that the Reformed were highly offended at this Nickname; nor did they look upon the word *Huzenot* as half so great an Affront. And indeed there are two things of which it is equally difficult to give a reason; the Original of certain words, which of a sudden become universally in use, though no body can tell either who was the Author, or what was the occasion; and the *Idea* of the Injury which People believe attends the use of 'em.

Thus the word *Hust* in *Normandy* was a Reproach which the vulgar sort of People threw upon the Reformed. Nevertheless, the word in it self has no signification, and concerning the Original of which, I never could hear but ridiculous Stories without any probability; however the word was lookt upon as very seditious. And I have seen Petitions presented to the Magistrates, which have produc'd Informations, Sentences and Decrees of Parliament, which forbid the use of that word, the onely Crime mention'd in the Complaint.

'Twas the same thing with the word *Parpaillot*, of which the Reformed complain'd as of a heinous Injury, though perhaps they would have found it a hard task to have told what was so offensive in it, unless it were that they from whose foul mouths it came, spoke it with a design to affront 'em.

The Reformed then being assail'd at *Lion* by that seditious Rabble, were, among other foul language, call'd *Parpaillots*, and threaten'd with the Halter. To which, while some were a little too forward to return as good as the other brought, they enflam'd the fury of those that were already sufficiently heated, and whose number was already swell'd to three or four thousand, by the concurrence of *Lacqueys*, Children, and the *Rifrast*

1622. of the People; so that at last, they broke into the houses of the Reformed, plunder'd whatever was of value, burnt what they could not carry away, beat, wounded and kill'd several of those that fell into their hands. This Fury lasted three days; neither the Magistrates, nor the Governor being able to stop the Career of those Violences. And yet, to say the truth, considering the condition the City was in at that time, they must needs have bin very remiss, or else it ne're could have bin so difficult a matter to have reduc'd that *Canaille* to reason. For *d'Alincourt*, the Governor of the City, had his Guards, the City was divided into Quarters, which had every one their Captains and their Streamers, and could have easily rais'd men enow to have dispers'd those Rakehells. The Queen and the Queen-mother were both at *Lion*, together with the Bishop of *Luson*, soon after made a Cardinal, with some Soldiers to guard 'em. But at *Lion*, as well as at *Paris*, they were much afraid of spilling Catholic Blood. Otherwise, they might have drawn together a little Army able to have done much more, then stop the Insolence of a handful of Lacqueys. But they would not take any other course to suppress the Mutineers then by Remonstrances; and perhaps they would not have put themselves to the trouble of giving 'em any molestation, had they not bin afraid lest the Rabble, having once tasted the sweets of Pillage, should have flown upon the Catholics, after they had got what they could from the Reformed. All the severity of the Magistrate went no farther then to place Guards in some places, and to threaten some of the most tumultuous to send 'em to Prison. At length indeed the Queenmother caus'd herself to be carri'd to the place where the disorder was most violent, and then the seditious Rout, already almost aweary, began to retire. But there was no body punish'd for all this Insolence but the Reformed; for instead of giving 'em satisfaction, *d'Alincourt* disarm'd 'em. Nor was there any care taken to revenge the death of those that were massacr'd, or to repair the damages of those who had bin plunder'd and burnt. Nay, they were made believe, they had a great Favour done 'em, that so much care had bin taken to prevent their being torn in pieces by the multitude. As for the Catholics, there were some indeed committed

The Re-  
formed  
disarm'd.



to Prison, but releas'd agen in a few days after, without either Fine, or any other punishment. The only harm that was done 'em, was only their being forbid to use the word *Parpaillot* for the future. A little violent Rhetoric would have made these Acts of Injustice look very odious. And had the Reformed happen'd to have done such a thing in the very sight of both their Queens, all the blood in their bodies would not have suffic'd to have expiated their Crime.

While the King lay before *Mompelien*, the Count of *Soissons* press'd hard upon *Rochel* by Land, and the Duke of *Guise* by Sea; and that potent City was every way hard beset. The Count laid the Foundations of *Fort-Lewis*, which was like to prove a great Annoyance to it, in regard it commanded the Channel; so that the Sea was no longer open to her, nor could she be reliev'd on that side but with great difficulty. Nevertheless the Assembly stood their ground, and issu'd forth the best Orders they could for the support of the common Cause. They held Correspondences in several places, and sometimes some of the Nobility, and some Soldiers of good Note, got into the City to defend it. However, several of their Enterprizes had no success; and though *Rochel* had bin the occasion of sufficient damages to the Royal Army and Navies both by Sea and Land, she was at last reduc'd to fight for her own Walls. The Duke of *Soubise*, after the Overthrow he had receiv'd, went into *England*, and left no Stone unturn'd to procure some considerable Succor from the King; but that Prince, always obstinate in his Maxims, would not hear a word of it, but forbid his Subjects to assist the Reformed, whom he made no scruple to call Rebels. Nevertheless he offer'd his Intercession with the King of *France*, for obtaining a tolerable Peace between him and his Subjects. In short, he order'd his Ambassadors to make it their business, as he had done before, when *Montauban* was besieg'd, where *Hay* his Envoy had already made some Overtures; and when the Conditions were resolv'd upon as a ground work for entring into a Treaty, he earnestly prest the Duke of *Rohan* and the *Rochellers* to submit to 'em. In the mean time the *English* were not of his mind as to the War of *France*: for they gave such considerable Assistance to the Duke

*Soubise*  
solicits for  
Succor in  
*England*.

1622. *Soubise*, that he got together a Fleet of ten or twelve Sail, laden with all things necessary for the relief of *Rochel*. But that Fleet was unfortunately cast away in the Harbor before it set Sail; so that when the Duke came to take shipping, he found nothing but the ruins of his warlike Preparations, and all the marks of a terrible Shipwrack.

But before *Mompelie*r, things did not succeed according to the King's Wishes. The City held out stoutly; the Season spent apace; and the ill success of the Siege of *Montauban* was not forgot; and though on the one side, the Reformed had reason to fear that the King at last would take the City; on the other hand, the King had as much reason to believe that he should be forc'd to lose all his labour, and go without it. These Fears, on both sides, bent their Inclinations to Peace: but the Prince of *Condé* would by no means so much as hear talk of it, and therefore the design of concluding it, was to be kept private from him. *Lesdiguières*, created Constable but a little before, undertook the Negotiation once again, and after several Obstacles surmounted, which had like, several times, to have dash'd the whole Negotiation to pieces, at length it was decreed, and the Constable came to the Army to put a final end to it. One of those things which occasion'd the greatest trouble, was, that the King would needs enter into the City, and that the Inhabitants were afraid that if they did admit him, he would make 'em pay dear for the Expences of so long a Siege. Nevertheless, the King disdaining to promise one of his Cities, by a formal Treaty, that he would not have entrance into it, there was a necessity of endeavouring to persuade the Inhabitants to submit. To this purpose the Duke of *Rohan* had leave to enter, and make the Proposal to the Citizens. He did so; but whether he undertook that Commission rather to inform himself of the true state of the Town, then to persuade the People to a good liking of the Proposal; or whether it were, that he could not remove out of their minds the fear of being made a new Example of the Infidelities of the Court, he return'd, without being able to obtain the Consent of the City to admit the King. Upon that, he promis'd to send 'em Relief, because the Town was in great want of men: but he met with so many

ny difficulties, after the Duke of *Vendome's* and the Constable's 1622.  
men were arriv'd in the King's Camp, that at length he resolv'd  
upon a Peace.

Thereupon it was concluded in despite of the Prince of *Condé*, who for madness, to see that he had so little Credit, and that an Affair of such Importance should be conceal'd from his knowledge, quitted the Court, and travell'd into *Italy*. On the other side, the Duke of *Rohan*, with the Commissioners of *Cevennes*, *Nimes*, and *Uzès*, came to *Mompellier*; and the 19th of *October* the Edict of Peace was publish'd in the Camp before *Mompellier*. This Edict was set forth in the Form of a Pardon, wherein the King, before all things, took care to assert the Justice of his Arms taken up against the Reformed; whose Rebellions he ascrib'd to the Artifices of those who thought to make advantage of their Simplicity, and the Troubles of the State; and he took God to witness that his Intention had always bin to procure the Peace and Welfare of his Subjects. After which, he declar'd that he had granted a Peace upon the humble Petitions and Supplications of the Reformed, who had besought it by their Commissioners sent on purpose, together with a Pardon for their Offences. By this Peace he confirm'd the Edicts not only of the deceased King, but his own. He likewise confirm'd the Secret Articles; but he added the word *Enregister'd*, wherein he had an Aim that no-body mistrusted; and which was afterwards the foundation of many Cavils. He re-setled the *Roman* Religion in several places where the exercise of it had bin interrupted, and restor'd to the Ecclesiasticks their Tenths, their Revenues, and their Houses. He also re-establish'd the Reformed Religion in places where it had bin disturb'd by the War. He ordain'd that the Cities remaining in the hands of the Reformed, preserving their ancient Fortifications, should demolish their new ones; for which they gave Hostages; and he forbid the fortifying of any place, under any pretence whatever. He extend-ed the benefit of the Peace to all those that would submit in fifteen days after publication of the Edict. He put down all Politic Assemblies, if they were not authoriz'd by his Express Permission; but he consented to their holding Consistories,  
Collo-

*The Treaty  
concluded  
with an  
Edict.*

1622. Colloquies and Synods, according to custome, provided that nothing were handl'd therein but meerly Ecclesiastical Affairs. He granted an Act of Oblivion for all that had happen'd since the first of *January* 1621, as full, and with the same Restrictions as that which had been granted by the 76th, 77th, and 86th Articles of the *Edict of Nantes*. He added a particular Amnesty for what had happen'd at *Privas*, wherein he comprehended *Brisson*, who had been the Author of those Commotions, and who had kept his ground there ever since the beginning of the year. As for the Accompts, and the Sentences or Decrees that had bin issu'd out against the Reformed who had born Arms, they were regulated according to the Articles of the *Edict of Nantes*, that mention'd the same things; and the Judgments pronounc'd between Persons of their Party by the Judges settled in the Provinces by Authority of the Chieftains, were confirm'd; the Prisoners on both sides were releas'd without Ransom. All Persons of what quality soever were restor'd to their Estates, their Dignities and Employments. The observation of this *Edict* was regulated according to the Form prescrib'd by the 82d Article of *Nantes*; and the King promis'd to send Commissioners into the Provinces to see it duly executed.

Right of  
Parla-  
ments.

This *Edict* free'd from much trouble a great many Persons, against whom the Parliament had issu'd forth very severe Decrees, which were put in execution without mercy. Thus the Unfortunate *Lessius*, who had been proscrib'd at the beginning of the Troubles, not being able to escape his being surpriz'd at *Bordeaux*, was put to death, in pursuance of a Decree set forth against him the 18th of *May*. For they thought it more proper and more agreeable to their nature, to look upon his Actions as Acts of Rebellion against his Prince, then effects of Zeal for his Religion and Countrey. He was suspected for one of those who had a great share in the Intrigues of the Reformed, and they coupl'd him with *Chamier*, who was slain at the Siege of *Montauban*, and *Hautefontaine*, who liv'd with the Duke of *Rohan*. The Parliament of *Rennes* no less violent then that of *Bordeaux*, had upon the 10th of the same Month issu'd forth a most terrible Decree against the Marquess *de la Muce*,



*Muce*, and *le Noir* his Minister. They condemn'd 'em for Con- 1622.  
tumacy to the \* *Amende Honorable*,

and to be drawn by four Horses. Their Posterity was degraded, and declared Peasants: *de la Muce's* Houses

and Castle were demolish'd, and his Wood cut down to the heighth of a Man. Moreover, their Goods were confiscated, and themselves fin'd the Sum of Ten thousand *Livres*, and Six thousand *Livres* to be bestow'd upon some Churches and Monasteries. *La Muce* was also levell'd with the Earth; though in Decrees of Contumacy the Proceedings were not wont to be so swift: But in regard the persons condemn'd were out of the Parliament's reach, they were discharg'd for an Execution in *Effigie*. There were also several other very Rigorous Decrees according to the Passionate Humour of the Parlements, which were to take cognizance of the Parties accus'd. Nay, the Duke of *Rohan* himself had bin declar'd a State-Criminal by a particular Decree made on purpose. However they spar'd him, while the Constable *de Luines* liv'd; but after his death a Declaration was publish'd against the Duke and his Adherents; yet though it came forth 27th of *December* of the preceding year, it was not verif'd till the fourth of *July*, 1622. So that the Duke bore Arms above a year against the King, made himself master of several Places, reliev'd *Montauban*, and committed all manner of Hostilities all the while, before he was us'd as a Rebel.

This Peace prov'd very honourable for the Duke of *Rohan*, The Adv-  
who notwithstanding that the Reformed had lost about fourscore vantages  
Towns, was yet in a condition to gain a General Peace, which of this  
the King had refus'd at the Siege of *Montauban*; but the Private  
Private Articles were still more to his advantage than the General  
General. The remaining Places were left in the hands of the Re-  
formed, not under the Title of Security, Marriage or Hostage,  
but by way of free Gift, and voluntary Concession; which did  
but only alter the name, not the thing. 'Tis true, that the  
King would no longer tye himself to pay the Garisons, nor  
what was due for the time past, as the Sums promis'd either  
by himself, or his Father, for the Salaries of the Ministers:

Yet

\* That is, to walk barefoot and bare-headed through the Street with a burning Taper in their hands to some publick place, and there to acknowledg their Offence.

1622. Yet he gave 'em some hopes that he would pay 'em for the future : But that Article was ill observ'd as well as the rest.

By a particular *Brevet*, the King promis'd that he would neither keep any Garison, nor erect any Citadel at *Mompellier* ; that the City should remain in the Custody of the Consuls ; and that there should be no Innovation, other then the demolishing of the new Fortifications : which Breif was deliver'd to the Duke of *Rohan*, who lodg'd it in the Consul's hands. By other Breifs, permission was given that *Rochel* and *Montauban* should preserve their Fortifications in the same condition as they stood ; and that the Works about *Nimes*, *Castres*, *Uzez*, and *Milhau*, should be but half demolish'd. But when that Article about the demolishing of the Fortifications came to be put in execution, notice was giv'n to the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, that the Reformed went to work after such a manner, that by dismantling their Cities, they made 'em better and stronger then before : so that upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of *December* there came forth a Decree, which forbid those counterfeit dismantlings : which was the reason that that same Article of the Edict was laid aside, and the places left in the same condition as the Peace found 'em.

Nor did the Parliament verify the Edict of Peace but with several Qualifications. The Parliament of *Paris*, instead of the words, *Cities of the pretended Reformed Religion*, put in, *Cities held by those of the pretended Reformed Religion* : and in the room of the words, *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, they alter'd 'em into, *Affairs concerning the Regulations of the said pretended Reformed Religion*. These petty Niceties however display'd no signs of Embitterment : But the Parliament of *Bordeaux* laid about 'em with the same passionate Fury as they had shewn during the Frenzies of the League. They veri'd the Edict, without approving any other then the Catholic Religion, or admitting the words, *Ecclesiastical Affairs*. They ordain'd that the dismantling of their Towns should be continu'd, till it were thoroughly finish'd ; that such Judgments as were in favour of the Catholics, should stand good ; but that those which were advantageous to the Reformed, should be revokable upon a bare Petition ; and that no Foreigners should be capable of being Ministers in the Kingdom.

dom. These affected Severities in the Verification of an Edict, might well be lookt upon as a Prefage, that the Repose which it contributed to the Kingdom, would not be of long continuance. 1622.

Nevertheless, all the Cities which had join'd together in the common Cause, accepted of the Peace, though there were some that were afraid of the Consequence. *Privas*, and *Brisson*, who had held it out, notwithstanding the Conquests which *Chastillon* had suffer'd the Duke of *Mommorancy* to make in the Neighbouring parts, came in upon the general Conditions. *Montauban* proud of having held out a Siege where the King was in person, and of preserving her Fortifications as a Trophy of her Victory, accepted the Conditions also. *Rochel* prest by Sea and Land, and fearing to be assailed by the whole strength of the Kingdom, if she refus'd the Conditions propos'd, submitted to the Count of *Soissons*, who commanded the King's Forces that attack'd her. However, the Duke of *Guise*, though well inform'd that the Peace was concluded, adventur'd to engage the Fleet of that City; and because he could not find out a way to excuse that Action, which cost a great deal of Blood on both sides, 'twas given out that *Rochel* knew it as well as he, and that she would not have accepted the Peace, had she got the better. To say truth, her loss was not so great, but that she was still in a condition to appear formidable. And it may be said, that her damage consisted in this, that the least losses of a City, that has no other assistance to trust to but her own, are always considerable, rather than in her receiving any great harm by the King's Fleet. But after the tidings of the Peace, all Acts of Hostility ceas'd, and the City thought her self deliver'd from all her fears of a long Siege. *Uzez*, *Nimes*, *Milchau*, all the rest of the Cities obey'd, and flatter'd themselves with seeing the Edicts better observ'd for the future, than hitherto they had bin.

*All the Cities accept the Peace.*

But Catholic Zeal had not yet alter'd her Characters: nor was it lawful for the Council to make a Peace of that nature, but with a resolution to violate it. One of the first effects of the Infidelity of the Court, was her defrauding the most part of the Defenders of the common Cause, and denying 'em the Re-

*Ill observ'd by the Court.*

1622. compences which had bin promis'd em ; for the performance of which Promises they never had bin urgent. The King thought that the Peace which he had granted to all the Reformed, had disingag'd him from the Promises which he had made to particular men, meerly to retain 'em in their obedience. Nor would many People have murmur'd at this piece of Infidelity, had they stopp'd there : and it was agreed on all sides, that they who had sold for ready money, the Towns that were the security of their Religion and their Consciences, deserv'd no better usage : but the Court-Designs soon after broke out into Frauds of higher importance. For they had promis'd the *Rocheleois* to demolish the Fort which the Count of *Soissons* had built, to curb and annoy the City. But they were so far from observing that Article, that the Fort was not finish'd till after the Peace was made : nor could all the Complaints of the *Rocheleois* obtain any other then feigned Commands to demolish it ; of which, they to whom they were sent, had private Orders to take no notice.

Among the secret Conditions which were granted to the City of *Mompelien*, there was a Promise made to the Inhabitants, that the King should not enter with above four Colours of Foot, which should march out back again with him. To elude which Promise, the whole Regiment of Guards was order'd to enter in under no more then four Colours, unworthily abusing the ambiguous signification of the word ; though, as time has made it out, the word *Colours* or *Ensign*, signifies much more usually in common speech, a Company of Soldiers marching under one Ensign, then the Colours or Ensign it self. But they carri'd the Fraud yet higher ; and to enforce the Inhabitants to suffer a Garison, 'twas thought fit to demand Hostages of 'em, for security of the Commissioners which the King intended to leave there, under pretence of looking after the demolishing of the Fortifications : and the number of Hostages was so great, of which there must be so many that had no kindness for the Court, or well affected to the Reformed Religion, that they were equally terrifi'd with the choice and the number. Besides, that Proposal was made 'em with such an air, as made it sufficiently apparent that Hostages were demanded of 'em to no other purpose,



pose, then to make 'em redeliver the Breif which exempted 'em <sup>1622.</sup> from admitting a Garison, and which made 'em afraid that if they did not provide for themselves, they shou'd be forc'd not only to give Hostages, but receive a Garison also. At last some People, who had bin none of the most zealous during the War, affected a servile compliance with the good will and pleasure of the Court, in hopes of reconciling themselves to the King, and made it their business with great fervency to discourage others, so that they accepted a Garison, and thought it their duty to receive it, though they had a mortal reluctancy against it, as if it had bin a favour done 'em to abuse and then laugh at 'em.

Nor did the Court stop here; the Consulship of *Mompelien* was intermix'd half Catholics, half Protestants, and a Citadel moreover erected.

In the mean time the King return'd to *Paris*, and in his march <sup>The King's return to Paris.</sup> took from the Reformed all those places which were under their Government. The Constable, though he were turn'd Catholic, could hardly preserve his own in the Dauphinate. Nay, he had bin despoil'd of 'em, had not his Son-in-law, *Crequi*, promis'd to resign 'em after his death. The Adviser of these tart Proceedings was *Puiseux*, who began to grow into favour. The death of the Cardinal *de Retz*, who possess'd a great share of the Royal Authority, and the absence of the Prince of *Condé*, who shar'd another part, gave him an opportunity to engross the whole; and as if the King had bin weary of governing alone, he resign'd himself up almost without any limitations, into the hands of this new Favourite. The *Spaniards* had already got the Ascendant over him, and had insus'd into him their own Politics. The Court of *Rome*, which at that time acted only by Concert with the House of *Austria*, supported those Foreign Maxims to the utmost of their Power: so that *Puiseux*, full of Veneration for those two Potentates, did nothing but with a design to render himself their Minion, and who was therefore solely guided by their Counsels. And indeed till then there was a certain kind of Fatality which intangl'd the Favourites in Foreign Interests: As if they could have erected their Grandeur upon a better Foundation, by corresponding with an Ene-

1622. mies Court, then upon the good-will of their Sovereign, and the prosperity of his Affairs.

*The Bishop  
of Lulun  
made a  
Cardinal.*

But this Favour lasted not long; for while it seem'd to be almost Battery proof, there was an Alteration prepar'd for him, which no body suspected in the least: For the Queen-Mother had not quench'd as yet her violent thirst of Rule; and in regard she had a great confidence in the Bishop of *Lulun*, she us'd her utmost endeavour to advance him, persuaded that he would be so grateful for her Favours, as always to depend upon her. That Prelat had wound himself into the King's good opinion, because he had more then once contributed to patch up the Differences between him and the Queen his Mother, whose restless spirit gave him cause of vexation enough: so that he was lookt upon with a favourable Aspect by both sides, and both Parties thought themselves beholding to him for what he only did to gratify his own Ambition. So that he readily obtain'd of the Queen-mother the utmost of her endeavours to put the King upon demanding a Cardinal's Cap for him; nor did the King make any great scruple to consent to her Request. Nevertheless, this Negotiation held off and on for above two years before it took effect, as being thwarted, perhaps, by those that were unwilling by so fair and proper a means to hand a man of his *Genius* into Authority. But the Sollicitation was redoubl'd this year so luckily and so effectually, that the Pope granted the Cap to this Bishop at the beginning of *September*. As for the Bishop, he had waited the success of the Nomination with extraordinary Impatience, despairing almost of success, by reason that *Puiseux* seem'd to him a dreadful Enemy, and such an one in whose power it was to put a stop to his Pre-ferment, more especially because his Kinsman *Silleri* was then Ambassador at *Rome*. So that the News could not chuse but be a pleasing Surprize to him.

*The Cha-  
racter of  
that Pre-  
lat.*

Nor could the towering *Genius* of that Prelat hinder him from being extremely sensible of the Impressions of unexpected Events; and he was no less prone to commit great Absurdities, when he had not time to compose himself. Never was any man less the Master of his first Transports. But he was so lucky, that he easily got time enough to recollect himself; and he was so dextrous,

dextrous, that he never let the opportunity slip. So that he seem'd to have a heart that nothing could surprize, and which was equally provided against all Accidents. I shall here relate what was told me upon this occasion, by one of the most considerable persons in the Court of *France*. There was at the Court of *Savoy* a *French* Gentleman who had bin forc'd to quit that of *France*, by reason of some distaste which he had given to the Bishop of *Luson*. That Gentleman, who passionately fought all means to be reconcil'd to the Bishop, was in the Duke of *Savoy's* presence when the Courier, who brought the News of the Promotion of Cardinals, came to present him with the Letters: which were immediately open'd by reason of the Curiosity, which is common to all Courts, to know the names of those whom the Pope has advanc'd to that Dignity: and then it was that the Prince read aloud the names of four who had a share in that Honour. But then the Gentleman hearing the Bishop of *Luson's* name, began to consider with himself, whether if he should be the first that carri'd him the tidings, it might not be enough to restore him to his favour: and thereupon finding he had time enough to get before the Courier, he took Horse immediately, and made such speed, that he got to *Lion* two hours before the Courier.

Presently away he went directly to the Bishop's Apartment, who was no less surpriz'd at his Arrival, then to see him at his feet. But when he understood from the Gentleman the News of his Promotion, and how he came by his Intelligence, he abandon'd himself to such an excess of Joy, and after such an unusual manner, as if the giving him the Cap, had depriv'd him of his Reason. He forgot all the gravity and *decorum* of his Character, and display'd his satisfaction by motions and gestures so unbecoming a man of his Age and Quality, that the Gentleman was more afraid of his hatred then ever, as having bin so unfortunate to be the Witness of a piece of weakness which the Bishop had reason to be asham'd of as long as he liv'd. But after a little time had giv'n the first transports of his Joy leave to evaporate, the Bishop deliver'd him out of his fears, and only very seriously admonish'd him not to let any body know what he had seen, nor to appear at Court till the Courier was arriv'd.

But

1622. But though the Gentleman were very trusty in observing the last Injunction, he could no more forbear his disobedience to the latter than *Midas's* Barber. In the mean time, the Bishop came to himself agen, and had time to compose the Disorders of his mind ; so that when the Queen sent for him, to impart the welcome News to him, he receiv'd it with such a careless Hypocrisy, as if his Soul had bin above such a Transitory Dignity. That Gravity, which he had had time to study, begot him a world of Admiration, and caus'd the Courtiers to speak many things in his commendation. Thus many times in Eminent Persons, the Hits of Chance are imputed to Prudence ; Prosperity is admir'd as the Architecture of the Man's Genius, and the Praises belonging to Vertue, are bestow'd upon outward Appearances.

Excessive  
Flatteries.

The King lay then before *Mompelien* when the New Cardinal came to pay him his returns of Thanks, so that he could not give him the Bonnet till after the Peace, when he return'd to *Paris*. I would repeat the Prodigious Flatteries of those that harangu'd the King all along where he lay upon the Road, did I not find that the Reformed imitated the Catholics ; and strove to outvy 'em in their Excesses and Hyperbole's. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to say something of the Consul *Montelimar*, who extended the extravagance of his Style, and his Eulogies, farther then any other. He insisted upon the *Divine Aspect* and presence of the King : He attributed to him Vertues that *Heaven* rever'd, and the *Earth* ador'd, and a Life so holy in the midst of *Crowned Exaltation*, and *Royal Grandeur*, that he deserv'd both the *Altars* and *Sacrifices* of *Sacred Veneration*. These Fulsome Flatteries are either the Effects or Forerunners of Pusillanimous Servitude ; and Subjects renounce their right of complaining that their Sovereign exalts his Power above Justice, when they make him more then mortal by such soaring Adulations. Which is the reason that now-a-days we find that Flattery has no bounds, where the People have lost their Liberty beyond recovery.

While the King lay at *Lion*, whither the Duke of *Rohan* follow'd him to solicit the performance of the Treaty of Peace, the Commissioners from *Rochel* arriv'd there the same time, to obtain



tain an Order for demolishing *Fort Lewis*. 'Tis true, they receiv'd some shew of satisfaction, because they had a Letter given 'em under the Privy Signer, directed to *Arnaud* Commander of the Fort, wherein he was order'd to level it with the ground within eight days after the *Rochelois* had dismantl'd some of their New Fortifications. But at the same time there was another Letter written, which was sent by a shorter way, wherein *Arnaud* was order'd to give no credit to the former Letter. So that when the *Rochelois* deliver'd him the Letter which their Commissioners had brought, they were scornfully us'd, and return'd without any hopes of satisfaction. Soon after also, notwithstanding these Counterfeit Letters from the Court, they saw quite finish'd what remain'd to be done, in order to putting the Fort into a perfect posture of defence. On the other side *Valencé*, who was left by the King in *Mompelie*r, with a considerable Garison, endeavour'd to make himself Master of some places in *Cevennes*, under pretence of quartring some Soldiers that were only upon their march through the Countrey. Upon which the Cities of *Sauve* and *Gange*, either too credulous, or because they had not sufficient warning, gave the Soldiers admittance. But the Duke of *Rohan* took such care, that the rest preserv'd themselves from being so surpriz'd.

Soon after, the Duke went to *Mompelie*r, to regulate some things which *Valencé*, to whom, in his return from *Lion*, he carry'd a Letter from the King which concern'd the Execution of the Peace; But no sooner was he enter'd the City, but *Valencé* being inform'd of his Travailing by himself, and by consequence, having had leisure to prepare himself for such an Action, seiz'd upon him as his Prisoner. His Pretence was, That he was come to raise Commotions and that he did not pursue the Intentions of the Court in the Execution of the Peace. 'Tis true indeed, he was not privy to the Intentions of those who never made the Peace but with a design to break it: He observ'd the Terms of the Declaration and Briefs: But *Valencé*, who was *Puisieux's* Brother-in law, better understood the Mystery. That Minister had promis'd the Pope's Nuntio, That the Peace should serve to no other end then to ruin the Reformed; and he made use of all the most palpable Frauds that could

1623.

*The Duke  
of Rohan  
detain'd  
Prisoner.*

1623. be devis'd, to bring it to pass. But the news of the Duke of Rohan's being detain'd a Prisoner, begat both astonishment and indignation in all the Reformed who had any thing of courage left ; and *Soubise* threaten'd to renew the War. Nor was the Court less astonish'd at the News, then they were in the Provinces : And the boldness of the Action appear'd so great, that they were in no small perplexity what course to take. There were some, who neither consider'd the King's Honour, nor the scandalizing all Europe, that were for putting the Duke to death : But Moderation was thought the better way : He was releas'd upon condition he should quit the City, and the Lower *Languedoc*, and execute his Commission in the Upper. This Proceeding of the Court may be attributed to several Reasons ; some will say, that it was insus'd into 'em by that little respect they had to Honesty and Sincerity, which would not permit 'em so publickly and egregiously to violate a Peace that had been so lately concluded ; or because they thought it not just, to ruin a Man of that importance as the Duke, who had done nothing which deserv'd death, since the Pardon that the King had granted him. On the other side, it may be said, That either they had not time to examine the Consequences of so violent an Action, or that they fear'd to arm against 'em all the Lords that had submitted to the King, if they us'd the Duke after such a manner as might give them just occasion to be afraid of the like usage upon the first opportunity that offer'd. Yet some have written, that none of these Motives induc'd the Court to release the Duke, but that the Interest of a Ball decided the Dispute. For the Queen had appointed one, wherein the Dutcheß of Rohan was to bear a part ; and every thing was ready, when the News of the Duke's Imprisonment arriv'd. Which Accident would have quite broken off the Match ; and the Queen must either have lost, or been forc'd to have deferr'd a Pastime she was just about to enjoy ; which would have bin a very great disappointment to a Princess of her Age : and therefore it was better to let an Enemy live, then disturb the Pleasures of a Young Queen. So that the Duke was more beholding for his Liberty to a Dancing Match, then to the Publick Faith.

In the mean time *Valence* made the best of this Accident : 1623. for while he kept the Duke in Prison, he proceeded to the Election of the Consuls, and caus'd the one half to be chosen Catholics ; as he had already done by the Marine Consulship, out of which he had taken out one half of the Reformed. Both the one and the other was against the express terms of the Breif, by which it was promis'd that no Innovation should be introduc'd into the Consulship : and there is great probability that the Duke of *Rohan* would have very much obstructed *Valence's* Enterprize, had not the latter prevented him by Imprisonment. But when the Duke was set at liberty he found the thing done, and the Order which oblig'd him to retire into *Upper Languedoc*, depriv'd him both of time and means to apply any Remedy. The Reformed complain'd, that *Valence* had made use of Violence in the electing what Consuls he thought fit himself ; and that he had kept the Consuls that were going out of their employments, a whole night Prisoners in his own house, to force their consent to the election of Catholics. But the Court took no notice of these Complaints ; and all that the Duke cou'd obtain from 'em was, that *Valence* shou'd recall the men that he had quarter'd up and down in *Cervennes*. *Valence's* Credit was then so great, that though he were no more then Governor of *Mompelie*r, he was consulted by all *Languedoc*, to know the secret intentions of the Court ; and that 'twas enough for him to say, that 'twas the King's pleasure that such or such a thing should be done, to have it put in execution. Orders of the same nature, given out of the Jurisdiction of his Government were obey'd, as if they had come from the King himself : and Acts, of which the purport only was, that *Valence* had written that the King's Pleasure was so or so, have pass'd in our days for definitive, in Affairs of great importance. Nevertheless it was both contrary to Probability and Custom, that the Governor of a particular Town, should be the Arbitrator of a whole Province. But in Affairs of Religion, 'twas enough to authorize Fraud and Injustice against the Reformed, for a Catholic to say, *Le Roy veut, 'tis the King's Pleasure*. As for the Duke of *Rohan*, when he was got clear of *Mompelie*r, he went to *Milbau*, where he understood that the Duke of *Espenon*, to whom the

I i i

King,

1623. King, a little before had giv'n the Government of *Guyenne* instead of that of *Saintonge* and *Aigoumois*, went about to hinder the Cities held by the Reformed in *Rouvergne*, to elect their Consuls as they were wont to do ; and that he had written to 'em not to make any new Elections, till they understood from his mouth the King's further Pleasure. But the Duke of *Rohan* explaining his Pleasure by the terms of the Peace, persuaded 'em to elect their Consuls at the usual times, and after that to send Commissioners to the Duke of *Esperson*, to know his Will. They took his Advice, and by that means preserv'd their right to keep the Catholics out of the Consulship.

General  
Papers.

But while things thus past in *Languedoc*, the general Commissioners, *Mommarton* and *Miniald*, who had been substituted in the rooms of *Flavus* and *Chalas*, present a Paper to the King, wherein they demanded several things necessary for the preservation of Peace. It consisted of Twenty two Heads, the substance of which was, That Commissioners should be sent into the Provinces to see the Peace duly executed ; That the Garison might be remov'd out of *Mompelien* ; That the Brief which promis'd there should be no Innovation, might be observ'd ; That Fort *Lewis* might be demolish'd ; That the Reformed who had bin condemn'd to the Gallies, might be set at liberty ; That the Sums promis'd for the Ministers Salaries, for the slow state of Pensions, and the payment of the Garisons, might be discharg'd both for the time past and for the future ; That *Candal*, who had paid some money before-hand, might be reimburs'd ; That the King should provide for the payment of the Ministers of the Country of *Gex*, to whom there had been assign'd a Fund upon the Toll-money, in recompence of the Ecclesiastical Revenues which had bin taken from 'em ; That the King would be pleas'd to contribute something toward the rebuilding of the Church at *Charenton*, which was burnt down in the War-time ; That he would be pleas'd to cause the Church at *Tours* to be rebuilt at his own charges, in the same place where it stood before the Sedition, according to his promise ; That he would vouchsafe to let the Church of *Bourg* be rebuilt, notwithstanding that the Catholics disputed their Right to the Ruins of it ; That free Exercise of their Religion might be restor'd



restor'd to the Reformed at *Villemur, Fontain, Luson* and *Tal- 1623.*  
*mont*, in which places they had carri'd their Violences so high  
 against those that went about to assemble together, as to level  
 their great Guns against 'em ; That the same liberty should be  
 also allow'd at *Surgeres, Bagnols, St. Giles's, Figeac, Puymirol,*  
*Vic en Armignac*, from whence they had expell'd the Minister,  
 and lastly at *Quillibouf* in *Normandy* ; That the Reformed of  
*Poitiers* might be discharg'd from the payment of Twelve  
 hunder'd Livres, which had bin laid upon 'em by way of Tax  
 for the Guard of the City, though they would not do 'em the  
 honour to trust 'em with it, as they did the rest of the Inhabi-  
 tants ; That the Edict of Compensation might be executed in  
*Bearn*, and that the Exercise of the Reformed Religion might  
 be restor'd to the *Navarreines* ; And that the Churches, Bells,  
 Church-yards, which the Reformed enjoy'd there, by the Decree  
 of the Commissioners, might be preserv'd to 'em, since they  
 had resign'd all the rest to the Catholics ; That the Party Cham-  
 bers might set up again in those places where they had bin re-  
 stor'd, during the Wars ; That the Reformed might be exempted  
 from the building of Churches, to which the Catholics of *Ar-*  
*na le Duc* went about to constrain 'em ; actually prosecuting  
 'em at the Council-board, in order to have 'em comprehended  
 in the raising Six thousand Livres, design'd toward the building  
 of a Church for the *Capuchins* ; That the Church of *Remoren-*  
*rin*, burnt in the time of the War, and that of *Gergeau*, pull'd  
 down since the Peace, might be rebuilt ; That the Cities of *Ber-*  
*gerac* and *St. Fo* might be eas'd of several Grievances ; And  
 lastly, That for the re-establishing a mutual confidence between  
 both Parties, the Forces left in *Languedoc, Cevennes*, and other  
 places, might be disbanded

By the Answers that were return'd the 4<sup>th</sup> of *March* to the *Uncertain*  
 Heads of this Writing, there was nothing expressly granted, but *disputed*  
 an exemption from contributing toward the building of the *Ca-*  
*puchin's* Church, and the release of those who had bin con-  
 demn'd to the Gallies for having born Arms. All the rest con-  
 tain'd no more then uncertain and conditional Promises, or Re-  
 ferences to the Commissioners, who, as they were told in their  
 Answer to the first Head, were already upon the Road. There

1623. was only a Promise, that as to the Garison of *Mompelier*, care should be taken about it, so soon as satisfaction should be given to the Edict of Peace. The Alteration made in the Marine Consulship was confirm'd, as being groundd upon the definitive Decree of the Chamber of *Castres*; and for the Consulship of the City, 'twas referr'd to the usual Forms. As to the Article about the Toll-money, and the Affairs of *Bearn*, they were referr'd to the Breif of the 24<sup>th</sup> of *October*, which promis'd to take care of those matters. The Ministers of *Gex* were paid with general words. As to the rebuilding of the Churches of *Tours* and *Charenton*, the Reformed were referr'd to their own care and diligence. All the Articles that mention'd any places, or demanded free Exercise of Religion, were referr'd to the Commissioners: and by a Reference of the same nature, they evaded the Article touching *Fort Lewis*. The Article about the money advanc'd before-hand by *Candal*, was referr'd to a Petition which he was left at his own liberty to present himself: as to the Twelve hunder'd Livres which the Reformed were tax'd at *Poitiers*, their Answer was to be imparted to the Sheriffs; and they promis'd to write to the Duke of *Espernon* about easing the Grievances of *Bergerac* and *St. Foy*.

Exercise of  
Religion  
forbid.

But the most part of these Promises were so ill fulfill'd, that the Condition of the Reformed was never a whit the better: On the contrary, the exercise of their Religion was forbid in many other places, then those where it had bin interrupted by the War. Particularly the Duke of *Guize*, who had marry'd the Daughter of *Joyeuse* the *Capuchin*, forbid it at *Poiré*, a place depending upon the Principality of *Roche sur Yon*, which belong'd to himself. The Church groundd her Right upon a Possession well prov'd by the Terms of the Ninth Article of the Edict of *Nantes*: But then they began to demand the Consent of the Landlords, who were Catholicks, as a thing which was very necessary. So that the Parliament of *Paris* quite ruin'd that Church by their Edict of the 21<sup>st</sup> of *February*, allowing only to the Inhabitants a place for the burial of their Dead. There was also a Decree of Council, dated the sixth of *July*, which took away from the Reformed Members of the University of *Poitiers*,

*Poitiers*, their Right of being Rectors and Deans, of presiding in Assemblies, or of having any determining Voice in those where any Disputes were handled in reference to Divine Worship and Ecclesiastical Ceremonies. There was moreover one wicked piece of Fraud in that Clause, which tended to exclude the Reformed out of all Assemblies; in regard the Catholics of the Assembly being oblig'd to a Procession every Month, which they mention'd at the opening of all their Sessions, they concluded from thence, that the Reformed could not give their Voices upon any of those Occasions, because there was none of those Assemblies wherein Ecclesiastical Ceremonies were not handl'd. There was likewise another Decree of Council, dated the 19th of *August*, which forbid the Reformed to sing their Psalms either in the Streets, or in their Shops; a Liberty which they could not assume since that, without bringing trouble upon themselves; though many times the Catholics were asham'd of their setting forth Prohibitions of that nature. The Seventh of *September* came forth a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, which depriv'd a Reformed Soldier of the Benefit of an \* *Oblate*, which the King had granted him in the Abby of *St. Julian at Tours*. The Abbot oppos'd him, and a Catholick Soldier interpos'd his claim to that small Pension; by which means the Reformed Soldier was excluded by a disadvantageous Judgment given against him. But that which was most remarkable, was the Pleading of the Advocate-General *Talon*, full of Bitter Passages against the Reformed Religion. He call'd those that embrac'd it *Apostates* in down-right *Latin*: And to those who had always made profession of it, he appli'd the words of Christ, *It is not good to give the childrens bread to dogs*. To evade that Right to Charity and Alms, which the Edict had granted to the Reformed, he distinguish'd *Alms* into two sorts; the one which he call'd *Alms* of Charity, and the other which he term'd, *Alms* of Precept. He pretended that the Reformed were not to be admitted to the first by vertue of the Edict; and that they who receiv'd the benefit of *Oblates* were of the second sort. Which was a malicious distinguishing where the Law it self never made any distinction, and to teach others a general way to evade the most express Intentions of the Edict, by inventing a destructive

1623.

*The Benefit of a Monk's place assign'd a Soldier grown impotent and maintain'd in the King's Service.*

1623. destitutive Distinction. But every thing began to be of force against a Religion, of which they had vow'd the ruin. There were also several Decrees issu'd forth against the Authority of Fathers over the Education of their Children; and the Reason which they always alledg'd for taking away that Right, was, That in regard they had by some Express or Tacit Act consented that their Children should be educated by Catholics, they had renounc'd the priviledge of the Edict. This was the reason that the Advocate-General *Talon* refus'd to restore a Daughter to her Mother; because, said he, by having put her for some time into a Nunnery, she had resign'd the power of her Education.

*Attempts upon Paternal Authority.*

Nevertheless, these were not the greatest Acts of Injustice that were done the Reformed: I shall recite two that deserve particular consideration. The first is the Declaration which was set forth at *Fontain Bleau* the 17th of *April*, to deprive the Reformed of the Liberty of their Colloquies and Synods, which till then, were left 'em almost entire. By that Declaration it was ordain'd, that for the future, a Royal Officer, and of the *Roman Catholic Religion*, deputed by the King himself, or by the King's Governors and Lieutenants in the Provinces, should sit in those Assemblies, to take care that nothing should be there treated of, but Matters permitted by the Edict. It forbid the summoning or holding Assemblies, before the Commissioner was appointed; and commanded his admittance without any scruple or reluctance. Which Innovation was grounded upon two Pretences: The one, that they meddl'd with Politic Affairs in their Synods; the second was, that they gave admittance to other persons besides their Ministers and Elders; and that they took Resolutions contrary to the Intentions and Opinions of the generality and most considerable of the Reformed. However, the Reformed made no opposition to a Declaration of this importance, at least they carri'd it not very far; seeing that three months after, they held Synods in all the Provinces, and summon'd a National Synod at *Charenton*, to meet the first of *September*. They thought they might, by Submissions and Petitions, discharge themselves from this Restraint, more injurious by reason of the Motives which induc'd the other Party to

*A Declaration establishing a Commissioner in Colloquies and Synods.*

*National Synod.*

subject



subject 'em to it, then inconvenient, because of the necessity 1623. which lay upon 'em to expose to the view of the Court the Secret of their Discipline, and the display of their Policy. In a word, at first it many ways perplex'd 'em. For there were several Provinces where the Governors started a thousand Difficulties about the nomination of a Commissioner; and took that occasion to vex 'em, as most proper to exercise their malignant and no less ignorant Zeal against 'em. Insomuch, that all the Commissioners which arriv'd at *Charenton*, came not till after the day appointed for the sitting of the Assembly; and that several excus'd their slowness, as being occasion'd by the Obstacles and Delays, by means of which the King's Governors and Officers protracted the summoning of the Synods in their Provinces.

The Commissioner appointed by the King for this Synod was *Augustus Galind*, a person who lov'd the Reformed Religion, and whose Offspring of later years have given great Testimonies of their Zeal and Affection for the Truth. But he was one of those Reformed who made the Service of God and the King run almost equally parallel; and who persuaded themselves that a blind obedience of Subjects to their Prince was essential to Christianity. He believ'd that Sincerity was altogether on the Court-side: and he had reason to believe it, because his Religion was no hindrance to his Advancement, and his being made a Councillor of State. But he was not aware that this was but an effect of Policy, to cover the Design that was laid to ruin all; to heap Favours upon some, to lull others asleep, till they were in a condition to oppress all together. He therefore serv'd the Court with great Affection and Constancy; and in regard he drew from thence considerable Recompences for his good Service, he found himself expos'd to the Reproaches and Indignation of his Brethren. The Commission which was given him was worded so, as seem'd to render it perpetual, and made People conjecture that for the future there should be no National Synods held any other-where then at *Charenton*; to the end the Court might be more near at hand, to observe the Proceedings of those Assemblies. Nevertheless they were afterwards permitted to be held in other places.

1623.

*He is admitted in Obedience to the King.*

As for this Synod, they receiv'd him with respectful Protestations, that they did it out of pure Obedience: to which they added some Complaints, to see their Liberty so narrowly confin'd, and the Synods accus'd of going beyond their permitted Limits, by meddling with other Affairs then their Church-Discipline, and they decreed to make their humble Remonstrances to the King upon these Heads. The general Commissioners declar'd, that they had done what lay in their power to hinder the registering of the Declaration, which had bin drawn up and publish'd without any regard to what they had represented; though their Importunities had put off the verification of it for above a month. After this, they sent their Commissioners to the King, to return him thanks for his permission. The Commissioners were kindly receiv'd, and enjoin'd to assure the Synod of the King's good-will, if they continu'd in their Obedience. But he charg'd 'em by word of mouth to carry back two things. One, That the King was willing to tolerate such Foreign Ministers as were already admitted, but that he would not that any more should be admitted for the future. The other was, That he took it ill that they had resolv'd to uphold the Doctrine decided in the Synod of *Dort*, which he call'd a new Doctrine, which he would not afford his protection. To which the Commissioners return'd for answer, That that Doctrine was the same with their Confession of Faith. Whereupon Reply was made, That the King left the judgment of their Doctrine to themselves, nor would he concern himself with it; but that he did not understand the making any person swear to another man's Faith, or that any man should be depriv'd his liberty of believing what Faith he pleas'd; so that in those times there was a great latitude allow'd to Liberty of Conscience.

*They send Commissioners to the King.*

*Who return laden with Orders.*

*The Court inclin'd to favour the Arminians.*

It may be wonder'd from whence it should proceed, that the Court was so inclin'd to favour the *Arminians*. 'Tis not probable certainly, that they had any other reason then to make some great division, by giving free course to a Doctrine which had created so wide a chasm in the *Low Countries*. Besides the *Arminians*, who saw themselves quell'd and born down by the censure of their Doctrine, flatter'd the several Potentates, in hopes to raise themselves by means of their Protection, if it were possible.

sible. *Tilenus* proceeded to very great extremities upon this subject against the Reformed of *France*. He wrote against 'em upon all occasions, without any moderation or curb upon himself. Besides his Admonition to the City of *Rochel*, which he publish'd in 1621. he printed the next year an Answer to a Treatise which was attributed to *la Milletiere*, and which was entitl'd, *A Discourse of the true Reasons for which the Reformed of France both may and ought, in good Conscience, resist, by force of Arms, the open Persecution with which they are oppress'd*. The Author of that Discourse, after he has cited the History of *Brochard Baron*, which I have mention'd in another place, compares the Edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* to that of *Nantes*; those who exclaim'd against the first, to those that ruin'd the second; the Calumnies of those that sought to render *Cyrus* jealous of *Jerusalem*, to those that were made use of against the Protestant Cities. He distinguish'd the ancient and natural Subjects from those who had bin subdu'd. He asserted, That if the Rights of the latter could be ground'd upon no other then upon Concessions and Favours; the Immunities of the other were founded upon a relative Obligation of the King to his Subjects, and of the Subjects to their Sovereign. He said, that *Henry IV.* was bound to grant the Edict of *Nantes* by a two-fold Obligation: the one Personal, which oblig'd him to preserve those who had preserv'd himself: the other Royal, which engag'd him to maintain the Liberties of those who had supported his Crown. After this, he justifi'd the taking of Arms, and that there is sometimes a Reason for lawful Self-defence, upon which he forgot not to enforce the example of the *Maccabees*. He answer'd the contrary Arguments, and shew'd that the War proceeded from the Pope and his Maxims. He concluded with the necessity of expelling the Jesuits out of *France*, as they had bin driven out of *Venice*, and accus'd 'em of the King's death, and several other Assassinations.

*Writing of  
la Milletiere.*

*Tilenus* answer'd this Discourse by a Writing, wherein excepting the Portraiture which he gives of *Milletiere*, which is natural enough, it may be said that he had neither sincerity nor judgment. And a man may judge of it, by the ridiculous Answer which he gives to the Example of the *Maccabees*, and which he

*Answer of  
Tilenus.*

1623. thought to evade by saying, that the History that relates it was held at *Geneva* for Apocriphal, as if neither Examples or Reasons avail'd any thing in point of Policy or Right, if the Books out of which they were taken were not Canonical. Moreover, he makes an Apology for the Jesuits which justifies the Assassination of Kings: and with the audaciousness of a Missionary, he revives the reproach of having suborn'd *Simon de May*, hang'd at *Paris* for other Crimes, to attempt the murder of *Katherine de Medicis*. Nor did he forget *Poltror*, who assassinated the Duke of *Guise*; and fain would have one *Philip de Colombault*, *Sieur de Varcieux*, executed at *Paris* in the Court of the Palace, without any noise, and without expressing the cause, to be a Russian of the same stamp; grounding his Conjecture upon the privacy observ'd in his execution. He also spends a great deal of time, to prove that Kings are not bound to observe the Laws. Nor does he spare for Testimonies and Examples; and disinangles himself from the Testimonies on the other side, by saying, That a Prince is bound to go according to the Laws; but if he breaks 'em, it is not lawful to resist him: which is as much as to say in a word, that nothing obliges Sovereigns to the observance of the most sacred Laws; seeing there is no lawful means to defend the Laws in opposition to their violence, when they break 'em. Whence it follows, that every man who submits himself to a King, plainly renounces his own safety, since he only grounds it upon Equity and Probity; for which, it may so happen many times, that neither the Prince nor Counsellors have any regard. 'Tis for the People to consider whether such Politics as these are convenient for 'em.

Above all things, *Tilenus* advances the Authority of the Kings of *France* to the highest degree. The Emperor's Authority, in his Opinion, was much more limited. Nevertheless, all that the most powerful of Kings have ever aim'd at, has bin to be *Emperors in their own Dominions*; and those Lawyers who attribute the highest power to 'em, say nothing more of it. But that which might, beyond all this, encline the Court to protect the *Arminian* Theology, was the Imposture supported against the Synod of *Dort*: For they made *France* believe, that the secret Design of that Assembly, was to form a Protestant League

to

Imposture  
advanc'd  
against the  
Synod of  
Dort.



to destroy the Church of *Rome*. *Tilenus* also reveal'd this important Myſtery in his writing, and from thence concludes, That the King did very well not to permit the Miniſters of his Kingdom to go thither: as if ſuch a great Affair could not have bin reſolv'd upon for want of *French* Miniſters. It may be judg'd by theſe little Remarks what kind of Answer *Tilenus's* was; and at the ſame time, why the Court of *France* ſeem'd ſo averſe to the Doctrin of that Synod. 1623.

But I return to that of *Charenton*. They reſolv'd upon a punctual Obedience in reference to the two Articles, of which their Commiſſioners made their Report, reſerving to themſelves the liberty of addreſſing to the King for his permiſſion, when they had a deſire to ſend for any Foreign Miniſter. As for the Doctrin decided in the Synod of *Dort*, they order'd it to be ſworn to under the name of the Doctrin of the Synod of *Alets*, without any appearance in the wording of the Oath, that it had any relation to the Aſſembly of *Dort*. And the Articles of that Doctrin were printed, together with the Doctrin of the Synod; and they were cri'd publicly upon *Pont Neuf*: But they who were not pleas'd with thoſe deciſions, endeavour'd to diſparage 'em by a thouſand Obſervations, wherein Calumny was the Argument that carri'd the greateſt ſtroke. *The Obedience of the Synod of Charenton.*

The Commiſſioners had in charge to demand the reſettlement of Aſſignations which had bin given, and which were due for the preceding years: for thoſe which the Churches had obtain'd for the year 1621, were allotted to other uſes, nor had there bin any for the year 1622, and at firſt they had order'd bad ones for the preſent year: But *Candal* reſuſing to accept 'em, they order'd better. Nevertheleſs, becauſe they lay far remote, they demanded ſuch as were nearer at hand, and of which they might have a quicker benefit. At length the Commiſſioners obtain'd Forty thouſand Livres in ready money, for which they had Bills upon the Exchequer. They had alſo fair Promiſes for the future, but were put quite out of hopes for what was paſt. *Aſſignations ill paid.*

During the ſitting of the Synod, the King wrote a Letter to the Commiſſioner, dated *September 25*. and containing three things to be propos'd to the Synod. The firſt was, That the King would not give leave that either *Primroſe* or *Cameron*, *Propoſals made to the Synod by Galand.*

1623. whom the Catholics could not pardon the Affair of *Bourdeaux*, should exercise the Function of the Ministry, or profess Divinity in the Kingdom. He said, That that Exclusion was not grounded upon their being Foreigners, but upon Reasons that concern'd his service. The second was, That when the King permitted Politic Assemblies, it was his pleasure that no Ministers should be deputed. He alledg'd, That they were taken off from their proper Duties; and he added, that he could have wish'd they had prevented his Commands. But if they did not obey, he should by an express Declaration give farther Order about it; or else in the Brevets of Leave which he should grant 'em for holding their Assemblies. Nevertheless, he did not extend the Exclusion to the Pastors of the place, who had his permission to be present. The third was, That this Declaration of his Intentions should be inserted among the Acts of the Synod.

*A new Deputation to the King.*

The second Article was pass'd, because they saw well that it would be in vain to oppose it; and for that other Synods had already taken a Resolution conformable to it, which nevertheless had never bin observ'd. The third Article pass'd in the same manner: But they sent a new Deputation to the King upon the former, to beseech him that he would remit something of his Severity in favour of *Primrose* and *Cameron*. And that Affair made 'em also bethink themselves of *Moulin*, whom the Court would not permit to return into *France*. The King made Answer, That he did not think they would have repli'd, after he had both writ and said what he had done: That he had good Reasons, which the Synod would readily allow, if they understood what they were; nevertheless that he gave all the three Ministers leave to stay in the Kingdom, upon condition that for the present they forbore all manner of Exercise of their Functions: adding, that time would bring all things to pass. In short, *Cameron* was call'd next year to the Academy of *Montauban*, but dy'd within a little while after, before the second War brake out. *Du Moulin* returning from *England*, was discover'd at *Dieppe*, though in disguise, and had Orders to stop there, though 'tis true they were not very exact in pursuit of him. After that he liv'd quietly at *Sedan*, even after the King had discover'd

possess'd the Duke of *Bouillon* of it. As for *Bergerac*, she had her share of the severity of the Court, which forbid the Synod to allow any thing toward the maintenance of the Colledge of that City: But the Commissioner never hinder'd the Synod from reviving the Oath of Union in Discipline and Doctrine; nor was the Court offended at it.

*Oath of Union.*

The second Act of Injustice done the Reformed, was the building a Citadel at *Mompelien*, directly contrary to the Treaty of Peace, and the Breif granted in pursuance of it. Nor was the Artifice made use of to justify the doing it very much to the honour of the Authors of it. For *Valence* permitted the Soldiers of the Garison to live as licentious as they pleas'd themselves, on purpose to give an occasion of making Complaints. And because it seem'd a difficult thing to suppress 'em, he packt an Assembly of the Citizens, who were to consult upon Expedients most proper to restrain 'em within the Bounds of their Duty. Now the Catholic Consuls order'd as many of their own Religion as they could to be there: But as for the Reformed, who were wont to rely upon others for the Government of the City, and knew not the Mystery of that Consultation, for the greatest part they never came, and others durst not appear: so that the Catholics were far superior in number to the others, among whom also many were gain'd; which gave an occasion to say, that the Reformed and the Catholics were agreed in the same demand. Now then the Question being put, which was the best way to secure the Burghesses from the Insolencies of the Soldiers, the Catholics presently embrac'd the Proposal of demanding a Citadel, where the King might lodge his Garison, and discharge the City of quartering Soldiers. 'Twas in vain for the small number of Protestants that were at the Meeting to oppose it; and so the business was decided as it were by plurality of Voices, and Deputies were sent to Court to obtain the King's consent, who was not very scrupulous of giving it.

*A Citadel at Mompelien.*

But *Maniald*, who was one of the Deputies, being inform'd of this Enterprize, and entrusted with the Memoirs of the Reformed of *Mompelien*, made a Speech to the King upon this Subject, the 14<sup>th</sup> of September: complain'd of the foul Play

*Maniald opposes it in the name of the Reformed that*

1623. that had been us'd; declar'd that the Inhabitants of *Mompelie*r were forc'd to make this demand; protested that their Names were abus'd; requir'd the demolishing of Fort *Lewis*, and produc'd the Reports of the Works demolish'd by the Reformed according to the Treaty of Peace; to the end there might not be a pretence of their not having done their duty. But they would not be better inform'd at Court; they were resolv'd to believe *Valencé*, and the Catholicks, to the contempt of the Protestation which the Reformed made; and the Decree of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, put forth on purpose to elude their Obedience, pass'd for a conviction that they had not done fairly as to the demolishing their Fortifications.

*Presages of  
a new War.*

'Twas impossible that all these Acts of Injustice should be committed without causing great alterations in the minds of men; so that the Court expected to see the Peace suddenly broken. Nevertheless, as yet she had no great inclination to the War, because the Government was not as yet well settled. The Old Cardinals were jealous of Cardinal *Richlieu*. The high Favour wherein *Puiseux*, and the Chancellor his Father-in law were, began to totter: And there wanted a little longer time of Peace for every one of those who sought the advancement of their Fortunes, to secure and settle their Affairs. But the Council of Conscience, the *Spanish* Faction, that still held up its head, the Clergy unanimous, were all for a War. And Cardinal *Richlieu*, who would not seem to be lukewarm so soon after his Promotion, nor offend the Queen Mother, who embrac'd the same Interests, lean'd that way as well as the rest. Therefore as a foreboding of the Troubles that were suddainly to revive agen, a Declaration was given out the 10th of *November*, against those who went from Province to Province to sow Jealousies of the Infidelity of the Court, furnish'd with Letters and Instructions of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Subise*. The King however declar'd, That he would not believe that either of those two Noblemen were any way concern'd in those Intreagues, or that the Reformed in general had any thoughts of turning aside from their Obedience: However, to give 'em more perfect assurances of the reality of his Intentions, he confirm'd the Edicts and his last Declarations; he order'd, that the Commissioners



missioners should continue in the Provinces till they were absolutely fulfill'd ; and forbid all manner of persons to speak, write, suggest, persuade or give ear to any thing that was contrary to his good Intentions, or the Publick Tranquility ; to go or send into the Provinces, or to Assemblies that might be held to the same effect, and to act nothing that tended toward a War upon pain of being punish'd as Disturbers of the Public Repose. *Du Plessis* lay drawing on, when this Declaration <sup>Death of</sup> appear'd, and God took him out of this World before the <sup>Du Plessis.</sup> second War, to spare him the grief of seeing the Ruin of those Churches brought to perfection, to which he had so long been serviceable by his Writings, by his Counsels, and by his Example. He had a little before come to an agreement with the Court about the Recompence which he was to have for all his Labours, which after he had been so long put off, and made the sport of his Enemies, was reduc'd to a hundred thousand Franks. Marshal *de Bouillon* dy'd some months before him, and upon his Death-bed recommended nothing to his Children, but perseverance in the Reformed Religion, and never to bear Arms against the King so long as he secur'd the Peace of the Churches. Which last Injunctions of his, his Daughters obey'd much better then his Sons : For his eldest Son forsook his Religion, and quitted the King's Service betimes.

*The End of the Eighth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.  
THE SECOND PART.

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THE NINTH BOOK.

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The Heads of the Ninth Book.

**T**HE Commissioners impair the Condition of the Reformed at Gergeau: at Remorentin: at Tours. Commissioners in Poitou, and Saintonge. The Character of Amelot, who ruins the Churches by outward Shews of Honesty and Probity. A Writing of the Clergy of Saintonge. The Malignity of several Articles. Complacency of Chalac. Enterprises of the Catholics at Rochel. Alterations at Court. Maxims of Cardinal Richlieu. Proposals of Marriage between the Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain; fruitless. A Match sought for with Henrietta of France. Negotiation of the Archbishop of Ambrun; the Match concluded upon advantageous Conditions for the Catholics. Death of James I. Charles consummates the Marriage. Suit between the City of Pamiers, and the Bishop. Cavils upon the Right of prosecuting the payment of Legacies and Donations. Exemption of Ministers. Troubles reviv'd. Enterprise of the Duke of Rohan and Soubise discover'd. Soubise seizes the King's Ships, and is block'd up in the

the Port of Blavet. He is thought to be lost, and is disown'd by all the world. The King's Declaration upon that occasion. Soubise disingages himself, which changes the face of Affairs. Politic Devotions of the Duke of Rohan. Seconded by his Wife. Manifesto of the Duke of Soubise. Answer. Dispute about the Priviledges of Rochel. Peace talk'd of. Cruelties of the Royal Army in Foix. Soubise's Successes. Remonstrance of the Reformed presented to the King. Answers to the Articles with which the Reformed are not content. The Court recovers her Affairs. Assembly of the Clergy; that furnishes out money with reluctancy. The King excepts Rochel out of the Peace; which delays the conclusion of it. Particular Laws which the King would impose upon that City. A powerful League against Spain. A Design of the Cardinal, of which he is forc'd to forbear the execution. Instances of the English Ambassadors for the peace of Religion. Rochel accepts the Conditions somewhat mitigated. Divers Acts upon occasion of the Peace. Why the Court demanded such Writings. Act past by the English Ambassadors. In what sense the King becomes a Guaranty for the Peace. A new Edict which confirms all the rest. Foul Play shew'd by France to the Confederates. Jealousies between the Cardinal and Buckingham. The Cardinal's weak side. Enterprises of the Catholics of the Queen of England's Household. Conspiracy against the Cardinal. Condition of Rochel. National Synod. Decree relating to Commissioners. Instructions of the Commissioners. Chauve, the Moderator's Answer. Surprise upon the Synod of Realmon. Infidelity of Masuyer: at which the Catholics triumph. They would fain hedge in the Ministers into the Treaty of the Duke of Rohan with Spain. Article of the Synod of Realmont, which orders enquiry after such as were guilty, which offends all the Churches, and is disown'd by the National Synod. Leave to nominate general Deputies: from which the Synod desires to be excus'd, and send Deputies to the King. Remonstrances of the Deputies. Maniald dyes, to whom the King substitutes Hardi. Return of the Deputies, and the King's Answer. The Synod names general Deputies. Several Resolutions of the Synod. The City of Castres refuses to receive the Duke of Rohan's Deputies. Memoirs of Complaints. Bury

*ing of Lords that were the Founders in Churches. Legacies given to the Poor adjudg'd to Hospitals. Marriage of a Knight of Maltha vacated. Vexatious Declarations. Meeting of the Notable. Conversions forc'd in Bearn; at Aubenas; at St. Amand. Extraordinary Acts of Injustice. Innovations at Mompelien. Foundation of that City. Declaration against Foreign Ministers. Rochel remains block'd up; the English declare War. The United Provinces assist France. The English land in the Isle of Ree. Irresolution of the Rochellers. Letters of the Court intercepted. A nice Question, Whether Huguenots ought to be suffer'd in the King's Army? Rochel determines and publishes a Manifesto. The Duke of Rohan does the same. Intrigues of Galand against the Duke. Rout of the English. Second Fleet of the English of no use to the Rochellers. A third Fleet as ineffectual. The beginning of a Treaty of Peace with England, and Surrender of Rochel. The City refuses to submit to the English. Spanish Fleet at the Siege of Rochel. Severities exercis'd toward the Ladies of Rohan. The Courage of Guiton, Maire of Rochel. How the City was us'd.*

1623.

*The Commissioners make the condition of the Reformed worse at Gergeau.*

**I**N the mean time the Commissioners that were promis'd to be sent into the Provinces, went thither in earnest; but the course which they took in the execution of the Edicts, serv'd only to convince the most incredulous among the Reformed, that the Court did but make a Maygame of 'em. For the Church which they had at Gergeau, that had bin one of their Cities of security, and where they had held some general Assemblies, was taken from 'em in a City where they had always enjoy'd one: and to make 'em amends for this Act of Injustice, they had leave giv'n to build another at the farther end of all the Suburbs. The Catholics of Removentin, who had burnt the Church, would never permit the building of another: but the Commissioners, instead of punishing the Misdemeanor, and doing Justice upon the Offenders, were so kind as to leave things in the same condition as they found 'em. But the Injustice which they did the Reformed of Tours, was much more notorious. For the King had promis'd, after the Sedition, of which I have given an account in another place, to preserve to the Protestants

*At Removentin.*

*At Tours.*



stants of that City their priviledge of meeting in that place <sup>1623.</sup> where they were wont to assemble, and to supply 'em with the Sum of Six thousand Livres, towards the rebuilding of the Church which the Mutineers had fir'd. But the Commissioners acted quite contrary to this Promise. They arriv'd at *Tours* in *May*, and would needs persuade the Reformed to accept of another place; which Proposal being rejected by the poor People, who demanded the performance of the King's word, the Commissioners departed without making any regulation. Toward the end of *September* they return'd agen to *Tours*; at what time they took a view of several places, of the situation of which they drew up a long Report in writing, and design'd the Reformed one for the building of a Church, which the Reformed would not accept of; but they got nothing by it; for the Commissioners enforc'd 'em by an Order, to sell the place where their old Church stood, and to lay out the money in the purchase of that which was design'd 'em.

*Amelot* and *Chalas* had a Commission to see the Edict perform'd in the Provinces of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*. *Chalas*, who was made choice of by *Amelot*, as the Catholic Commissioners had almost every where the priviledge to nominate their Associates, was one of those complying sort of People who have not Audacity enough to oppose another man's Opinion; and who being men of sincerity themselves, cannot believe that other men will deceive 'em. So that the Reformed complain'd very much of his softness, and never thought themselves beholding to him for any Justice that was done 'em upon some Articles. *Amelot*, on the other side, was one of those People that never did any thing without a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony, and who make it their strife to please all the world, at least to outward appearance. He made Mountains of Molehils, and thought to advance himself at Court, by giving the Grandees Information of every diminutive Trifle. He made a great noise of certain Designs which he had discover'd, and which he would needs have had to have bin lookt upon at Court as important Conspiracies. He endeavour'd also to bring *du Plissis* into trouble, who thought of nothing at that time but of dying, and settling his Family. But they understood him at Court, and knew that

Commissioners in  
*Poitou*  
and *Saintonge*.

1623. all these great Secrets were nothing but Illusions; and that was evident enough, because they never molested any of those persons that *Amelot* sought to blacken with his pretended Informations. But to bring himself off like a person of credit, after it appear'd that all his discoveries were no other than Dreams, then he gave out that those designs would have wrought terrible effects, had he not prevented 'em by his foresight, and broken the measures of the Contrivers by opposing 'em betimes. And indeed his pretence for those *Chimeras* with which he was intoxicated, were no more then civil Visits which some Gentlemen thought proper to pay the one to the other; which *Amelot* took for Meetings cover'd under the name of Visits, where Affairs of State were debated.

He ruins  
the Churches  
under  
app. ances of Ho-  
nesty.

He also endeavour'd to get the favour and esteem of both Parties; by the Court he sought to be valu'd as a man faithful and penetrating, so eagle-ey'd that nothing escap'd him whatever happen'd in the Provinces belonging to his Allotment. By the Reformed he strove to be priz'd for a man of honesty, who preserv'd 'em from a world of misfortunes by his moderation and his prudence, preventing 'em from committing great Errors. By these petty Artifices it cannot be imagin'd how much mischief he did the Reformed; not only because he sometimes oblig'd 'em to renounce their Priviledges which they had duly obtain'd, but because he seduc'd 'em with his vaunting Flourishes of Probity and Affection to accept of his unjust Acts as so many Kindnesses done 'em. Thus it was that he made 'em lose their Right to the performance of their Exercises in the City of *Fountainai*, and that he made 'em remove into one of the Suburbs. And they were so simple as to consent to his entreaties, because he told 'em, that in so doing they would oblige him. All the recompence they had was, that *Valade*, the Minister of the place, who had bin forbid to preach there, yet whose resettlement could not be obstructed, because the Right of Public Exercise in that Town was not to be deny'd, was restor'd to his Functions by *Amelot*'s consent. So that to make 'em amends, he only granted 'em a Priviledge that could not lawfully be taken from 'em; a thing which it was impossible to refuse 'em without a great deal of Injustice. In like manner at *Bourgueil*, where they had a

Right

Right duly acquir'd, and upon a good foundation, *Amelot* made 1623. 'em consent to remove their Right to another place, contrary to the advice of *Charles*, who would have maintain'd 'em in that, where they were accusom'd to meet. But that which was more particularly singular in their submission, was this. That *Amelot* told the Reformed a fair Story, and made 'em believe it too, that their consenting to their removal, was but a compliance of good nature in honour to the Bishop of *Chartres*, their temporal Lord to whom they acknowledg'd themselves to be beholding. And thus did *Amelot* so strangely put upon 'em by his treacherous Wheedles, that he made 'em confess themselves oblig'd to him, who at the same time despoil'd 'em of their Priviledges. And with the same delusions he fool'd the easiness of the Inhabitants of *Maillezais* and *Lusson*.

There was nothing more considerable in all this Commission, then the Paper presented by the Clergy of *Saintes* in the name of the whole Province, and supported by the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City. Had you read it, you would have said, That the Reformed had bin the prevailing Religion, and that the Catholic had bin persecuted. Nevertheless Complaints were intermix'd with those Demands, which made it appear that the Catholics had great Demands in their eye, in order to the oppression of others: which will appear by the Abstract of those Demands and Complaints. The Reformed were therein accus'd of affronting the Priests when they saw 'em pass by; of obstructing the Processions of the Catholics; the Administration of the Sacrament to the Sick; the Burial of the Dead, with the accusom'd Ceremonies: Of not permitting the Catholics to visit the Reformed when Sick, which, as it was presuppos'd, were willing to be converted; or that the Communion should be administer'd to 'em; or that they should be bury'd after their Conversion: and the Gentlemen were chiefly accus'd of expelling the Priests out of their Lordships. They complain'd of the Usurpation of Churches, Houses, Tents and Rights appertaining to the Ecclesiastics, and of Church-yards, where the Reformed buried their dead by force. They demanded that the Reformed should be prohibited to bury in Catholic Chappels, under a Penalty.

1623. Penalty of 3000 Livres. They remonstrated that the Churchyards, which the Reformed had adjoining to those of the Catholics, not being enclos'd with Walls, were the occasion of several Seditions; that the Reformed had made themselves Masters of the Bells in some places, and in others made use of the Bells belonging to the Catholics, to give notice of their Sermon time; that they would not suffer Carpets to be spread before their Houses; that they took no notice of Holy-days; that at *Saintes*, they met in private Houses, where they read Prayers, and sung Psalms aloud; that they sold Flesh upon days prohibited. They demanded, That to avoid the meeting of People that attended the Dead to their Graves, the Reformed should be bound to give notice of their hours of Burial to the Mayor and Sheriffs. 'Twas said, That they caus'd armed men to walk about a Nights, who committed several Disorders. They desir'd Prohibitions to the Reformed Ministers, by which they might be enjoin'd not to call themselves *Pastors* of the Churches wherein they serv'd; or to stile their Religion Reformed, without adding the word *Pretended*. Lastly, Presupposing that the Liberty of the Reformed was so great, that it could not be suppress'd by Authority of the Edicts, they demanded that the Obstinate should be condemn'd to great Forfeitures, actually to be incur'd, and to be adjudg'd from that time forward.

*The Malice  
of several  
Articles.*

The strain of the whole Paper was full of Malice: For they made particular and private Facts the ground of a general Complaint, when perhaps the Fact had never bin committed above once during the War; nevertheless they would have it an Affair wherein all places were concern'd, and the misdemeanor of every day. Others were aggravated, as being of great importance, when there was nothing at all in 'em. However in the main, it made the Reformed to be lookt upon as very criminal, and threw an *Odium* upon all their Actions. So that all men wonder'd, and that not without reason too, that *Chalas* went hand in hand as he did with *Amelot*, in whatever Sentences he pass'd upon all the Articles, and still gave his Verdict against the Reformed. More especially the Articles about visiting the Sick by the Magistrates, to know in what Religion they dy'd: The Prohibition to pray and sing Psalms aloud, upon the Forfeiture

*Chalas's  
Complai-  
nance.*



ture of Five hundred Livres: The necessity of giving notice to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the hour when they intended to bury their Dead, to avoid accidental meeting of Catholic Funerals in the Street; the immediate adjudging of Forfeitures, under pretence of forcing the Reformed to observe the Edicts: The enregistring of these Ordinances, as if they had bin to pass for sovereign Laws and Edicts: These Articles, I say, a man would have thought, should not so easily have bin condescended to by a Reformed, whom it became to have understood the consequences. There was but one Article wherein they differ'd; that is to say, upon the words *Pastor, Church, and Reformed Religion*, without adding the word *Pretended*. *Amelot* was for prohibiting the Reformed from making use of those expressions, but *Chalus* was for petitioning the King, that the Reformed might be left to their ancient practice in those Particulars. Besides, there was something of Justice in the Answer made to the Article concerning Burials: For the Commissioners order'd, that convenient places should be allow'd to the Reformed for that purpose within fifteen days; and for defect of so doing, that it should be lawful for the Reformed to bury in the Church-yards belonging to the Catholics. Which Article most assuredly *Amelot* granted, to the end he might the more easily hook in *Chalus* for all the rest. And this the Reformed suffer'd, through the weakness of their Commissioner, and this was that which the Catholics principally desir'd; in regard the current of Affairs had ran such a course for some years, as to make the Reformed believe they were all in the wrong. Nevertheless these Regulations had not so much efficacy, but that the Reformed strove to maintain their Priviledges, of which *Amelot* endeavour'd to deprive 'em to the end.

In this manner it was that the Catholics drew from the Peace as much Advantage as they could have expected from a Successful War; and while by a thousand Quirks and Artifices they evaded the Promises made before *Mompelien*, the Catholics were everywhere put in possession of all that they could pretend to. *Rochel*, also, that beheld Fort *Lewis* still standing undemolish'd, mauger all the Promises which the King had made.

*Enterpris  
of the Ca-  
tholics at  
Rochel.*

1624. made to raze it ; yet gave her Consent that the Catholics should recommence their Exercises. Mass was publickly said there at the beginning of the year 1624. but the Catholics being desirous to extend their Liberty a little farther, and to appear with their Procession in the Streets, they met with a Lane of Soldiers that forc'd 'em to retire. And it was a prudent Design in the Honest Burgeesses. For they were willing to prevent the Disorders which such an Innovation would inevitably have produc'd. But the Verbal Process which they drew up to justify their Intentions, serv'd to no other end, but to exasperate the Court against 'em, and to confirm the King in his Resolution to humble that City, all whose Actions were represented to him, as too haughty and insolent.

In the mean while there happen'd an alteration of the Change of Affairs at Court. For *La Vieville*, who was beholding for his Advancement to *Sillery*, ruin'd his Benefactor, and brought *Puisieux* into disgrace. And it may be said that they justly deserv'd their Fall. For their Politics were so spanioliz'd, that they made all the King's Power prove serviceable to advance the Grandeur of the House of *Austria* ; nor was it their fault that *Enrope* was not to become a Slave to that Family. But *Vieville* follow'd *Maxims* altogether opposite ; and caus'd *France* to reassume a good liking of her Ancient Alliances. But he did not go far before he receiv'd the punishment of his Ingratitude. Acknowledgment is seldom the Vertue of a Courtier ; and an Ambitious Man rarely lets his Fortune slip, when he can procure his Advancement by betraying his Friend. He never holds that man to be his Friend, whom he looks upon as his Competitor. *Vieville* therefore having been the occasion that *Richlieu* was admitted into the King's Council, the Cardinal was accus'd of having banish'd him the Court, that he might have no Superior in the management of Affairs. But he follow'd the New *Maxims* that *Vieville* had introduc'd : And turn'd all his Designs to raise *France* upon the Ruins of the House of *Austria*.

Cardinal  
Richlieu's  
*Maxims*.

This was one of the Reasons why he labour'd to hasten the Destruction of the Protestants, already much weaken'd by the Success of the preceding War ; while *Spain*, unfortunately for

for her self and them, neglected to assist their Party by her Intreatues. The same Design render'd him suspicious of the Jesuits, so that he kept them low and despicable all the time of his Ministry, and that they suffer'd many Mortifications, while he held the Reins of Authority; of which the chiefest was, that they had a very small share in the management of Affairs. A most piercing Grief to a Society which had had the pleasure of riding paramount for so many years, and filling all *Europe* with Violence and Treachery: But lost by this Disgrace the fruit of all their Attempts, and all their Crimes; and saw, by means of the Cardinal's New Politics, all the hopes of the Universal Monarchy quite frustrated, which *Spain* had so well concerted, and of which she had so long pursu'd the Design. In order to this it was that he renew'd the Alliance between *France* and the *Hollanders* upon such Conditions, as if he had at the same time design'd the Siege of *Rochel*. But one of those things of which he hop'd to make the greatest advantage, was the Marriage of *Henrietta* of *France* with the Prince of *Wales*, who reign'd, after the death of King *James*, by the name of *Charles I*. *Spain* had a long time amus'd that Prince with hopes of Marriage with the *Infanta*, who was afterwards marry'd to the Emperor: And that Prince, as well as the King his Father, fell so cordially into the Snare, that he made a long Journey into *Spain* in order to the Conclusion of this pretended Match. And indeed the *Spaniard* flatter'd him with it, so long as the Council of *Spain* thought it necessary to act this Comedy to prevent King *James* from intermeddling with the Affairs of *Germany*. But when the Council had had sufficient Experience of the Weakness of that Prince, to assure themselves, that let 'em use him how they pleas'd, he would be never in a capacity to revenge himself, they broke off the Negotiation, and sent the Prince of *Wales* back agen into *England*.

Proposals  
for marry-  
ing the  
Prince of  
Wales to  
the Infan-  
ta.

Fruitless.

Nevertheless, the thing was carry'd so far, that all the Articles were agreed upon; and such great Advantages were obtain'd for the *Roman* Religion, that a Prince, who had had never so little zeal for his own, would never have endur'd the allowance of 'em. The Pope made no scruple to grant the Dispensation which was demanded, and the Prince of *Wales*

1624. acting with a Sincerity, that might be rather call'd Simplicity, 'twas only the fault of the *Spanish* Politics that the Match was not concluded. The Cardinal therefore seeing the Treaty of that Alliance broken off, and *England* disgusted, was willing to make the best of the Conjunction, and to fasten that Crown to the Interests of *France* by the Marriage of a *French* Princess. The second of *Henry* the Fourth's Daughters had bin deny'd the Prince of *Wales*, who had demanded her, while *Lewis* the Thirteenth's Council was in the House of *Austria's* pay, and the Prince of *Piemont* was preferr'd before him. But the Cardinal altering the Design, had chang'd the Maxims of the Court: and he thought good to make the first Offers to a Prince, for whom they had had so little value before. Nor did he find any great trouble in causing the Overtures to be accepted. *William de Hughes*, Archbishop of *Ambrun*, had a great share in that Negotiation; and if there be any credit to be given to the Relation of what he did in *England*, which he drew up by the Cardinal's Command, he had almost brought the Religion and Kingdom of *England* to the brink of a general Revolution. He relates that before the Cardinal came into favour, he had bin sent into *England* to persuade the King to return to the Pope's Communion: That he disguis'd himself to go *incognito*, and took upon him the Name and Habit of a Counsellor of *Grenoble*. That at his arrival, he found the Duke of *Buckingham* inform'd both of his Disguise and his Commission; of which both the King and the Prince had giv'n him notice: That the King appear'd to him fully resolv'd to embrace the Catholic Religion: That he came to an agreement with him upon the greatest part of the Articles in controversie; more particularly concerning the Sovereignty of the Pope over all Christians: That upon this Occasion he wrote a large Letter to the Pope; that it was sent privately by an *English* Gentleman, who was a zealous Catholic: That he promis'd to declare himself openly, so soon as he had taken order for certain things which were concluded on: That the principal reason of his making so many delays, was the desire he had to be sure of the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-law, to the end he might be the better able to prevent the Troubles that might arise by reason of the Changes in his



his Kingdoms : That he had invited him under other Pretences to take a Voyage into *England* ; and that when he came, he made no question but to convert him too : That he desir'd the Pope to suffer the *English* Lords to enjoy the Church-Lands, that were now become their Inheritance, for fear they should oppose his Designs, if he went about to disturb 'em in their Possession : That he promis'd there should be no farther searches made after any Priests that should be sent into the Kingdom, either by the Pope or the King of *France* : That he excluded the Jesuits only from that favour, because he lookt upon 'em as the Authors and Contrivers of the Powder-plot, by which they design'd to have blown him up in his Parliament-House : That he shew'd the Archbishop several Favours while he was in *England* : That he gave him leave to Confirm in the *French* Ambassador's House above 18000 Catholics, who were exempted from all prosecution upon it, tho there were many of the *English* that saw the performance of the Ceremony ; so little did the Archbishop care to be openly seen That some of the more Zealous Protestants having made their Complaints to the King about it, the King stopt their mouths, by telling 'em it was done with his permission : That the Duke of *Buckingham* had promis'd to imitate the King his Master, and that he was really engag'd in the Intreage. In a word, The Archbishop had Letters from him which shew'd him too deeply concern'd, to believe that all this Negotiation was no more then a feigned Business.

This was the Condition of Affairs when they began to treat of the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* ; and it may be easily judg'd by the bending of the King's Inclinations, that they should not meet with any great opposition : So that the Cardinal obtain'd what he pleas'd himself, and drew from him Conditions more advantageous to the Catholics, then those which the King of *Spain* had demanded. Also, after all that was concluded, there was a way found to add new Clauses, which the King was so complaisant as to condescend to without any hesitation. 'Tis true, *Berulle*, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, being sent to *Rome* to sollicite the Dispensation, suffer'd some things to be slipt in, which went a little

*Marriage concluded upon Conditions advantageous for the Catholics.*

1624. farther then what had been agreed upon. But they who drew it up were easily pardon'd upon making a shew of being sorry for it, and imputing it to the simplicity of the Prelate, whose Zeal for his Religion had made him exceed the Bounds of his Power. But the Court of *England* being in a good humour to refuse nothing, suffer'd her self to be vanquish'd without the least Resistance, and was willing to take any Excuses for the Alterations in good part.

But the unexpected Death of King *James* put a stop to the Rapid Course of the Prosperities of the Catholic Religion, and suspended for some time the accomplishment of the Marriage propounded. But *Charles* his Successor would not retract from his Engagements during the Life of his Father; so that the Marriage was accomplish'd to the great satisfaction of the Court of *Rome*. *England* in some measure beheld the Catholic Religion sprouting up agen in her Bosom. For the new Queen was permitted to have a Chappel in all the Royal Houses; to keep in her Family a Bishop and twenty eight Priests, without any preferring one Order before another; that they should have liberty to wear the Habit of of their Order publicly; and that all her Domestic Servants should be of the same Religion; besides that, she should have the Education of her Children till they came to be Thirteen years of Age. But God permitted the Jesuits to spoil all by their unquiet and Seditious Politicks, and to put the Kingdom into such terrible Jealousies of their Practises, that order was taken for the suppressing 'em. However, the Treaty of this Marriage was spun out till *May*, 1625. tho' because I would not interrupt the series of the Story, I was forc'd to insert it in this place.

*Process of  
the City of  
Pamiers  
against the  
Bishop.*

In the mean time there were several particular Affairs that were regulated after a different manner; among which, that of the City of *Pamiers*, in opposition to her Bishop, was one of the most considerable. That Prelate took upon him to dispose of the Consulship and Council of that City, and to make himself Master of the sole Power of rating the Taxes upon the Inhabitants. And his Zeal for Religion serv'd for a Pretence to justify his undertaking. He would have no body in those Employments but Catholics; and the Parliament of *Thoulouse*,

house, whither he had remov'd the Cause, were not wanting to favour his Pious Design. But for the bringing it to pass, there was a necessity that the Laws must be violated, and that the Elections of Officers must be carried on after a new manner; in regard that otherwise the Reformed, who were richer, more considerable, and more numerous then the Catholics, would assuredly carry all before 'em by the plurality of Voices. As for any respect to the Laws, that was ne're able to stop the Clergy, when the violation of 'em serv'd for the good of their Affairs: And it was the Bishop's aim to prefer none but his Friends and his Kindred, under pretence of excluding the Hereticks. Nevertheless the Catholics were so wise, as not to jumble their Religion and the Civil Government together; and understood their own Interest so well, as to join with the Reformed against the Bishop: So that after all the Cavils imaginable, that Affair was determin'd, and the Catholics as well as the Reformed bore an equal share of the charges of the City.

They began at the same time to elude the Donations and Legacies which the Reformed bequeath'd to their Ministers and their Poor. And the most dangerous Cavil of which they bethought themselves upon this occasion was, that they refus'd to suffer the Consistories to name Syndics and Proctors, to prosecute the Effect of such Contracts and Wills in their own Names: So that those Acts were made invalid, by refusing Justice to those who were nominally empowr'd by authentic Letters of Attorney, to sue for the payment of the money when due. The Pretence was, That the Right of empowring Attornies did not belong but to authoriz'd Corporations; and therefore they would needs have the Churches and their Consistories to be abominable Communities, which were not to enjoy the same Priviledges with others. But this Cavil was so contrary to the Edict, which in the 42<sup>d</sup> Article of Particulars, declar'd in exprels terms, That such Suits might be prosecuted by a *Proctor, in the Name of the Body and Community* of those of the Reformed Religion, who were therein concern'd, that 'twas impossible to erect it into a Law all of a sudden; and if there were any Inferior Judges where that Cavil was favour'd, the Superior Judges redress'd it. Thus the Judge of *Saintes* being de-

*Cavils upon the Right of pursuing the Payment of Legacies and Donations.*

firous.

1624. fious to have hinder'd *Gaulon*, a Proctor belonging to the Consistory of the place, from suing for the Donations and Legacies left for the support of Ministers, Doctors, Scholars, and poor People of the Reformed Religion, there was a Decree of the Council bearing date the 19th of *March*, which maintain'd the Reformed of *Saintes* in the enjoyment of the Priviledges granted by the Edict; tho it be true indeed that the Decree added this Condition, that the King's Advocate or Proctor should be present at the giving up of the Accompts.

But in revenge they frustrated the effects of a Favour which the Reformed had bin a long time soliciting; that is to say, that the Ministers might be discharg'd from paying Taxes. True it is, that about twelve years before there was a Declaration set forth in their Favour; but the Court had so little desire that it should be executed, that there was not the least care taken to have it enregister'd in the Sovereign Courts; so that the General Deputies, after they had lost all their Sollicitations, and their extraordinary Pains, were forc'd to present a Petition upon the same subject. Upon which they obtain'd a Decree of the 17th of *July*, which exempted the Ministers only from being tax'd for their Moveables, Pensions and Salaries; but which left 'em liable in respect of their Inheritances and immoveable Goods, which indeed was to leave 'em to the discretion of the Assessors and Collectors. In short, that Decree was the occasion of a thousand Suits, in regard that Acts of that nature are never lookt upon as Law, but only as Regulations upon particular matters of Fact. The least distaste of a Collector was enough to oblige those who challenge the enjoyment of a Priviledge, to cause the setting forth of another Decree which might personally concern 'em; and the same Brabbles might be renew'd every year.

Troubles  
renew'd.

In the mean time, *Spain* having observ'd the change of the *French* Politics, and well foreseeing that there would be an alteration also of the general face of affairs, whereby she should become a great loser, if she did not cut out some work within doors for the *French*, she resolv'd not to let slip the opportunity which the Discontents among the Reformed gave her to renew the Civil War. The Peace of *Mompelien* was so openly violated, that there was not one Article of it left unbrok'n; so that all the Churches



Churches had reason to complain. But *Rochel*, that notwithstanding all her Submissions, had not obtain'd the demolishing of *Fort Lewis*, and saw herself as it were blockt up at a distance by Forces quarter'd in places proper to disturb and annoy her, at the same time struck the rest of the Reformed Cities both with Pity and Terror. They beheld, with sorrow, the approaching fall of that powerful City, and were in fear of some design in hand to destroy 'em all, so soon as *Rochel*, which was the most important, shou'd once be ruin'd. So that all those who believ'd that the ruin of the Reformed Religion would prove a necessary consequence of the subduing those Cities which were in a condition to support it, expected some deliverance from Heaven for the recovery of their Affairs. But no body minded to set a helping hand to the work, only they wish'd that Providence would take care of their security without 'em. However the Duke of *Rohan*, and *Soubise* his Brother, meditated great Designs, of which the consequences would have prov'd no less remarkable, had they bin well seconded. 'Twas said that the *Spaniards* secretly spurr'd 'em on, and flatter'd 'em with hopes of considerable Succor, if they could procure a general Rising of the whole Party; but that was a Condition which the Duke would not undertake to perform. 'Tis true, that finding himself abandon'd by almost all the world, he gave an ear to certain Overtures of a Treaty propounded to him by the Council of *Spain*; not out of any hopes that that same Court would assist him in good earnest, but in some measure to raise the spirits of his Party, and that he might be in a condition to make an advantageous Peace.

The Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubise* then were the only persons that renew'd the War; and the reason that determin'd 'em to it was, because the Court made open preparations for the Siege of *Rochel*. There was a Fleet getting ready at *Blavet*, a small Fort upon the Coast of *Bretany* to block up the City by Sea, and deprive 'em of all supplies of Relief, which chiefly consisted in their keeping the Sea open. The *Rochellers*, on the other side, alarm'd at these Preparations, which they well knew were aim'd at them, implor'd the Aid of the Duke and his Brother, who consulted together to ward off the Blow if it were possible. They

agreed

Enterprise  
of the  
Dukes of  
Rohan  
and Sou-  
bise.

1624. agreed that *Soubise* should rig out some Vessels, under pretence of a long Voyage; that he should endeavour to surprize those that were making ready at *Blaver*; that if he succeeded, the Duke should take Arms in the Provinces where he had most Reputation: but that if the Enterprize fail'd, he should disown his Brother's Actions. Their own Estates, and what ready money they had, were the Fund upon which they laid the Foundations of this great Design. But when all things were ready, *Soubise* was betray'd by *Nonailles*, one of his principal Officers, who reveal'd the Secret; yet for all that, *Soubise's* diligence was so great, that he had prevented the measures which the Court had taken to hinder the effect of the Enterprize, had he but had a little more time to have made his Retreat. For with those few men he had, he made himself Master of all the Vessels which lay then in the Port. But he could not get possession of the Fort, by reason that upon the Intelligence which *Nonailles* had given, they had put a Garison into it much more numerous than the Party that follow'd *Soubise*. Besides, that the Duke of *Vendosme*, Governor of the Province, had time to muster a little Army together, and to bar up the Haven with an Iron Chain, and a Cable of an extraordinary thickness. By which means *Soubise* was shut up within the place without either Men or Ammunition, and expos'd for three weeks together to the Cannon of the Fort, and the Small Shot of the whole Army.

*Soubise*  
gets posses-  
sion of the  
King's  
ships.

It is  
thought  
lost, and  
disown'd  
by every  
body.

There was no body in the Kingdom but thought him lost beyond recovery, so that every one strove which should be the first to disown him. *La Trimouille*, *la Force*, *Chatillon*, and several others of the highest Quality, disown'd him in writing. The general Deputies, and those of the Church of *Paris* follow'd their example. The Cities of *Rochel*, *Nimes*, *Uzez*, and *Montauban*, together with the Communities of *Cevennes* did the same, either by authentic Acts, or by the mouths of their Deputies. And this it was that disappointed all the Designs which the Duke of *Rohan* had form'd upon several places, because no body would engage in a War which had prov'd so unfortunate in the first Attempt. In the mean time the King publish'd a Declaration at *Paris*, dated Jan. 25. eight days after the Sur-  
prize

prize of *Blavet*. I know not what to say of this date: but it seems naturally impossible, that all the Disclaimers and Renunciations as are mention'd in the Declaration should come in so short a time from so many places so far remote, and where the News of the taking of *Blavet* could not be arriv'd so soon. However it were, the stile of it was like the language of all the rest; and if the Prefaces of Edicts were always true, it might be said that the Reformed were much too blame to make such loud Complaints. The Peace of *Mompelien* was therein mention'd as a Favour, by vertue of which the Sentiments of a just Indignation had bin over-rul'd by *the natural Benignity of a King, the Father of his People, toward Subjects submissive and repentant*. It spoke of the performance of the last Treaty in terms so violent, as if they would have enforc'd the most clear-sighted to have given their eyes the Lye; and to believe that the Citadel built at *Mompelien*; the numerous Garison which they had put into it; the Alterations in the Elections of Consuls; *Fort Lewis* compleated to block up *Rochel*, after solemn promise to demolish it; the Public Preparations made to seize the Priviledges and Liberties of that formidable City; and a hunder'd more Acts of Injustice put upon the Reformed in several places, were no palpable Breaches of the Edict of Peace. After this, the King confirm'd the Edicts in favour of those that continu'd in their Obedience; declar'd *Soubise*, his Adherents, and all those that directly or indirectly kept any correspondence with him, guilty of High-Treason; depriv'd all the Cities and Corporations that favour'd him, of their Priviledges and Immunities; gave a month's time to him and his Adherents to return to their Duty; and upon that condition, from that very instant, granted 'em a full oblivion of their Rebellion; or if they refus'd to accept of mercy, threaten'd 'em with the utmost rigor of the Laws.

But before this Declaration was verifi'd, *Soubise*, being favoured by a high wind, that blew direct'y for his purpose, broke the Chain and the Cable, and maugre all the great and small Shot that was fir'd upon him, sav'd his Men, and brought away the Vessels which he had taken, only two that struck in the mouth of the Haven. When he was thus Master of the Sea,

1625.  
*The King's  
Declara-  
tion upon  
this occa-  
sion.*

*Soubise  
distinguishes  
himself.*

1625. he made himself easily Master of the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, and after several Refusals oblig'd the City of *Rochel* to declare for him. This unlookt-for Success of an Action which all the World had condemn'd for rash and inconsiderate, made both Friends and Enemies change their language. Almost all those who had disown'd *Soubise* before, repented of their precipitate Renunciations : and excepting some of the *Grandeess*, into whose minds either their own Interest, or the Jealousy of such a glorious Exploit insus'd other thoughts, all others were desirous of being engag'd, and asham'd of having baulk'd their Cause. The Duke of *Rohan* resum'd fresh courage, and flatter'd himself that some of the Provinces would arm in his behalf when he appear'd among 'em. To which purpose he made incredible efforts, that shew'd an invincible courage, and a diligence indefatigable ; and at length he obtain'd a good part of what he desir'd. On the other side, the Court did all that lay in their power to hinder Religion from appearing to be the pretence of this War, and therefore endeavour'd to make it a particular quarrel of the House of *Rohan*. And they were oblig'd to proceed thus gingerly, through their fear of augmenting the Party, and offending *England* and the *Low-Countries*, with whom they had not long before made an Alliance. On the other side, the Duke did all that he thought proper to persuade the world, that it was upon no other account, but only upon the score of Religion that he had tak'n Arms. And because he was not ignorant how far some certain extraordinary demonstrations of Zeal and Piety prevail among the People, he affected all the outward Shews of an extreme Devotion. He paid the Ministers extraordinary Honours. When he enter'd into any City, he caus'd a Bible to be carri'd before him, as the Catholics in their Religious Wars advance the Cross in their Forefronts. He alighted from his Horse at the Church-door of every City, and never spoke of business to any body, before he had said his Pray'rs upon both knees. And this made him so much the more to be taken notice of, because the Churches of the Reformed having neither Ornaments nor Reliques, nor any thing of pomp or magnificence to invite a man, it could not be thought that such Actions proceeded from any other Principle than

Which  
changes the  
Face of  
Affairs.

Politic De-  
votions of  
the Duke of  
*Rohan*.



then that of a most profound Piety. The Dutcheſs his Wife 1625.  
 alſo, was a notable Second to him in all his Enterprizes. She *Seconded*  
 labour'd with great ſedulity in perſuading the People to take *by his wife.*  
 Arms, in all places where ſhe came; and becauſe ſhe travell'd  
 more by night than by day, the equipage, wherein ſhe appear'd,  
 ſtruck a kind of awe into the Countrey People. Beſides that,  
 being in mourning, the People that attended her were all in  
 black; her Coach alſo, cover'd with mourning, was drawn by  
 eight black Horſes: which, together with the Flambeaux that  
 were carri'd to light her along, ſolemniz'd her Train with an  
 Air ſo unuſual, that the Peaſants were affrighted at it more then  
 once. Nor were theſe little Formalities without ſome ſucceſs;  
 for at laſt ſeveral Corporations join'd with him one after an-  
 other.

In the mean time *Soubiſe* gave an account to the Public of *Manifeſto*  
 the Motives that induc'd him to take Arms, by a *of the Duke*  
 wherein, looking a good way backward, he renew'd the *of Soubiſe.*  
 remembrance of the Services done the deceas'd King by the Re-  
 formed, and complain'd that ſince his death the Edicts had bin  
 openly violated, and that the Churches had bin only amus'd with  
 Promiſes which never had bin obſerv'd. He upbraided the Ca-  
 tholics with the ſurprize of *Saumur*, which was detain'd from  
*du Pleſſis*, though he had bin promis'd to be reſettl'd in it. He  
 forgot not the hard uſage exercis'd at *Mompelier*, contrary to  
 the Faith of the Breiſs which had bin granted to the Duke of  
*Rohan*: and afterwards he added, that the exerciſe of the Re-  
 formed Religion had not bin re-eſtabliſh'd where it ought to  
 have bin: that the Reformed had been excluded from all  
 manner of Employments, ev'n from the Offices of Serjeants;  
 that the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies were depriv'd of their former  
 Liberty: that the Reformed were deni'd common Juſtice in  
 their Affairs; and were often made to loſe their Suits, for no  
 other reaſon but upon the ſcore of their Religion: that at *St.*  
*Gilles*, the Miniſter *du Terond* attending a Corps to the Grave,  
 was knockt o' the head, yet no puniſhment inſiſted upon the  
 guilty: that *Briet*, a Judge in the Iſle of *Ré*, a man made up  
 of Fury and Frenzy, had caus'd an unfortunate Wretch to be  
 burnt alive, as being convicted to have burnt a Crucifix, which

1625. nevertheless was found without the least harm done to it, after the execution of that miserable Creature : and that *Rochel* was unjustly oppress'd, which had voluntarily submitted to the Crown.

But in regard that Writings of this nature rarely remain unanswer'd, a Reply to *Soubise's* Manifesto soon appear'd abroad ; though the Author observ'd no Rule or Measure. He had the boldness to assert, that the Reformed had done *Henry IV.* but very little service, because they had neither supply'd him with Money nor Men. He made Reason of State an Excuse for the Alteration of the King's Promises ; though in the main he disown'd the Maxim, which permits Princes to break their Words either with their Subjects or with *Heretics*. He evaded the Promise of the Restitution of *Saumur*, by saying, that it was never made, but in case there had been no War. As if, though that had been true, it had not been justice to have restor'd the City, at least after the Peace concluded. He thrust in by head and shoulders an Invektive against *Farvas*, who never regarded the ruin of his Party, provided he could make himself great. He intermix'd the Recital of the Jealousies which the Assemblies apprehended of the Authority which the Duke of *Rohan* and his Brother went about to usurp. He evaded the rest of the Complaints after various manners, but with very little sincerity, as may be judg'd by the foregoing Examples. As to the Exercises not being re-establish'd, he said, that the Processes were depending in Council ; but he did not say, that thence arose the occasion of complaining, because those Causes hung undetermin'd for several years together. He pretended that Employments were conferr'd upon the Reformed ; but he conceal'd, that that was only done to draw 'em off from the Cause of the Churches ; and that it was for that reason only that *La Farce* and *Chastillon* had been made Marshals of *France*, and *Augustus Galand* a Counsellor of State. He averr'd that *Teron* dy'd of an Ulcer in the Lungs ; whereas it was prov'd, that he had preach'd in his Church not above fifteen days before he dy'd.

Dispute about the Privileges of *Rochelle*.

At the same time also a new Dispute arose about the Privileges of *Rochelle*, of which I have spoken in another place. I shall

shall therefore say no more here, then only this, that the Pre-1625.  
 tensions of that City to their Franchises were so solid, and so  
 well grounded, that all the Artifices of those who went about  
 to deprive them of 'em, could never imagine but only two vain  
 Pretences. The one was, That the City had forfeited their  
 Rights, when being taken by the *English*, it was re-taken from  
 'em : The other was, That she had bin depriv'd of her Privi-  
 ledges in 1541. by *Francis I.* by reason of her Rebellion. But  
 to the first it was answer'd, That she her self had bin assisting  
 to restore her self to the Dominion of the *French* : That she had  
 since that obtain'd New Concessions and Grants, besides a Con-  
 firmation of the Old ones ; that *Lewis XI.* had sworn to main-  
 tain her in her Immunities ; and that it was past all contradi-  
 ction that she had enjoy'd 'em till the year 1541. because it was  
 then that the King depriv'd her of 'em. And to the second  
 Pretence it was reply'd, That *Henry II.* had restor'd whatever  
 had bin taken away by his Father, and resettl'd her in her Pri-  
 viledges.

But according to the Custom of War, no sooner were the  
 Troubles begun, but they began to talk of Peace. The Court  
 appear'd inclinable to it, because those Negotiations gave her  
 always an opportunity to corrupt some body or other, or time  
 to put her self into a condition to give Laws. *Soubise* and *Rochelle*  
 sent their Deputies to the King ; and though the Duke of  
*Rohan* thought it more proper to treat in any other place then  
 at the Court, he was constrain'd, that he might appear united  
 to the rest, to send his Deputies the same way, as also were  
 the Corporations that had adher'd to him. However, in re-  
 gard the Council fought only to take their time, and to prepare  
 a favourable opportunity to compleat the Ruin of the Party,  
 the Treaty was spun out in length, and Acts of Hostility began  
 in the Upper *Languedoc*. Yet Marshal *de Themines* was not  
 very prosperous in *Albigeois* ; but when he enter'd the Province  
 of *Foix*, his Men, with others that join'd him there, commit-  
 ted so many Cruelties, that the Catholicks themselves were  
 asham'd of 'em : So that this same Barbarous Army having sus-  
 tain'd great Losses before *Mas d'Azil*, where they were forc'd  
 to raise their Siege with Ignominy, several made no scruple to  
 look

*Peace dis-  
 cour'd of*

*Cruelties  
 of the Roy-  
 al Army in  
 Foix.*

1625. look upon the Rout of the Marshal as a Divine Punishment of his Violences. On the other side, *Soubise* having landed in the Countrey of *Meudon* to divert the Enemy, found an opportunity to perform a more Considerable Exploit. For a Fleet set out to engage him, and reinforc'd with some *Dutch Ships*, oblig'd him to put to Sea agen, in order to meet and fight that Squadron. In short, The Enemy was utterly defeated; and in regard, that since the Enterprize of *Blavet*, every thing had succeeded according to his wish; this New Advantage gave so much reputation to his Affairs, that the most Timorous had the courage to declare on his side. The Court also became more supple about the Conditions of Peace, while *Rochel* and some other Corporations stood more stiffly upon Terms.

A Paper  
of the Re-  
formed  
presented  
to the  
King.

The Deputies therefore which the Reformed had sent to the King, and who had su'd for a Peace in most humble manner, at length at *Fontainebleau* obtain'd an indifferent Answer to the Paper which they had presented. It contain'd one and twenty Articles, the first of which nam'd three and forty Places, wherein a Re-establishment of the Exercise was demanded, as in the year 1620. Nor was the City of *Foix* omitted in this same Catalogue: Whence it appear'd that the Triumph of the Monk *Vilate* was but a Chimera; or rather, that the Pretence had not been of any long continuance; since there were still some of the Reformed remaining in a place, where the Monk had boasted his *Conversion* of all that were there. The second demanded the Restitution of the Church-yards which had bin taken from the Reformed in several Places, of which Eight were particularly nam'd. The third demanded Liberty for the Ministers to reside where they pleas'd, according to the General and Particular Articles of the Edict. The Fourth concern'd the Exemption deny'd from contributing toward the Reparation of Churches, and some other things that savour'd of Compliance with the *Roman* Worship. The Fifth contain'd a Complaint, that frequently the bodies of the Reformed were digg'd up agen, under pretence that they were buried in Catholic Chappels or Church-yards. Of which there was a fresh Example at *Chartres*. For the Bishop had order'd the Body of *Teligni*, a Gentleman whose Land lay in that Diocess, to be haul'd out of his Tomb;



Tomb ; and the pretence of this Piece of Inhumanity exercis'd upon the Body of that Gentleman, eight days after it had bin buried, was, because it was buried in the Chappel of his House. The same Article contain'd Complaints of the demolishing of some Churches, of woich they gave for an example the pulling down the Church which the Reformed had at *Cheilar*. They complain'd also of the banishing of several persons, who had bin driven out of several Cities, for no other reason, but upon the score of Religion ; and among the rest of the places where these Exorbitancies had bin committed, *Villemur, Leitoure, Puimirol*, and *Soumieres* were particulariz'd. The sixth express'd the demolishing of *Fort Lewis* ; and the next, the leveling of the Citadel of *Mompelie*r, which the Inhabitants had bin constrain'd to demand. The eighth insisted upon the Breif in 1598. touching places of security, the purport of which was, that there should be no Innovation introduc'd. The ninth mention'd the City Tolls, which had been very ill paid ; and the tenth demanded, that the Sums promis'd to the Reformed of *Bearn*, in recompence of Ecclesiastical Estates, might be paid without any defalcation or diminution. The following Article spoke of the Decree of the Parliament of *Bretagne*, which had broken the Article of the Edict wherein the Reformed were declar'd capable of all Employments : they therefore demanded the Decree to be cancell'd, and the Article to be confirm'd. The twelfth was drawn up in favour of the Party-Chambers, and of the Officers that compos'd 'em. In the rest it was demanded, That the Reformed who had bin despoil'd of their Goods and Estates, by Grants, Confiscations, or under pretence of Reprizals, should be restor'd to the same ; that Acts of Hostility should be forgotten ; that the Declaration publish'd before *Mompelie*r, might be register'd in the Chamber of Account in *Paris* ; that they who had taken Arms in 1621. might be discharg'd of Taxes laid upon 'em during the Troubles ; and that the Receivers who had caus'd 'em to be paid, might be oblig'd to restitution of what they had receiv'd ; that they might not be su'd in the Courts of Justice for what had bin done to the prejudice of the Duke of *Rohan's* safe Conduicts which he had revok'd ; that the Priviledges of the Reformed Cities.

1625. Cities and Corporations, principally regarding the Election of their Consuls and Common Councils, might be preserv'd; that each Party might be reciprocally discharg'd from payment of Debts created without the consent of the other; that those of the Reformed might be equally shar'd; and lastly, that they might be permitted to hold General Assemblies.

*Answers to  
their Pa-  
per.*

The Answers return'd to this Paper were favourable enough. They referr'd the re-establishment of places for Exercise, and the restitution of Church-yards to the Commissioners; and that, in terms earnest enough, and such as might have prov'd satisfactory, had those Promises bin sincerely fulfill'd. Principally, there was one remarkable Clause about Church-yards to this purpose, that if for important Reasons they could not restore to the Reformed the same places which they had made use of in 1620. others should be deliver'd to 'em, as commodious as they could desire, at the charges of those that should require the exchange. This set things very near upon the Basis of the ancient Article of Particulars, and lost the Advocate General *Talon*, the fruit of that Fraud which he pretended to have discover'd, and which for twenty years together had serv'd for a Foundation to the Orders of the Commissioners. The liberty for the Ministers to reside where they pleas'd was confirm'd, and the King reserv'd to his Council the power upon hearing of the Cause, to remedy such Infringements as should be complain'd of. The Exemption from contributing to things mention'd in the twelfth Article of Particulars was granted, only with the exception of Treaties that had bin made upon that occasion between the Reformed and the Catholics. They answer'd indirectly to the Article about digging up the Bodies of the dead, upon which the Demandants were referr'd to the 18th and 23d Article of the Edict, and to the Decree of Council of the 25th of *August* 1620. But it was order'd that the Council should be inform'd of the demolishing of Churches; that the banish'd persons should be restor'd; and that the business of *Chailar*, tho remov'd to the Council, should be sent back to the Party-Chamber, which was translated to *Beziers* by reason of the Troubles. The demolishing of *Fort Lewis*, and the observance of the Brevet of 1598. were promis'd in general terms, provided

1625.

ded the Reformed behav'd themselves well. As for the Citadel of *Mompelher*, they were willing to believe that the Inhabitants had demanded it freely and unanimously. The King also promis'd, that the Sums due for 1623 and 24 should be paid, to grant good Assignations for the present year, and to make good the Compensation in *Bearn*. The admission of the Reformed into all Offices, the preservation of the Jurisdiction of the Chambers, and of the Dignity of their Officers; the resettlement of the Reformed in their Estates; the Act of Oblivion of all Acts of Hostility; the registering of the Declaration of *Mompelher*, were all so many Articles granted. The discharge from Taxes laid during the Troubles, was granted to those only who had taken Arms in 1621. for as much as was still due, without restitution of what they had paid. The Cities that still were held by the Reformed had their Priviledges confirm'd; and if any Case of Appeal happen'd about the Election of Officers, the cognizance of it was referr'd to the Chambers. The Article about safe Conducts was granted. That, about the reciprocal discharge of Debts created by one Party without the consent of the other, was past for such as were not yet paid: only the King reserv'd to himself the equalizing the share of the particular Debts of the Reformed; and promis'd to permit a General Assembly if they desir'd it, when the time was come for electing the General Deputies.

These Answers being dispatch't into the Provinces, met not with minds dispos'd to be satisfi'd therewith. Their great Successes had dazzl'd almost all the world; and they who had caus'd themselves most earnestly to be entreated to quit their Obedience, were most backward in laying down those Arms to which they had betaken themselves with so much reluctance: so that almost all the Corporations refus'd the Answers as dissatisfactory. More especially, *Rochel* would have *Fort Lewis* demolish'd before all things, and would not hear of Peace till that were done. But the Duke of *Rohan*, who was afraid of some Back-blow of Fortune, and who was desirous to make the best of the present condition of Affairs, labour'd for an Accommodation with all his might. And in regard that for the obtaining in gross, what he could not obtain by piece-meal, he

*The Reformed not satisfi'd.*

1625. was contrain'd to summon an Assembly at *Anduse*, where he caus'd the War to be resolv'd upon, he summon'd another at *Milhan*, to persuade 'em to accept of Peace. But while the time was spent in Journies backward and forward, the Court had leisure to recover their Affairs into a better posture. She sow'd Suspicions and Jealousies among the Reformed; and rais'd up a Party strong enough against the Duke of *Rohan* and his Brother, to insinuate idle Fears, as if they intended to patch up an Accommodation to the prejudice of the common Cause. She debauch'd some of *Soubises's* principal Officers, and among the rest his Vice-Admiral; and being strengthen'd with some Men of War with which *England* and the *United Provinces* suppli'd her, she repair'd her Losses, and found a way to expel *Soubise* out of the Islands of *Oleron* and *Ré*, to cut in pieces his Land-Army, and scatter his Fleet at Sea. The Mayor of *Rochel* also was suspected to have betray'd the Party; for that having hinder'd Seven or eight hunder'd Gentlemen and other Soldiers to pass over into the Isle of *Ré*, under pretence that they might get over more easily with the morning tide, he gave the King's Vessels leisure to seize the Channel that separates the Island from the Continent: so that *Soubise* was depriv'd of that Succor which might have prevented the defeat of his men.

The Court  
recovers  
her Affairs.

An Assem-  
bly of the  
Clergy.

The Clergy was then assembl'd at *Paris*, whither every Diocess had sent a greater number of Deputies than was permitted by the Regulations. The reason of this Innovation was, because there were certain Books to be examin'd, of which a Censure was demanded, in regard they contain'd a Doctrine prejudicial to the King's Authority. But in regard that at the same time the Pope's power was call'd in question, the Clergy, much more zealous to support that, than to perform their duty, were desirous to augment the number of voices, that they might be able to oppose those who had really *French* hearts. The Bishop of *Chartres* also, being entrusted and enjoin'd by the Assembly to write the Censure upon those Books, was disown'd by the rest of the Clergy, because he was not so officious as others to the See of *Rome*. The Parliament sided with the Bishop, and enjoin'd the Assembly either to subscribe the Censure



sure of those pernicious Books, or to break up. But the Clergy refus'd to obey that Decree; and to allay the Contest, the King summon'd the Affair before himself and his Council; contenting himself with a general Censure of those Books, without entring into the Particulars of the pernicious Propositions which they contain'd. The Nuncio appear'd very hot in this Affair; caus'd an Extract of the disowning the Bishop's Censure to be deliver'd to him, and sent it to Rome, where they were extremely satisfi'd with this perseverance of the Clergy in their accusom'd Prevarications; for which the Pope return'd 'em thanks in a most obliging manner. But the Clergy for all this, could not chuse but be asham'd of their own Behaviour, and order'd by a private Act that the remembrance of that dispute should be stifi'd. Nevertheless that Precaution could not deface it; and the Expedient it self which they had made choice of to cause it to be forgotten, serv'd only to preserve the memory of it.

The Cardinal, during whose Ministry the Clergy was very powerful, and very much respected, was not yet so well settl'd in the Government, as openly to displease the Court of Rome; and besides he was desirous to milk from the Clergy a more than ordinary Sum, under pretence of the War. But all these Complacencies could not obtain above Six hunder'd thousand Crowns; which the Clergy did not give neither, without some Testimonies that they were loth to part with it. In the mean time the King wrote to the Assembly, after the defeat of *Soubise*, to let 'em understand the good news of his Victory; and to the end they might not be ignorant that Religion was the cause of the War, whatever Assurances he gave his Protestant Allies and Reformed Subjects to the contrary, he told 'em expressly in his Letters, that by the Rout of *Soubise*, Truth had triumph'd over Falshood. But then the Victors might say what they pleas'd without any danger. For the Reformed, stunn'd with this Revolution, thought of nothing but submitting themselves; and the Assembly of *Milhau*, upon the first of August, drew up an acceptance of the Answers to the Papers decreed at *Fontainebleau*. And in pursuance of this, sent away their Deputies to the King with their Submissions; who made their

*They give  
money with  
an ill will.*

1625. Addresſes to him the 21ſt of the month, and in moſt humble terms beſought him for *Rochel*. To which the King's Anſwer was, That he granted a general Peace to all thoſe who had taken Arms; but he added theſe words, For *Rochel* 'tis another thing.

*The King excepts Rochel out of the Peace.*  
*Which regards the concluſion of it.*

This excepting of *Rochel*, ſuſpended the concluſion of the Treaty; for that the Deputies of the Aſſembly at *Milbau* had not power to accept of Peace, but upon condition that *Rochel* were included. Which Union of Interests was ill reſented at Court, where it was told the Deputies, to fright 'em into a Diſunion, that their ſticking ſo cloſe one to another tended to Faction. However they wanted not Reaſons to have juſtiſ'd themſelves, had the Court deſign'd to have uſ'd 'em favourably. For they repli'd, That there was nothing of Novelty in the Union; that till then the King had never diſapprov'd it; that they had bin always join'd together in their Deputations, in their Submiſſions, in their Petitions, in their Papers, which they had always preſented to the King in Union one with another. That by the Anſwer to Article VIII. of the laſt Papers, it was promis'd there ſhould be no Innovation in the Cities held by the Proteſtants; which would be no more then a deluſion, if *Rochel* were excluded: That the Edicts of Peace had bin general hitherto, and accepted in common, without any reſenting the Union of Interests. That the acceptance of the Peace without *Rochel*, would be an expreſs condemnation of that City; which would be an Action highly ſcandalous among People of the ſame Religion; ſo much the rather, becauſe *Rochel* was reſolv'd to ſubmit. That if the reſt of the Reformed abandon'd *Rochel* to the King's Indignation, People would be afraid that their general deſtruction was to be begun with the particular ruine of that City; ſeeing that the Clergy, the Parliaments, and the principal Perſons of the Kingdom diſcourſ'd openly of extirpating *Herſſy*, and of beginning with *Rochel*; which was confirm'd by the printed Pamphlets that were publicly ſold in *Paris*.

*Particular Laws which the King would impoſe upon that City.*

But the ſame Reaſons which made the Reformed judge, that their Union with *Rochel* was juſt and neceſſary, were the very Reaſons that oblig'd the Court to endeavour the diſſolution of it. For the ruine of that formidable City was ſworn; and the

the Cardinal, who was desirous to signalize himself by great things, thought it an Enterprize worthy himself. So that there was nothing listen'd to, of what was spoken in favour of that City, whose Destiny was vow'd. Nevertheless, she was as much astonish'd as the rest at *Spadisco's* Defeat; and falling of a sudden from a Resolution a little too haughty, into most profound Submissions, she resolv'd to beg with humility that Peace, which she had refus'd with disdain. Her Deputies came and threw themselves at the King's Feet, and besought his Pardon in most submissive terms. But the King answer'd 'em like a Master, that resolv'd to make his Pardon his Punishment, and reduce 'em by the Peace into a worse Condition than the Calamities of an Unfortunate War could e're have brought 'em. The Chancellor therefore, to whom the King refer'd 'em, impos'd these Conditions upon 'em. That the Council and Government of the City should be in the same Condition as it was in 1610. That they should admit an Intendant of Justice: That the Fortifications should be demolish'd. That the King should be admitted with respect, whenever he pleas'd to enter. That they should have no Men of War, and that Merchants Ships should take their Passes from the Admiral of *France*. That they should restore to the Ecclesiastics their Goods and Estates: And that certain Wagons and Merchandise which belong'd to the Inhabitants of *Orleans*, and which the *Rochellois* had seiz'd, should be restor'd. Upon these Conditions they were promis'd to be comprehended in all the Priviledges of the Edict.

'Twas a sower piece of Condescention to submit to such severe and rigorous Laws; nor could they tell how to mollify the Victor into more easie moderation. In vain the General Deputies interceded for *Rochelle* in the name of all the Churches. However *Maniald* took upon him to spake, and made a most moving and passionate Speech to the King; wherein he made a lively description of the Misery of the *Rochellois*; he excus'd their taking Arms as done out of necessity: Which nevertheless he condemn'd with Expressions full of execration, whatever the Pretence were with which it was cover'd. He said, that the *Rochellois* were come to accuse themselves, and sue for mercy. He besought the King to grant 'em Peace, not as Enemies, subdu'd:

1625. subdu'd by the Sword ; but as Subjects, with the moderation of his Sceptre. He added, that without Liberty, they would not be Subjects, but Slaves. Concluding, he implor'd pardon with promise of submission, and of *servitude* also, if the King's satisfaction and the good of his service depended upon it. But all this was to no purpose: The King was resolv'd that *Rochelle* should be excepted out of the General Peace, and that she should submit to particular Laws.

A powerful  
League a-  
gainst  
Spain.

In the mean time there was a League concluded between the King of *England*, the Republic of *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, in Conjunction with *France*, against *Spain*, which kept almost all *Italy* under the Yoke, and was fairly preparing to deprive her of the remainder of her Liberty. These Confederates were very urgent with Cardinal *Richlieu* to hasten Peace with the Reformed, to the end they might act unanimously against the Common Enemy. 'Tis true, that Minister had it deep laid in his thoughts to humble *Spain*, but he thought that the first step which he was to take to that end, was to enslave *France*, and by that means to bereave Foreigners of Opportunities to renew the Civil Wars. To that end, he judg'd it necessary first to ruin the Reformed, who were still strong enough by their Union to support a Party of Malecontents. And therefore he resolv'd to begin with *Rochelle*; after the reducing of which, he did not expect to meet with much more Resistance in the Kingdom. Nor did *France* want Persons who were sharp sighted enough to penetrate the Cardinal's Design: But their foresight did not hinder 'em for all that, from contributing to their own Servitude. They well perceiv'd, that in oppressing the Reformed they made Fetters for themselves; but every one was in hopes to make his Fortune by the Public Misery. This was that which made the Cardinal so obstinate to except *Rochel* out of the general Peace, to the end he might separate it from the rest of the Reformed, and destroy it with more ease.

The Car-  
dinal's De-  
sign.

Of which  
he was forc'd  
to defer  
the execu-  
tion.

But two things constrain'd him to surcease this Great Design. The one was, That the *Spaniards* waited the Success of these Confusions, that they might take their own Methods; that they treated with the Duke of *Rohan* to accept of their Service; that



that the Duke had sent *Campredon* into *Spain*, to make himself the more considerable by their Succour ; that the Conjunction of Affairs render'd the *Spaniards* more stiff ; and authoriz'd the spinning out a Treaty begun with 'em, about those things which had kindl'd the War in *Italy*. The other was, That Powerful Cabals were forming against him to remove him from the Ministry. He saw the chiefest part of all that was great at Court in Combination against him ; and rightly judg'd that he should have too many Factions to employ his Wits, without taking upon himself the management of two Wars at once, the one Domestic, the other Civil. He resolv'd therefore to put an end both to the one, and the other ; with a resolution to set a-foot the Civil War again, so soon as the Conspiracies against his Authority would give him leisure ; and to apply himself to the Foreign War so soon as he had stifi'd the Seeds from whence Domestic Troubles might again spring up. For the first, he made use of the continu'd Importunities of *Holland* and *Carleton* to induce him to use the Reformed with less severity, to the end he might be more at liberty to carry on the Foreign War. On the other side, those Embassadors press'd the Reformed to accept the Peace upon the Conditions that were offer'd 'em ; and assur'd 'em that the King their Master would be Guaranty for the performance of those that were promis'd 'em. Particularly, they promis'd *Rochelle*, that the King of *England* would so earnestly solicit the Demolishing of *Fort Lewis*, and so moderate the Hard Conditions that were impos'd upon 'em, that he question'd not but to bring it to pass. They farther told 'em, that the King of *France* had given 'em his Word to demolish the Fort in convenient time, upon Condition that *Rochelle* return'd to her Duty.

The English Embassadors importunate for the Peace of the Religion.

1626.

These Sollicitations and Promises made *Rochelle* at length determin to humble her self : And the rest of the Cities, as *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, *Uzez*, which had not refus'd the Peace, but only because she stood out, follow'd her Example, so soon as she had accepted it. Thereupon it was concluded the 16th of *February*. However, all that was alter'd in the Laws impos'd upon *Rochelle* was, that the Second Article, which mention'd the settling an Intendant of Justice in that City,

*Rochelle* accepts the Conditions somewhat mollify'd.

was

1626. was express'd in these Terms, That they should admit Commissioners to see the Peace perform'd, who might reside there as long as they pleas'd. There was nothing said either of the Fourth, which import'd that the King should be admitted whenever he pleas'd to enter; or of the Seventh, which concern'd the Interest of certain Merchants of *Orleanse*: But they put instead of them, the Restoration of the Catholic Religion in the full Liberty of its Exercises; and a Declaration that *Fort Lewis* could not be raz'd; but that such Order should be given to the Garison, and to the Garisons of the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, that the Trade of the City should be no way prejudic'd. Instead of demolishing the Fortifications which had been decree'd at first in General Terms, nothing more was requir'd then the demolishing the *Fort de Taden*: And to soften the Article which enjoin'd the Merchants Vessels to take Passes from the Admirals of *France*, 'twas only ordain'd that they should observe the Laws of Traffic, without prejudice to their Priviledges.

There was an Act of these Articles drawn up, at the bottom of which was a Promise that the Reformed should enjoy the benefit of the Answers return'd to their Papers at *Fontainbleau*, in *July* 1625; provided that on their part, they settled things in the same condition as they were in at the same time. But for fear, lest *Rochelle* should take any advantage of this Promise, that City was expressly excepted: And it was declar'd. That the King did not thereby engage himself to any other Favour then what was mention'd in the Act which went before. The Deputies of the Reformed had sign'd in that Place. But underneath there was yet a third Act, sign'd by the said Deputies as well in their own, as in the name of the Deputies, from the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubise*, of *Languedoc*, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Casseres*, *Nîmes*, *Uzes*, *Melhan*, and *Cevennes*, wherein they protested that they had besought the King with all the duty and most humble submissions that Subjects could pay to their Sovereign, to pardon what was past, and to grant 'em Peace; with a promise of great Fidelity for the future, from which they would never swerve; and Offers of all manner of Services: All which the King had graciously harken'd to, and upon which he had given his Royal Word for Peace, and the observance of the

Answers

Answers return'd to the Paper deliver'd at *Fontainebleau*. Out of which however he had excepted *Rochelle*, in reference to which he had declar'd his Will; and which, they said, they accepted as the most signal Mark of Clemency and Goodness that Subjects could receive from a Sovereign; and they promis'd to stand to it inviolably, and to cause the Places taken since *July* last to be surrender'd.

The Court, although they desir'd Peace with an extraordinary Passion, exacted these Submissions, to make the Reformed own that they were in the wrong to levy War; and that they might take advantage of their own Confessions, if any new Quarrels brake forth. And the Reformed, who were not ignorant of the Court-Politics, past these Infamous Acts, either because they had bin wrought over, or because they found they lay at the mercy of the Court, as the Duke of *Rohan* well foresaw; or else because they were in hopes of obtaining greater Favours by these Extraordinary Submissions; or lastly, in compliance with those who could not like it, that Subjects should take Arms against their Prince upon any Occasion whatever. However, to assure themselves of the King of *England's* Protection, whom they believ'd to be Guarantee of the Peace, they drew up an Act sign'd by the Embassadors, and dated *Feb. 11.* wherein they declar'd, that the Razing of *Fort-Lewis* was promis'd in time convenient, provided the *Rochelois* return'd to their duty; and that without that Promise neither *Rochel* would have accepted the Peace, neither would the Reformed have relinquish'd those things which the Instances of the King of *England* made 'em relinquish; by reason of which they put 'em in hopes of a powerful Intercession on his part, that they might have satisfaction giv'n 'em. This Paper was ill drawn up; nor did it clearly express the Guarantie of which the King of *England* boasted. Nevertheless, it cannot be deni'd, but that it must have oblig'd that Prince either to have disown'd his Embassadors, or else to take care that what was granted the Reformed should be faithfully perform'd; since he acknowledg'd that the sole force of his Sollicitations had vanquish'd their good nature to be satisfi'd with the King's Offers. An honest man needs no more to engage him to make another man's business his own, but

*Why the Court exacted such Writings*

*Act pass'd by the Embassadors of England.*

*In what sense the King of England was Guarantor.*

1626. that it was himself who caus'd the other to miscarry, either by his Authority or Persuasion. And in this sense it cannot be deni'd, but that the King of *England* was Guarantee of the Peace, since it was upon his word, and in hopes that he would be answerable for it, that the Reformed accepted it. But this Important Ceremony wanted due formality ; and the Council of *France* had so well order'd their Business, that nothing appear'd from whence any evident Conclusion could be drawn, that the King of *England* interpos'd in this Treaty as a Mediator, or as a Guarantee. In a word, Policy will not permit Princes to suffer, that another Prince should be Guarantee of Treaties which are made between them and their Subjects. To consent that Subjects should have recourse to the Garantie of a Foreigner for their Security in things that concern the Word and Authority of their Lawful Prince, would be to tye 'em to another Sovereign. For this Reason the Court of *France*, who had let the King of *England* alone to use all the Arguments, of which they could make their advantage, yet were not engag'd by any Public Act to do the least Kindness out of any respect for him, laugh'd at the Pretension of the *English* Mediator, when he would have had his Garantie taken effect ; and lookt upon the Embassador's Writing as an idle piece of Nullity that oblig'd the King of *France* to nothing.

A new Edict confirming all the rest.

But after the Peace was sign'd upon the Conditions mention'd, the Ratifications of *Rochel* and *Montauban* were expected ; of which the one was perform'd the second, the other the sixth of *March*. Which done, an Edict was publish'd the same Month, which contain'd Twelve Articles. The Introduction spoke of nothing but Clemency and Pardon on the King's part, and Submissions and Supplications reiterated by the Reformed, and particularly by those who remain'd in obedience, which the King said, was the better sort, and the greatest part, and to whose Remonstrances he had had a special regard when he accepted the Submissions of the Rest. The First Article confirm'd the *Register'd* Edicts and Secret Articles, and gave Testimony that they had been well and duly observ'd in the Reign of the deceased King, and after his death, till the beginning of the last Commotions. Which was an Artifice to induce the



the Reformed themselves to condemn all the loud Complaints of a thousand Breaches before that time. The second restor'd the Exercise of the *Roman* Religion in all places where it had bin ejected during the Troubles; and order'd ample Restitution of the Estates and Rights belonging to the Ecclesiastics, even of their Moveables that should be found in *specie*. The third granted the same favour to the Reformed for the exercise of their Religion, and for the Church-yards which they were possess'd of in 1600. And the Clauses of that Article were taken out of the Answer to the two first of the Paper decreed at *Fontainebleau*. The fourth contain'd an Amnesty of all Acts of Hostility; even of those that might have bin committed since the day of the Declaration dated *October* 1622. till the day of the publication of this in the Parlements: nor were the Submissions and reiterated Supplications of the Reformed omitted. The fifth concern'd the raising of money, and gave a discharge of it in the terms of the Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, which mention'd the same thing. The sixth re-establish'd the Seats of Judicature, the Receipts, the Officers of the Finances, in the places from whence they had bin remov'd by reason of the Troubles; wherein the Tablier of the Election at *Rochel* was also comprehended. The Priviledges of the Cities which the Reformed held in their hands were likewise confirm'd. The usual method for the electing of Consuls was to be observ'd; and the Appeals of Persons aggriev'd were to be judg'd by the Chambers of the Edict. The seventh discharg'd the Reformed from all Sentences pronounc'd against 'em by reason of their taking Arms: And this Article was very necessary every where; but chiefly within the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, where they had signaliz'd their extraordinary Zeal by a great number of Decrees against Corporations and private persons. The eighth ordain'd a speedy Release of Prisoners and Persons condemn'd to the Gallies. The ninth confirm'd the Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, which declar'd the Reformed capable of all Offices; re establish'd those that had bin put out; revok'd the Patents of their Offices granted to others, and restor'd to the Reformed all their Estates, their Titles, Debts, Acccompts and Actions, and cancell'd all opposite Acts, except the

1626. peremptory Decrees of the Council and Chambers of the Edict. The tenth order'd that this Declaration should be observ'd in the terms of the 92d Article of the Edict of *Nantes*. The eleventh forbid for the future all manner of Politic Assemblies, unless they had express leave to hold 'em; and all manner of Associations, and keeping of Intelligences. Nevertheless Ecclesiastical Assemblies were permitted, about meer affairs of Church-Discipline, and in conformity to the Declaration of *August 1623*. which enjoin'd the Synods to admit a Commissioner deputed by the King. All manner of Fortifications and raising of Money were forbid, without an express Commission. The last ordain'd the execution of the Articles that related to *Rochel*, and the restitution of the Cities and Castles during the War. 'Tis true the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and certain Burgeses of *Orleans*; the Catholics of *Mompelier* and parts adjoining, Prelats, Ecclesiastics, Gentlemen and others, oppos'd the verification of this Edict in the Parliament of *Paris*; and the opposition of the first was admitted, but the rest were referr'd to the Parliament of *Tholouse*. However their opposition was only in reference to some particular Interests.

France  
plays foul  
with the  
Confederates.

After the Peace was thus concluded, the *Confederates* were in hopes that *France* would have turn'd her Arms against the House of *Austria*. But they were strangely astonish'd to see a ratifi'd Treaty appear abroad within eleven days after, which *du Targis*, Ambassador in *Spain*, had concluded between the Two Crowns. 'Tis true, that to cover this foul Play, they made a shew of disowning the Ambassador, who seemingly was never to have bin pardon'd, but for the earnest solicitations of the Court of *Rome*. But this Farce deceiv'd none but Fools, for the Treaty held good after some slight Alterations, and the *Confederates* exhal'd their Resentments in vain Reproaches and unprofitable Threats. There was only the Duke of *Savoy*, who being enrag'd at such a piece of Perfidiousness, sent away the Abbot de la *Scaglia* into *England*, to excite that Monarch to revenge, who had no less reason then himself to be chaf'd at such a scorn of his Amity. And Affairs in that Kingdom began to encline toward a Rupture; for there was a great Jealousy in point of Honour between Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the Duke of

Jealousie  
between  
the Cardi-  
nal and  
Buckingham.

*Buck-*

*Buckingham*, but they were unequally match'd: For *Buckingham* 1626. was vain, hair-brain'd, lofty, and void of Foresight; *Richlieu* crafty, a Dissembler, a Hypocrite, and one that never ventur'd any thing without good assurances of Success. They had this however, which was common to both; that they were hated by all men but such as were their Creatures, and both were equally sovereign Governors of their sovereign Masters; tho others say, there was a more secret cause of Jealousy between 'em. For *Buckingham* had appear'd in the Court of *France* with the Character of Ambassador in a magnificent Equipage, and had drawn the eyes of all the world upon him. He had moreover pleas'd the Ladies; and his vanity had transported him to think himself worthy to attempt the Queen herself. The Cardinal had the same thoughts, and could not endure that his Rival should receive any marks of being preferr'd before him.

We may reckon, among the greatest weaknesses of that celebrated Minister of State, that he was emulous of out-doing all others, ev'n in Trifles: he could not endure that another man should out-do him in the most pitiful things. To make Verses, or to speak better than he did, was not the way to win his Favour, or to shew that he understood Humanity, Philosophy, the Mathematics, Divinity or Antiquity better than he. That he might enjoy the Reputation of being the most expert man of his time in all things, he stretcht his weakness to that degree, as to attribute to himself the Works of other men; and to own under his own Name those Writings, wherein, perhaps, he was no more concern'd, than to have bin the first that conceiv'd the rude and indigested *Idea* of the Subject. He had the same Sentiments as to Magnificence, and Courting of Ladies; and for a man to presume to transcend him in either of those two things, was a certain way to lose his favour. However it were, he always us'd the Queen but very scurvily, after he observ'd the little value she had for him; insomuch that while he liv'd, she had not all the World at will.

There was also brewing at the same time another occasion of a Rupture, through the ill conduct of the Queens Household Servants. Their Zeal for the Catholic Religion, soon made 'em exceed.

1625. exceed the Bounds to which they were confin'd by the Treaties of Marriage. They introduc'd the Jesuits into the Household of that Princess; where those turbulent and ambitious People made themselves such absolute Masters of her Wit and Reason, that they soon set her at variance with the King her Husband. They so intoxicated her Understanding with their Superstitions, that they forc'd her to commit a thousand mean things beneath her Grandeur, and unworthy of her Dignity. They persuaded her to adore, as Martyrs, those of their Order, that had bin executed under the preceding Reign, as Contrivers or Accomplices in the Powder-Plot. And the occasion of a Jubilee presenting itself, they made choice of the place where the common Malefactors are executed, whither the Queen was to walk bare-foot to say her Prayers. The *English*, to whom the very Name of Jesuit is abominable, were justly offended at this piece of Insolence; and the King himself, though he were extremely soft and easy, was highly exasperated: So that being otherwise disgusted at the Misdemeanors of the Queens Domesticks, he resolv'd to send 'em back into *France*. Upon which, the Cardinal sent *Bassompierre* to him, to complain of such a violence offer'd to the Treaty; and to endeavour to reconcile the differences between him and his Wife, wherein the Ambassador had the good luck to succeed within a little of his Wishes. But in regard the Ministers of both Courts made it their business mutually to vex and thwart one another, the Cardinal caus'd *Bassompierre's* Treaty to be disown'd, and *Buckingham* oblig'd his King to revoke his Word. After which, upon some Affairs of Commerce intervening, *Buckingham*, who burn'd with a desire of returning into *France*, and brave the Cardinal, would needs be sent thither once more with the Character of Ambassador. But the Cardinal found a way to let him understand that he should not be welcome. Upon which, the *English* Favourite enrag'd at such an Affront, oblig'd his Master to declare War against *France*. And the pretence was, that the Court of *France* had not observ'd the Articles of the last Peace. But his Measures were so false, and his Conduct so fool-hardy, that he compleated the Ruine of the Reformed and *Rochel*, while he sought his own and their Revenge.

*Enterprises  
of the Ca-  
tholics of  
the Queen  
of Eng-  
land's me-  
moral Ser-  
vants.*

While



While this Tempest was gathering together, the Cardinal labour'd to disperse another Storm that threaten'd him nearer at hand. *Spain*, who well foresaw what Obstacles he would throw in the way of her Grandeur, if he were not entangl'd in Domestic Divisions, found him work on every side, and she perceiv'd the chiefest part of the Princes and great Lords inclin'd to second her. The Reigning Queen hated the Cardinal; and Monsieur's Softness made him comply with all the Sentiments of those who had the ascendant over him. They put him out of conceit with a Match with the Heiress of *Mompensier*, which had been projected in the time of the deceas'd King; and they fill'd his Head with a thousand Chimera's. But the Principal Visions with which they amus'd his Brains, were the deposing of the King, to the unmarrying him, and giving to his Brother both his Crown and Wife. Upon which Subject several Libels had appear'd abroad; of which one that was entitl'd an *Adversisement to the King*, made it a Crime in him to oppose the Prosperity of the House of *Austria*, and to confederate against her with Protestant Princes, and promise the giving him an Assistant or Associate in the Government. Which Libel occasion'd the Quarrel between the Bishop of *Chartres* and the Clergy. The Cardinal also was dilacerated and mangl'd by a hundred Writings of the same nature; and perhaps never any man was known to be loaden with such a heap of Invectives and Satyrs. But he luckily disintangl'd himself out of all these Incumbrances. He saign'd therefore to retire from the Court, and away he went, to the end he might give the King an occasion to recall him. But the Queen Mother, who could not then be without him, insus'd it so strongly into the King's Head, that if he consented to the distant absence of that Minister, the Conspirators would make themselves Masters of his Authority, if not of his Person, that the Suspicious and Irresolute Prince soon sent for him back agen. This return of his having advanc'd his Credit to a higher degree, he began to put in practise those severe and Bloody Politicks that ruin'd so many Lords, which fill'd the Prisons with so many Persons suspected of no other Crime then Love of Liberty; and render'd him so absolute and formidable, that the King himself began to have an aversion

1626.

Conspiracies against the Cardinal.

1626. aversion for him, and became jealous of his high Authority. The Count *de Chalais* was the first Victim offer'd to his Arbitrary Power. The Duke of *Vendosm*, and the Grand Prior his Brother, together with several other persons, lost either their Liberty, or their Government, or their Pensions; and the whole Conspiracy was perfectly dissipated.

The Cardin-  
al of Ro-  
chel.

In the mean time *Rochel* was toss'd and vex'd with various Troubles; by reason that they who were interest'd in the new form of Government, would not suffer things to be resettl'd upon the Old Foundation. The People favour'd these Mutineers, and the Sedition increas'd to that degree, that the Mayor, who was suspected, was carri'd away by force, and very ill us'd, as the Author of these Changes. Nevertheless, these Disorders were appeas'd by the necessity of obeying, and the fear of a greater Mischief, should they furnish the Court with any Pre-  
tence, which was the thing she waited for, to make war upon *Rochel* alone, and disunit'd from the rest of the Reformed Cities. Mass was there said upon *Ascension-day* in *St. Margaret's* Church; and the City re-call'd her Deputies that had bin sent to Foreigners. But whether they waited for the effect of the King of *England's* Promis'd Intercession, for demolishing *Fort-Lewis*; or whether they were desirous to see what would be the issue of the Confusions at Court, they went but slowly on with dismantling their Fortifications, more especially the Fort of *Tadon*, which was one of their best and strongest Bulwarks. *Lesdiguieres*, discontented with the Court, fomented new Troubles in the *Dauphinate*; *Brisson* by his Counsels maintain'd himself in *Poussin*, a paltry place; from which however they could not get him out, but by giving him a Recompence of 40000 Crowns. And *Montauban*, Son of the Marquis of *Gouvernet*, got almost as much, to lay down Arms.

A Nation-  
al Synod.

Thus all things being in a manner peaceable and quiet, the Reformed were permitted to assemble a National Synod at *Castres*, which sat down the 15th of *September*, and the Court sent this *Augustus Galand* for their Commissioner in pursuance of the Declaration 1623. the revocation of which they could not obtain. All they could get was a Decree, which upon the complaint of the Delays and Difficulties they met with in the nomination

nation of Commissioners by the Governors, and of the long 1626.  
time before the Commissioners came to the Synods, imported  
thus much, That the Governors, or others to whom they should  
apply themselves, having notice of the Place and Day of the  
Synod's sitting a Month before, should be bound to nominate  
Commissioners, and those that were nominated should be bound  
to be there at the place, and upon the day appointed, or within  
three days after at farthest; which if they fail'd to do, the De-  
puties had leave to assemble without 'em; they behaving them-  
selves in other things according to the Edicts. This same *Ga-*  
*land* had already been present at the last Assembly held at *Cha-*  
*renton*, and the Figure he made at Court would not permit  
him to quit his Interest, or to swerve from her Orders and  
Maxims.

He was entrusted with a Letter from the King to the Synod, The Com-  
missioners  
Instructions. a Commission to be present there, and Instructions in writing  
how to carry himself. The Letter imported leave to hold the  
Synod, whose Deliberations were thereby also confin'd to affairs  
of Church-Discipline only. Moreover, it was in the nature of  
a Credential for the Commissioner; and lastly, it contain'd as-  
surances of the King's good-will, and his observance of the  
Edicts, provided that the Reformed continu'd in their obedi-  
ence. The Commission was plain and downright, but it men-  
tion'd an express Injunction to be careful of seeing the Edicts  
observ'd, and chiefly that of 1623. and to hinder the keeping  
of any Conventicles at *Castres* without his leave. His Instru-  
ctions were more ample, and contain'd six principal Articles.  
The first renew'd the promises of the King's good-will, while  
faithful Obedience was paid him. The second exhorted the Re-  
formed to live in Concord with the Catholics, and not to have  
any other than sentiments of Equity and Justice for 'em; which  
the King promis'd to see done on the Catholics part. The third  
exhorted a Renunciation of all Associations, Unions and In-  
telligences either abroad or at home, any other then with  
the King: and the Commissioner was to declare, that the King  
never had the least thought of disannulling the Edicts; which  
he prov'd, because the King had confirm'd 'em after he came to  
years of majority; that he had renew'd his Alliances with For-  
eign

1626. reign Protestants; that he had augmented the Gratuities which the King his Father had given to the Ministers; that he had made use of Protestant Lords in sundry great Affairs; and for that in the Insurrections of the Reformed, he had bin always inclin'd to mercy so soon as they were ready to submit. The fourth was of a singular nature, to oblige the Ministers to inform against one another themselves, and to brand one another upon their own judgments: so that *Galand* was to exhort 'em to inform against those Ministers who had held intelligence with the *Spaniards*, without taking notice in reference to it, of any Amnesties of what was past. He was in that respect to draw a Declaration from the Synod, conformable to what had past in the Provincial Synod of Upper *Guyenne* held at *Realmont*; and to testify that the aim of that inquisition was not to punish the guilty, but to hinder those that were faithful from being comprehended in the Crimes of others. The fifth admonish'd the Commissioner not to let the Synod meddle with any thing but barely Discipline. And the last took from the Ministers the liberty of going out of the Kingdom, or settling themselves in any other places without permission; and from the Synods the power of sending any to Foreign Princes and Sovereigns, that should desire 'em either for a time, or for a constancy. For 'twas the King's pleasure that Demands of that nature should be sent to him: and the reason of that new restraint was said to be, because that the Duties of Obedience were not to be alter'd by a mixture of the Manners and Customs of Foreign Countries.

Answers of  
Chauve  
the Moderator.

This Commission of *Galands* was ill resented by the Synod, and *Chauve*, then Moderator, told him very roundly, That a Man zealous for his Religion, ought not to have charg'd himself with Instructions of such a nature, which only tended to overreach and dishonour his Brethren. After which Remonstrance, he return'd an Answer to all the Articles with as much Resolution as Prudence. But for the better understanding of his Answer, it is necessary here to explain what the Synod of *Realmont* was, and what had bin there done upon the occasion of Foreign Intelligences. The Duke of *Rohan* being solicited by the *Spaniards*, was enter'd into Treaty with 'em, and had sent *Campredon*



don into *Spain*, for more positive assurances of the Succor that was offer'd. Not that it was the design either of the *Spanish* Court, or the Duke of *Rohan*, to stick to the Treaty; but both expected to make this benefit of it, that it might be a means to bring the Cardinal to better terms. The Duke was in hopes thereby to obtain a more advantageous Peace; and *Spain* willing to shew, that if the *French* went on with the War in *Italy*, that she had a way to revenge herself, by continuing the Civil War in *France* as long as she pleas'd. Moreover, being afraid lest the Reformed should agree to an Accommodation, she made 'em a shew of large Succors to render 'em more stiff, and to engage 'em to stand upon such Demands as would not be granted 'em: so that the Treaty was concluded by *Campredon*, with considerable Promises. But while he return'd laden with the Articles of the Treaty, Peace was made both with the Reformed and with *Spain*, the Treaty having no other effect, but only that it put the sooner conclusion to both Wars. *Campredon* at his return was seiz'd upon, and carri'd a Prisoner to *Tholouse*, and there prosecuted for his life. In the mean time the Edict of *March* being sent to the President *Masuyer* to be register'd, one would have thought that *Campredon* should have enjoy'd the benefit of the Amnesty. And indeed the President knew it better than any body: but in a Cause of Religion, he would not understand what belong'd either to Justice or Honesty; and, to say truth, he was a meer Varlet in many things: at least in point of Religion, he minded neither true dealing nor modesty. So that he was so malicious as to keep the Edict in his Pocket, till *Campredon* was executed; for he sentenc'd him to death: after which he register'd the Edict with several Qualifications.

*Masuyer*  
false den-  
ing.

This Action was detested by all good men: but they who were of *Masuyer's* humor rejoiced at it, and were of opinion, that the advantage of being able to retort upon the Reformed the death of a man condemn'd by Justice, for having negotiated a League in the name of their Captain with *Spain*, would out-balance a piece of Treachery. It seem'd to them, that after this, the Reformed had no more to do but to hold their tongues, and that they could no longer accuse the Catholics of

The Catho-  
lics tri-  
umph.

1626. their ancient League with the same Crown. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of difference between the one and the other; for this new League was the Duke of *Rohan's* business, not entrusted by any body else, but who enter'd into it of his own head. Moreover, there was nothing here transacted about dethroning the King, or excluding the Lawful Heir from the Succession. Whereas the League which made such a noise under the Reign of *Henry III.* was not the Crime alone of the House of *Guise*, but of the greatest part of the Catholics, and of almost all the Cities of the Kingdom: but more especially of all the Clergy, all the several Orders of which, could hardly afford a dozen of honest *French* men; therefore things so different could not be brought into Parallel. For which reason it was, that if it had bin possible, they would fain have envelop'd the Ministers in the same reproach; and that they accus'd 'em under a pretence which at first sight was enough to dazle the simple. To this purpose they made choice of a Commissioner, who was to be present at the Provincial Synod of Upper *Languedoc*, and the Upper *Guyenne*, which was to be held at *Realmont*, such an one as was proper to serve for such a design: and this man, either corrupted, or else so silly by as not to see the snare that was laid for the Ministers at that Sessions, would needs take upon him to propose to the Synod, that Inquisition might be made after those who might have bin any way concern'd in *Campredon's* Negotiation. And the better to disguise the business, they involv'd it in the general Name of Corresponding with Foreigners. Now in regard the Synod was held in the Province where *Campredon* was taken and executed, People of Reputation believ'd that an Act which should ordain such an Inquisition, would be no more then a disowning of that Negotiation; and a Proof of the Minister's Innocence; and they that sided with the Court, which were always very numerous in those Southern Countries, agreed to it, as to a thing which would be acceptable to the King. Therefore an Article was drawn up upon the Commissioner's Proposition, which order'd an Inquisition after such as had been privy to that Treaty, and which exhorted those who knew any such, to discover 'em. But there was neither Informer nor Criminal to be found; so that there

*They would have involv'd the Ministers in the Duke of Rohan's Treaty with Spain.*

was

was this Circumstance added to the Act, that it was for the acquittal of the Ministers. But the thing was understood far otherwise then at *Realmont*: for it was judg'd that such Acts always create a disadvantageous Prejudice; and that the Justification which ensu'd, did not altogether remove the Suspicion which it had imprinted, that the Ministers might engage themselves in criminal Correspondencies. So that all the Churches condemn'd the imprudence and simplicity of this Synod: and that of *Castres* spar'd not their Censures and Remonstrances upon it. So that the Deputies of the Province were oblig'd to complain, that they had bin surpriz'd by the Commissioner.

1626.  
*Articles of the Synod of Realmont, for the discovery of such as had a hand in the Treaty. Which offends all the Churches.*

Therefore when the National Synod saw that *Galand* propos'd the example of *Realmont*, the Moderator thought that Article deserv'd an Answer, which should take away from the Monks and Bigots all pretence of exclaiming against the Ministers. Therefore to the first Article of *Galand's* Instructions, *Chauve's* Answer was full of submission and promises of obedience. As to the second, he promis'd that Moderation and Equity which the King requir'd; and assur'd the Commissioner, that the Consistories should continually from time to time exhort the Churches to it. But he complain'd that the Catholics did not observe that mildness which they exacted from others; but that they exercis'd the patience of the Reformed by a thousand Injuries. For which reason he enjoin'd the Commissioner to beseech the King to have pity upon the Reformed, whom he represented ill us'd in their persons; disturb'd in the exercises of their Religion; depriv'd of their Churches; of which some had bin demolish'd since the Peace, or given to the Ecclesiastics; dispossest of their Church-yards, where several Bodies had bin digg'd up agen out of their Graves; and at length he complain'd that in several places the Ministers had bin beaten, and driven out of the Churches by violence; referring more ample Remonstrances to be made to the King upon these Complaints by the general Deputies. As to the third Article, he protested that no Body knew of any Correspondencies held with Foreigners to the prejudice of the Kingdom's welfare: he shew'd the general detestation of such trafficking in smart and vigorous express.

*And it disown'd by the National Synod.*

1626. expressions; and he lost not that opportunity to slide into his discourse certain Jerks against the Doctrine and Attempts of the Jesuits. As to the fourth, which mention'd the Act of *Reaumont*, he loudly complain'd of the surprize which the Commissioner had put upon the Synod; thinking thereby to insinuate, as if some Ministers had bin accus'd of holding Correspondence with the *Spaniard*; but he prais'd God, that after an exact Inquisition, there was no body found guilty, nor no body so daring as to accuse any body for being so. As to the fifth, which forbid meddling with politic Affairs, he answer'd that the preceding National Synods had taken order about it. And as to the sixth, which related to the sending of Ministers to Foreigners, he repli'd, that the present Synod would take care in that particular.

*Leave to  
nominate  
General  
Deputies.*

These Answers were approv'd by all the Synod, and *Chauve* had the Thanks of the whole Assembly for what he had said. After this *Galand* presented a Brief to the Assembly, dated some days after the King's Letter, which import'd a permission to the Synod, in the presence of the Commissioner, to nominate General Deputies to the number of Six, out of which the King would chuse Two. The Pretence was, that another Assembly would be too expensive, and create a great deal of inconvenience: He added also to this Permission a Prohibition to treat of other Politic Affairs. But the Synod, who well perceiv'd that the Mystery of that Permission tended to break the Remainders of that Union which the Reformed had so long maintain'd, and who after six years slid away, before they could obtain a new Assembly, rightly judg'd that there was no other way to refix their Affairs, then a Licens'd and Authoris'd Assembly, did all they could to excuse themselves from that Nomination. For which Reason, as the King alledg'd, the Good and Convenience of the Reformed to avoid the Demand of a General Assembly, the Synod on their parts urg'd their Duty, which would not permit 'em to meddle with other Affairs then those of Discipline, as a reason for their not nominating of General Deputies, because it was an Affair altogether Political. Besides, they found the Permission too much limited; Because it contain'd not leave to take an Account of the last Deputies, to give 'em a dis-

*From  
which the  
Synod de-  
sires to be  
exempted.*



a discharge, and to draw up Instructions for the new ones. They resolv'd therefore to send Deputies to the King upon this Occasion; and at the same time to furnish their Deputies with Submissions and Remonstrances, according to the custom of National Synods; and for this Journey they made choice of *Boute-roue* a Minister, and *Baleine* an Elder.

The King was willing to see and hear 'em: The Speech they made was humble, and to the purpose; and their Remonstrances contain'd Eight Articles. In the first they besought the King to take off all the Qualifications with which the Act had been enregister'd. They complain'd in the second of several Vexations which the Reformed endur'd by reason of those Qualifications. The third spoke of the repairing of Churches pull'd down, and sending down Commissioners into the Provinces to give Orders about it. The fourth besought the King to permit *Du Moulin* to return to *Paris*, as he had been put in hopes. The fifth demanded a General Politic Assembly. The sixth a continuance of the Relief promis'd the Ministers. The two last desir'd, that certain Assignations which had been allow'd *Candall*, Receiver-general of the Municipal Tolls, might be made good to him.

But toward the beginning of the Synod, *Maniald*, one of the General Deputies, dy'd: Upon which the King, never staying for the Nomination which was to have been made at *Castres*, in pursuance of his Breif, appointed *Hardi* in his room, till others should be presented to him. And the Pretence for this Innovation was, That the King was unwilling to retard the Affairs of the Reformed, which wou'd be neglected, if there were no body at Court to take care of 'em. Of which Substitution he gave notice to the Synod by *Galand*, who assur'd the Synod, that the King had no design thereby to deprive 'em the Liberty of nominating others according to custom. But a little afterwards it appear'd by *Galand*'s discourse, that the King had other thoughts in substituting *Hardi*; and that such an Innovation without president, and little necessity, proceeded from no good-will toward the Reform'd.

The Deputies from the Synod return'd from the Court about a month after their departure, and brought very obliging

1626.  
And sent  
Deputies to  
the King.

Remon-  
strances of  
the Depu-  
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Maniald  
dies. Har-  
di put in  
his room

The Depu-  
ties return  
with the  
King's An-  
swers.

Letters

r626. Letters from the King according to custom : But the Flattering Expressions of those Letters were accompany'd with very few Effects. For there was only the Article about Limitations to which any thing of a gracious Answer was return'd. The King assur'd 'em that they were taken away in several Parlements, and that he would order 'em to be remov'd in the rest : And he gave the Deputies an express Command for that purpose to the Parliament of *Tholouse*, which was usually the most difficult to be brought to reason. Which Command *Galand* order'd his Son to deliver ; but it wrought but little effect ; so that the Troubles began again, before the Reformed receiv'd the benefit of it. The King also promis'd to make good the Assignations allow'd to *Candall*, granted Ten thousand *Livres* for the Expences of the Synod ; and which, perhaps, was the most moving, Twelve hundred *Livres* to the Deputies for their Journey. But he refus'd to send Commissioners into the Provinces, declaring only that he thought it necessary to send some to *Rochel*, *Saintonge*, and the Country of *Aunis*, and into the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*. He barely promis'd to grant Removals to those that should be prosecuted in Parlements, in pursuance of the Qualifications of the Edict. Nor would he consent to the return of *Moulins* ; nor suffer the holding of a General Assembly, because the condition of Affairs would not permit one ; and for that the Reformed had no need of one ; since it was in the power of the Synod to nominate General Deputies, according to *Galand's* Instructions. As for what concern'd the Relief promis'd to the Ministers, the King evaded it, by giving good words to one Party, and refusing the other, by reason of the condition of the Affairs of the Kingdom.

The Synod  
names Ge-  
neral De-  
puties.

Nevertheless he granted a Breif much larger then the former, to authorize the nomination of general Deputies ; and he set forth in express words, that they should not put in nomination any persons but such as had no dependance upon Great Lords. However, the Synod, little satisfi'd that the Reformed were thereby put out of all hopes of a Politic Assembly, were still desirous to start new difficulties upon the nature of the thing ; pretending that it was contrary to the Duty of an Ecclesiastical Assembly to interfere with things that were reserv'd for General Assemblies.

Assemblies. But *Galand* cut the Knot, by revealing the Myſtery of *Hardy's* being ſo haſtily ſubſtituted in *Maniald's* room ; and declar'd, that if the Synod did not make the Nomination, he would do it himſelf. The Synod then ſurrender'd to Neceſſity, and contented it ſelf with ſeveral Proteſts, which they reiterated as often as they had occaſion, that they did not go about thereby to prejudice the General Aſſemblies, nor to meddle with Politic Affairs, but in obedience to the King's pleaſure. Beſides, they enjoin'd their Deputies to requeſt leave to hold a General Aſſembly within Eighteen months, and Provincial Aſſemblies as ſoon as might be, for the drawing up Memoirs of their Grievances ; in regard the Synod could not do it, becauſe the Deputies that compos'd it had not brought along with 'em either any Command or Inſtructions from their Provinces to that purpoſe. Which done, they fell to the nomination of ſix Perſons.

*The Synod names General Deputies. Drives Reſolutions of the Synod.*

But before the Synod brake up, they reſolv'd to demand of the King the Re-eſtabliſhment of Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies in their former Liberty ; and leave to raiſe certain Sums upon all the Churches throughout the Kingdom, for certain Exigencies of the Cities of *Rochel*, *Montauban* and *Caſtres* ; of which a fourth part was adjudg'd to *Caſtres* ; the reſt was divided between the other two. They alſo enjoin'd the Conſuls of *Montauban* to ſolicit the effect of the Command directed to the Parliament of *Tholouſe* for regiſtring the Edict. They likewiſe proſecuted d' *Aſtres* the Miniſter, at *Paris*, for ſeveral Cauſes ; but chiefly for having conſpir'd with the Catholicks againſt the Churches. He had a bitter Libel found about him, entitl'd *La Chemiſe Sanglante de Henri IV.* or, *The Bloody Shirt of Henry IV.* which reflected upon the King's Honour ; ſo that d' *Aſtres* was degraded and excommunicated by the Synod. But *Galand* was not ſatiſfi'd with this Eccleſiaſtical Punishment ; and therefore he cauſ'd the Book to be condemn'd to the Flames by the Party Chamber, then ſitting at *Beziers*.

That Chamber had bin remov'd from *Caſtres*, during the Troubles ; and that City having a great deſire to have it reſtor'd to her again, compli'd with all *Galand's* Projects, whoſe Teſtimony ſhe was in hopes would be favourable to her at Court.

*Caſtres reſtor'd to her former State of Riches & Diſcipline.*

1626. Upon these Considerations it was, that she gave him a Writing wherein she disown'd the Negotiations in *Spain*; and join'd with him to hinder the Duke of *Roan's* Deputies which he sent to the Synod, from being admitted; as also to be a means that his Conduct was there censur'd. In a word, the thing was carri'd so far, that *Marmet*, the Dukes Minister, being come to *Castres*, about particular business, was not permitted to be in the Town above twenty four Hours, though he protested that he had neither any Letters, nor any Commission from his Master. But the Duke having rightly foreseen what he was to expect from *Galand*, had taken his Measures quite another way. For he gave his Letteres to the Synod, to *Beaufort*, a Deputy from *Cevennes*; and a kind of Manifesto, which he had writ in his own Justification, to another Minister: So that they who held Intelligence with *Galand*, finding their Designs prevented, durst not attempt any thing farther.

A Memoir  
of Grievances.

In the meantime *Blandel* and *Bauterne* were deputed to carry to the King the Nomination of the General Deputies; and the Synod, after they had sat seven weeks, brake up. The Deputies made a very submissive Speech to the King. Which done, the King, out of the six Persons nominated, made choice of the Marquels of *Clermont*, *Calerande*, and *Bazin*, to reside near his Person. These New Deputies were charg'd with large Memoirs of Grievances that were sent 'em from all parts. *Paulet*, Minister of *Verzenobres*, had been driven from his Church by violence. The Marquis of *Varennes*, Governor of *Aiguemortes*, had as badly us'd *Bancillon*, Minister of the Place, *Constance*, Minister of *Pons*, had been a long time Prisoner at *Bourdeaux*, where he was still detain'd; and *Billot*, Minister of *La Roche Chalais* had been treated after the same manner, though they ought both to have bin releas'd by the Edict of Peace. The Cardinal of *Sourdis*, and the Bishop of *Maillezais*, persecuted the Church of *Monravel*; where they attack'd in general the Right of Exercise, and in particular several Members of it, by Processes, and other Acts of Violence. The Church of *Motte* had labour'd very near under the same Extremities. That of *Serveviettes* had bin also turmoil'd and harass'd: and several Churches of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* had bin so absolutely ruin'd,  
during



during the War, that the Synod was constrain'd to recommend 1626.  
 'em to the Charity of others. The Parliament of *Pau* had given out Decrees which forbid Consistories to censure Fathers, Mothers, or Guardians, that sent their Children to Catholic Schools; nay, to the very Colledges of the Jesuits. The Parliament of *Tholouse* had given out several Warrants to arrest the Bodies of several Inhabitants of *Briteste* for a Fact that was pardon'd by the General Amnesty. *Berard*, Advocate of the Court of Judicature at *Soumieres*, had been imprison'd for no other Crime, but for abjuring the Catholic Religion. And the Reformed were still disturb'd upon the score of their Burials. The Advocate-General, *James Talon*, caus'd several Decrees to be issu'd forth in one year upon this occasion; of which the most favourable ordain'd no more, then that before the Bodies were digg'd up, information should be given, whether it could be done Conveniently. And what was singular in the Advocate-General's Reasons, was this, That to deprive a Gentleman of a purchas'd Right, he had recourse to the pre-possess'd Fancy of the Catholics, who sought to be buried in Churches, that they might have a share in the benefit of Suffrages and Prayers. Which being refus'd by the Reformed, that they ought not to enjoy that advantage which they never minded themselves. As if the Controversy between the Catholics and the Reformed, about the benefit or unprofitableness of Prayer for the Dead, had had any Relation to the Rights of a Lord of a Soile, whose Ancestors had purchas'd the Priviledge of being buried in the Church, which they had both founded and endow'd. Upon which it may be observ'd, that the Burial of the Dead in Churches was an effect of Superstition, as the Advocate-General exprelly acknowledged, and set forth at large the degrees of the progress of it. This Honour, said he, having been at first conferr'd upon Martyrs, not because they were buried in Churches, but because Churches were built over their Tombs; it was also afterwards allow'd the Priest, to holy Persons, to those that enrich'd the Church by their Donations, to Founders, and lastly, to those that were able to pay for it. So that to speak properly, there was only the Founders Right which had any other foundation then that of Superstition, since he might pretend to it, as a

*Burial of  
Gentlemen  
who were  
the Founders of  
Churches.*

1626. perpetual Evidence and Monument of his Liberality. Nevertheless, *James Talon* could find in his heart to prefer a Right acquir'd by the Superstition of the People, and the Covetousness of the Priests, before a Priviledge which deriv'd its original from the Bounty of a Founder.

*Legacies  
given to  
the Poor,  
adjudg'd to  
Hospitals.*

The same *James Talon* caus'd a Legacy of a Reformed, bequeath'd to the Poor, to the Treasurer of the Hospital of the City of *Chartres*. For which the Pretence was, That according to the Edict, the Poor of both Religions were to be reliev'd: which, if that reason had bin good, had bin sufficient to have destroy'd the XLII. Article of Particulars: but this Decree was made the 7th of *January*. There was another made in *March*, after two Hearings, which annull'd the Marriage of *la Ferte Imbault*, and forbid him to keep company with the woman whom he had marry'd: and the reason for it was, because he was a Knight of *Malthe*, and for that it was contrary to his Vow. As if his Profession of a contrary Religion could not unty him from such a superstitious Engagement. A man may judge by these trials of a Parliament, where Justice was not altogether unknown, how the Reformed were handl'd in others, who lookt upon it as a meritorious Act to load 'em with Vexations and unjust Sentences. The King himself also set forth some Declarations by which the Edict was considerably violated. Upon the 12th of *January* came forth one, which exempted the Ecclesiastics from pleading for the possession of their Benefices and Goods which were thereunto annex'd in Courts where any of the Reformed sate, and which referr'd 'em to the next Catholic Judge. The 10th of *December* appear'd another, which ordain'd that Proccesses should be adjudg'd at *Pau*, by all the Judges that should be found upon the Bench, without distinction of Religion; and in case of removal, the Cause should not be remov'd to the Party Chambers, but to the next Parliament. And the foundation of this Law which laid the Reformed at the mercy of the Catholics, when they were most numerous upon the Bench, was this, That the Edict of *Nantes* was granted neither in favour of *Bearn* nor *Navarre*. And thus the Clergy of that Countrey which formerly never aspir'd to more, then to enjoy the Priviledges of that Edict, had already

*A Marriage  
of a Knight  
of Malthe  
vacated.*

ready carri'd their exterminating Zeal so high, that they would not leave the Reformed any longer the enjoyment of that advantage. So that those unfortunate People having seen the particular Edict, which *Henry IV.* granted 'em, violated in all the Points of it, cannot have the consolation to live under the protection of the same Laws, with the rest of the Churches of the same Communion. 1626.

In the mean time the Cardinal summon'd an Assembly of the Men of Note, call'd *Assemblée de Notables*, at *Paris*, where he made a Harangue himself. In this Assembly most worthy Proposals were made, and the most profitable Resolutions in the World were taken for the Peace and Tranquility of the King, but they were not taken to be put in execution. They had only a mind to amuse the People, who are easily dazzl'd with great expectations, and to accustom 'em to the Ministry of the Cardinal who promis'd 'em those mighty things. There was only one Declaration which spoke of reuniting all the King's Subjects to the *Roman Church* by ways of Sweetness, Love, Patience, and good Examples; of maintaining the Reformed in the Privileges that had bin granted 'em by the Edicts; of re-establishing good Discipline, and virtuous Manners; of advancing the Nobility; of causing Justice to flourish; of restoring Trade, and easing the People. But of all these Articles they remember'd none but the first: For they procur'd the reunion of several private persons to the Church of *Rome*, by the strong Arguments of Interest, or by Vexations and Acts of Injustice. In pursuance of which, they vaunted about this time of having converted in *Bearn* above 800 persons; and because the care of these Conquests was committed to some zealous Missionary, who manag'd these glorious Enterprizes by his counsels and advice, they fail'd not to attribute the success to his Doctrine, his Conversation, and his Piety, tho it were more justly due to the utmost rigors of Violence and Injustice. 1627.

The same means which the Church of *Rome* has always call'd ways of Sweetness, wrought the same effect this year at *Aubenas*. Where the Marquis of *Ornano*, under pretence of the War, of which I shall suddenly have an occasion to speak, exercised most extravagant Violences upon the Reformed of that City. *And at Aubenas.*

1627. City. Two Regents of that place coming to kiss his hands in the body of the Town, as their Lord, he took from 'em their Hoods, which is the mark of their Dignity; and having call'd a Council, he would not permit the Reformed, who had bin elected Councillors, to take their Seats; he disarm'd all the Reformed, and put the Regency into the hands of Catholics; and committed the Guard of the City to them, at the charge of the Reformed; and being constrain'd to reinforce his Party with some additional Troops, because the Catholics were not so numerous as the other, he quarter'd the whole Garison upon the Reformed only; and this Garison committed Violences no less barbarous then those in our days; from which those miserable People could not redeem themselves, but by changing their Religion. So that in three weeks there were no less then 250 Families that turn'd Catholics, if the *Converters* do not augment their number. And to add Insulting Domineering to Violence, they forc'd those poor Creatures to sign a Writing, wherein they declar'd that they embrac'd the *Roman* Religion willingly. These extorted Declarations, which they shew'd to the King, perswaded him, that there were hardly any of the Reformed who had not the same Inclinations; and that they were only restrain'd by a Cabal of Ministers, and the power of the Party. That there needed no more then the taking of *Rochel*, and some other Cities, which held up the Party; and then thousands of People would declare for the Catholic Religion. In the mean time, encourag'd by the example of what had happen'd at *Aubenas*'s, they follow'd their Blows into other places. For the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Governor of *St. Amand*, a little Town in *Berri*, made a profitable use of this Pattern to bring back the Reformed to the Catholic Religion: so that the fear into which they put the Inhabitants, of quartering 200 men upon 'em, upon the same Conditions as the Garison was quarter'd at *Aubenas*, made above 60 Families abjure the Reformed Faith. And thus it was, that the Edict publish'd upon the Remonstrances of the Assembly of the men of Note, was put in execution.

At St.  
Amand.

But besides these, they gave other marks of their slender Inclinations to observe the Edicts; for there were above Forty Churches



Churches depriv'd of their spiritual comfort, either through disturbance of their Exercises, or Imprisonment and Banishment of their Ministers. They had taken from the Reformed, in several places, both their Churches and their Church-yards, without any Form of Law, ever since the Peace concluded. The Cardinal of *Sourdis*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, whose Example was follow'd by some Gentlemen of the Countrey, exercis'd a thousand brutish Cruelties upon Bodies that were buri'd in such places as carry'd any marks of Consecration, according to the custom of the Catholics. They refus'd to suffer *Veilleux*, a Minister call'd by the Reformed to *Rouen*, to attend their service; and the only reason for their refusal was, because he was a Foreigner. Letters of Reprisal were granted against the Reformed, for things that were fully forgiven by the Edict of Peace. Several persons were also put to death for Facts that had bin committed during the War with allowance of the Generals; which was expressly comprehended in the Amnesty granted by the last Edict. And there were reckon'd up above 10000 Warrants given out in *Languedoc*, for arresting of People upon the same Pretences. The Council also divided the Consulship by Decrees given upon a Petition, in places, where according to the Edicts, which promis'd that nothing should be innovated in Towns that were held by the Reformed, that Office was to have bin let alone entire. The particular Deputies that were sent to carry the Complaints of these Acts of Injustice, were ill us'd. Some were sent back unheard, and laugh'd at for their pains: others were answer'd with nothing but Bravado's and Menaces. If any qualifi'd person took upon him this Deputation, and that they were to treat him with more Civility, they endeavour'd to seduce him by Promises, by Applauses, or any other way; not sparing any Artifices to find out on which side he was most subject to their Batteries; and after all, they sent him back agen as he came. They refus'd to receive from the general Deputies the Papers drawn up in the Name of all the Churches of the Kingdom. And to the end they might utterly break the Union that was between 'em, it was requir'd that they should present apart the Complaints as they were sent 'em by every single Church.

1627.

Imova-  
tions at  
Mompel-  
lier.

In like manner, the Marquis of *Fosse*, who succeeded *Valence*, made an alteration at *Mompel* to no other end and purpose but to vex the Reformed. That City bore for her Arms, a Bowle Gules in a Feild Argent. But because they met with an old Steeple, where there was to be seen over a Bowle, the Figure of a Virgin carri'd by two Angels, the Marquis pretended that that was the real Arms of the City, and having summon'd an Assembly of the Citizens, he made a Decree that they should place that Figure over their usual Arms for a Crest. After which, they made the Reformed, who since *Valence's* Alterations had little or no share in the Government of the City, believe, that they had given their consent to it. For their Intention was, that this representation should be lookt upon as a mark of the ancient devotion and veneration of the City of *Mompel* for the Blessed Virgin, since she had taken that Figure for the most honourable part of her Arms; and at the same time to deduce a Consequence from thence, to render the Reformed odious, as having retrench'd that mark of Honour from the Mother of Jesus Christ; to whom they were always accus'd of not paying sufficient Respect. Nevertheless, the Foundation of the Marquis's Conjecture was very frivolous: For had it bin true, they would have found other Authorities to have prov'd the matter of Fact; seeing that the ancient Seals, the public Buildings, the Registers of the City, the Bishops, the Canons, the Priests, the Curious, would have preserv'd some better Testimonies of the same thing. For it was much more probable, that that same Figure was only a Monument of the Foundation of that City, which is attributed to two Maidens, who being Ladies of the place, bequeath'd it to the Church, and dy'd Virgins. For that was the way at that time to purchase the reputation of Holiness: and it may be thought that the City had consecrated that Virgin and those Angels, to preserve the remembrance of the Sanctity and Virginity of her Foundresses.

The Foun-  
dation of  
Mompel-  
lier.

Declarati-  
on against  
Foreign  
Ministers.

However it were, this Action of the Marquis did the Reformed so much prejudice, that upon the 14th of *April* a Declaration came forth, prohibiting em to make use of Foreign Ministers; to admit into their Assemblies other then Natural

*French*

*Frenchmen*; to send Ministers into Foreign Countries without leave; or to admit Foreign Ministers into Politic Assemblies. The Declaration was grounded upon this, That in the National Synod of *Charenton* and *Castres*, where *Galand* was present, they had unanimously resolv'd the same things. This Edict was put in execution very exactly; but that which created the great trouble was, that it spoke of the Religion of the Reformed, as of a Religion which the Edicts had only *tolerated*, till they could be brought back to the Catholic Communion. For this was to ruin the Edict of *Nantes*, and sap the very Foundations of its being irrevocable, to make it barely an Edict of Toleration. This was what the Leagues always drove at; but what the Reformed always oppos'd; who asserted that the Edict had bin always granted 'em as a Fundamental Law of Union and Concord among the *French*, which maintain'd 'em without distinction of Religion, in all the Natural and Civil Rights that could belong to 'em. And this carries an Idea far different from a bare Toleration: Nay, to speak the truth, to have tak'n the Edict in any other sence, would have bin to have made it a meer Delusion.

But at last it was apparent, that *Rochel* was prest upon more and more; and that notwithstanding all her Obedience, she was still dealt with as rebellious. Which shew'd that she was guilty of two Crimes that could not be expiated but by her ruin: The one, which was her Crime in reference to the Clergy, was her Religion; the other, which was properly the chiefest, was her Power almost independent. The first oblig'd the Clergy to contribute vast Sums, provided they might be employ'd only toward the reducing that City: The other transported the Court to lay the foundations of Arbitrary Power upon the destruction of her Greatness. To this purpose Forces were quarter'd round about her upon various Pretences; Cannon were brought to such and such places, from whence they might be at hand with little expence, when time requir'd: the City was surrounded with several Forts: the Platform of her Fortifications, her Port, her Canal, and parts adjoining, was taken privately, and drawn with the utmost exactness that might be. The Garisons of the Neighbouring Islands, and *Fort Lewis*, were

*Rochel*  
*still blockt*  
*up.*

1626. permitted to commit petty Disorders, of which there was no notice taken; and when the City complain'd, her Complaints were lookt upon as Rebellion. The Inhabitants were corrupted, that they might have private Correspondence in her Bosom, and the Mayor himself was wrought over to their Interests. Nevertheless, all this could not be kept so secret, but that *Rochel* was full of suspicion of the Designs of the Court. But all this knowledge had the usual effect of suspicions which produce nothing but Irresolutions: So that the City not being able to determine, but by halves, either one thing or other, could never resolve either to submit, or to defend her self.

England  
declares  
war.

The United Pro-  
vinces  
send suc-  
cour to  
France.

All these Considerations verify the Reflections of some Authors of those times, who comparing the past War with the present Peace, under the name of which a thousand times more mischief had bin done the Reformed, then they suffer'd by their Enemies Arms, observe, that the War having been full of Treachery, breach of Faith, Frauds, ignominious and base Actions, the Peace that follow'd was no better; a meer Cheat, unfaithful, and no way secure. In this Conjunction *England*, being assur'd of the Duke of *Rohan*, declares war against *France*. But the Cardinal having caus'd *Montaigne* to be apprehended, who after a Journey into *Italy* to consult with the Duke of *Savoy*, repass'd into *France*, where he had several Conferences with the Duke of *Rohan*, understood by the Papers that were found about him, the whole Project of the War. The *English* Gentleman also took a Tour into *Lorraine*, where 'twas thought necessary to negotiate something; though he pretend'd only to visit the Dutcheſs of *Cheurenſe*, who was banish'd thither, by reason of the Cardinal's Jealousies conceiv'd against the Duke of *Buckingham*. This Accident gave *France* time to prepare her self; and she receiv'd the Declaration of War with as much disdain, as if she had bin assur'd of success. She had taken her Measures with the *United Provinces*, from whom she obtain'd considerable aid upon this Occasion, and which did not little contribute toward the subduing of *Rochel*. Not but that the Ministers of those Provinces preach'd against that Compliance of the States with *France*, both vigorously, and with great freedom. I my self have seen several printed Sermons, some

of



of which enlarg'd themselves very far to shew that the Design 1627.  
of the *French* was to extinguish the Reformed Religion; and  
others added after a Propheticall manner, that as the *Provinces*  
lent their Ships and Men to the Reformed of *France*, the time  
would one day come, that the Reformed would revenge them-  
selves upon the *Provinces*, and bear Arms under their King to  
destroy their Religion and Liberty. But Preachers Reasons  
never agree with those of Politicians; besides, that the *United*  
*Provinces* were not in a condition to slight or disgust the Alli-  
ance of *France*.

Toward the end of July, *Buckingham* appear'd, not far from *Rochel* with a Fleet considerable enough to have done great things, had the Chieftain had as much Courage as Pride; or as much Wit as Presumption. He presently made himself Master of the Isle of *Ré*; but he lost himself miserably before Fort *St. Martin*, where *Toiras*, with a few men, and less Provision, held out a Siege of above two Months, which, if any other then *Buckingham* had manag'd, it could not have stopt him three days. *Rochel* was a long time also before she wou'd declare; whether it were because the Mayor and the Court were agreed together, or whether it were that she was willing to avoid new Pretences of making war upon her. Insomuch, that at first she would not so much as hearken to *Buckingham's* Propositions, nor admit the Commissioners which he sent to her. So that *Soubise*, who had shelter'd himself in *England* ever since his last Defeat, but had embarkt himself in the *English* Fleet, was constrain'd to go alone to the Gate of the City, with *Beaker* sent by the Duke, to desire leave to speak to the Inhabitants. But the Citizens refus'd to open the Gate to him; and had not his Mother come her self to take him by the hand, and bring him into the Town, he must have return'd as he came. The respect which the *Rochelois* had for that Lady, made 'em forget their Resolutions: So that they let *Soubise* pass, and *Beaker* follow'd him. After which they gave him Audience in the Council, where he set forth at large the Reasons which oblig'd the King of *England* to take Arms: And he endeavour'd to make 'em believe, that it was only upon the score of Religion. He excus'd the small Assistance which he had hitherto given the Re-

*The Eng-  
lish land  
in the Isle  
of Ré.*

1627. formed ; and declar'd that the King of *England* found himself too much engag'd by his Conscience, by his Honour and his Word, to assist 'em more powerfully ; more especially because it was through his Intercession that they had accepted a disadvantageous Peace.

*The Irresolution of the Rochelois.*

This Speech produc'd nothing at first. Nay, the *Rochellois* offer'd *Comminges* to fight the *English*, provided *Fort Lewis* might be put as a Pledge into the Hands of *la Force*, *Chatillon*, or *Trimouille*. One would have thought, that Offer should not have bin acceptable to the Court, seeing that both *la Force* and *Chatillon*, were brought off from the Common Cause, and that *Trimouille* was treating about his returning to the *Roman Religion* : at least he embrac'd the Communion of that Church within a year after, and renounc'd the Reformed Religion in the presence of the Cardinal before the taking of *Rochel*. In recompence whereof he had the Command of the Light Horse, and serv'd some years in that Employment, during the Wars of *Italy* ; where he receiv'd a wound in the Knee, so that he lost the use of the Joint. Some years after, being disgusted by the Court, he retir'd to his Palace of *Thouars*, became a Bigot, and a great dealer in Controversies ; and at length dy'd in the *Roman* Profession, after he had liv'd to a very old Age, but very ill maintain'd the Reputation of his Father. In the mean time the Court which had other Designs, gave no other answer to the Proposal, but a company of Fair words, with which the *Rochellois* suffer'd themselves to be amus'd for some time. However, they intercepted a Pacquet of Letters from the Court, directed to the Duke of *Angoulesme*, who had obtain'd Orders to raise Forces to oppose the *English*, and who had actually block'd up *Rochel* as close as it could be, at a time when the Design of besieging it was kept secret. One of those Letters are an express Approbation of what had bin done, in order to the blocking up of the City ; and gave the Duke advice about several things : and among others, about the Passports which he gave to all those who had a mind to leave the Town ; because, said the Letter, it was best to let out as many as they could, that so none but the most Mutinous might be left behind.

*Court Letters intercepted.*

There

There was also a Letter for Marshal de *Marillac*, which handl'd 1627.  
 a very nice matter. The Question was, Whether the *Hugue-* *A nice*  
*nots* were to be suffer'd in the King's Army? The Answer was, *Question,*  
 That the thing was very doubtful; because that if there were *Whether*  
 some persons of worth, and no way to be suspected, there might *Hugue-*  
 be others, whose chiefest business it was to be Spies. 'Twas *nots were*  
 added, That the Public Affairs requir'd, that it should be made *to be suf-*  
 out by Effect and Demonstration, that the War was a War of *fer'd in the*  
 State, and not of Religion; and then it might be lawful to ad- *King's Ar-*  
 mit *Huguenots* that would enter into service. 'Twas said, That *my?*  
 without excluding 'em out of the Army there might be a watch-  
 ful eye upon 'em; and then 'twas but confiding in those that  
 were honest, amusing others, and keeping the main Resolutions  
 secret, especially those which concern'd *Rochel*: or else if such  
 a Toleration seem'd dangerous, 'twas advis'd, that they should  
 be dismiss'd under some fair Pretence. And these were the  
 Letters, which discovering the secret Intentions of the Court,  
 determin'd the *Rochellois* to join with the *English*. But this Con- *Rochel*  
 junction was so ill order'd, and so scurvily manag'd, that if we *Resolves.*  
 may judge by the event, no body could believe it resolv'd upon  
 to any other end, then to furnish the Court both with a pretence,  
 and with the means to facilitate the destruction of that unfortu-  
 nate City. For *Buckingham*, after he had drain'd her of all her  
 provision of Corn, some of which he was constrain'd to burn  
 after his defeat, left the rest which should have reliev'd the City  
 to relieve the Victor that expell'd him out of the Island, and  
 running away with ignominy from a handful of men, made the  
 condition of the City far worse then it was before.

In the mean time *Rochel* publish'd a large Manifesto, where- *Rochel*  
 in, refusing things for a good way backward, she endeavour'd *publishes a*  
 to justify her Conduct; to display the Frauds and Artifices of the *Manifesto.*  
 Court, but chiefly to make good her Pretensions and Privi-  
 ledges. The Duke of *Rohan* also betook himself to *Arms*,  
 and set forth another Manifesto, little different in the main from  
 that of *Rochel*; only that the City insisted more closely upon *The Duke*  
 her own proper Affairs, and the Duke spoke more at large of *of Rohan*  
 things in general. The Answers to these Writings were sharp *does the*  
 and violent; more especially the Answer to the Duke's Mani- *same thing.*  
 festo.

1627. festo favour'd of a fordid, base, insolent Spirit, full of Gall and Venom, and sprinkl'd with Quirks and Quiddities borrow'd from the most lewd Scurrility of the Rabble : a piece becoming the Jesuit *Richeome*, to whom it was attributed. Never did any man write with more Fury nor more Insolence, nor renounc'd more openly in his Writings the character of an honest man. But more formidable Enemies were embattel'd against the Duke then this same Scribler. For besides the Armies that were set on foot to fall upon him on every side, among which, that commanded by the Prince of *Condé* committed unheard of Cruelties, *Galand* was sent into Upper *Languedoc*, to prevent the Cities from taking Arms, as those of the Lower *Languedoc* had done the 10th of *September*, according to the Resolution of an Assembly of the Nobility and Deputies from several Cities which met at *Uzez*. However, *Galand*, wherever he could safely go, drew Promises of Obedience, and within the space of a Month brought *Montauban*, *Briste*, *Puilaurens*, *Soreze*, *le Maz d'Azil*, *Carlat*, *Pamiers*, *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, *la Bastide*, *St. Amant*, *Mazamet*, *la Cabarede*, and several others to declare. 'Tis true that the Duke caus'd some of 'em to change their Opinions ; that he surpriz'd others ; and that others which had not suffer'd themselves to be coax'd by the fawning Cant of *Galand*, were surrender'd into his hands, so that at length the War became general on that side. *Pamiers* was one of those Cities which the Duke surpriz'd ; but the Prince of *Condé* having retaken it, very badly observ'd the Capitulation which he had made ; for he imprison'd, put to death, and condemn'd to the Gallies several persons to whom he ow'd both his life and his liberty. All this was the reason that the Duke lost time, who might have bin able to have perform'd greater Exploits, if *Galand's* Negotiation had not brok'n his measures ; nor would they have ventur'd the Siege of *Rochel*, had not *Galand* succeeded as he did in drawing off those other Cities from the Union.

Intrigue of  
Galand against the  
Duke.

1628. But while the Duke of *Rohan* carri'd on the War with an extraordinary Courage and with good Success, *Buckingham* seeing Fort *St. Martin* reliev'd, rais'd his Siege, was defeated in his

Defeat  
of the  
English.



his Retreat, and return'd into *England*; nor a little suspected to have bin careless of those things which he might have done much more to his Master's honour. Upon this, *Rochel* was more closely begirt, and reduc'd to extremity. At what time, a second *English* Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Denbigh*, appear'd upon the Coast, only to make a shew of that Relief which the City expected; but retreated more basely then the former, with-

*A second English Fleet of no use to Rochel.*

out so much as attempting the least Enterprize. While they were setting forth a third Fleet, *Buckingham* was slain by a private person, whom he had particularly injur'd. This caus'd a change of Affairs, and the Command of the Fleet was given to the Earl of *Lindsey*. But this Fleet did less then the rest, and seem'd only set forth to be Witness of the Surrender of *Rochel*.

*A third Fleet more useless.*

And indeed it may be said of the three Fleets sent to the Succor of that unfortunate City, that the first famish'd her, by taking away her Corn; the second amus'd her with the shew of Relief, that was never intended her; and the third sold her. Perhaps all the blame of these ill Successes was not to be laid upon the King of *England*; only that he was to be accus'd of great weakness, in suffering himself to be govern'd by his Queen with too much pliability. However, that Princess had the Knack to disappoint all the King her Husband's Designs; and sometimes she did it so openly, that People could not refrain from believing that he himself was not at all troubl'd at it. She it was that prevented the Effects of those Orders, which the King gave to those who commanded his Naval Forces. She it was, who, in the heart of *England*, held and protected all the Correspondencies with Cardinal *Richlieu*; and she did so much, that she not only drew upon her own head the implacable hatred of all her Subjects, but embarrass'd her own Husband in those untoward Affairs that brought him at length to the Scaffold. After this, Cardinal *Richlieu* thought it proper to make a peace with *England*, which it was no hard matter to do, by throwing upon *Buckingham* all the past misunderstandings: And the more easily to vanquish the Obstinacy of the *Rochellois*, he insinuat'd Suspensions on both sides, that the one Party treated without the other. And thus *Rochel* having held out a Siege of very near a year in length, and carri'd on their Resolutions, during a

*A Treaty of Peace with England, and the Surrender of Rochel.*

long,

long, and the most Cruel Famine that could be imagin'd, beyond what could be expected from Nature, was forc'd to surrender at discretion upon the 28th of *October*. And no sooner was it surrender'd, but a Tempest ruin'd the Mound which had stopp'd up the Entrance of her Channel; and shew'd, that that same mighty Work, that so much redounded to the Honour of the Cardinal who undertook it, could never have contributed to the subduing that City, had she not bin more enfeebl'd by her Friends, that in a manner robb'd her of her Provisions, then incommoded by all the Toil and Labour of her Enemies.

*This City  
refuses to  
submit to  
the Eng-  
lish.*

During this long Siege, and these terrible Extremities, the City being solicited to submit to the King of *England*, would never heark'n to it. To say she had any such design, was a meer Calumny of the Monks and Jesuits. And they who write the particular History of this Memorable Siege, relate; that the Cardinal declar'd to the Deputies from this City, That He knew very well, that the Deputies who were sent into *England* had resisted several Temptations upon that occasion; that the King return'd 'em thanks for it; and that it was the main reason which confirm'd him in those Sentiments of Mercy which he had for the Town. More then this, the Cardinal found a way to engage *Spain* to be serviceable to the King in the Siege of that Place. 'Tis true, the Council of *Spain* saw well the bad consequence of taking the Place, and fain would have prevented it, especially after the Marquiss of *Spinola*, who had seen the state of the Siege, had given an accompt of it in *Spain*. And 'tis said, that the first time he came into Council, that he propos'd it as one of the greatest strokes of Policy that could be thought of to succour that Place. But the Council of Conscience carri'd it above reason of State; and the Pretence of Religion, always useful to the Court of *Spain* since *Ferdinand's* Reign, was at this time the ruin of her Affairs. 'Tis true, that the Fleet which she sent against *Rochel* came thither so ill provided, and staid there so small a while, that she had as good have sent none at all. And it is as true that she attempted to relieve the Duke of *Rohan's* Party, with whom she had concluded a Treaty. But during her accusom'd long Delays, *Rochel* sunk under her Burthen, and put all the World out of heart. The *French* them-

selves

*The Fleet  
of Spain  
at the  
Siege of  
Rochel.*

selves labour'd with reluctance in the taking of that City, well 1628. foreseeing that from the date of her Ruin the Vassalage of the whole Kingdom would commence : But by an odd fantastickness of Human Wisdom, men often spread the Snares themselves for their own Feet, and make the Chains for others to bind 'em to perpetual servitude.

The Ladies, both Mother and Sister of the Duke of *Roban*, display'd a more then ordinary Courage : and their Example was very useful to support the Constancy of others. But they were recompenc'd with a close Confinement, where the Cardinal held 'em during all the remainder of the Wars. The Mayor *Guiton* was lookt upon as a Hero by all those that love Vertue, where ever they meet it ; and the Catholic Authors mention him themselves with great applause ; and all the Brave Persons in the King's Army went to see him after the Surrender of the City. Some write that he was promis'd to be continu'd in his Dignity. But when he went to kiss the Cardinal's Hand, it was told him that he was no longer Mayor ; that he was to lay aside the Ensigns of his Authority, and quit his Guards ; for that the Cardinal would not see him but as a private person. Upon which they add, that he was so enrag'd, that he could not forbear saying, That had he expected such an Entertainment, he would have found a way to have held out some days longer. Which had he done, the Cardinal must have rais'd his Siege, because of the Rigor of the Season, the Diseases that lessen'd the Army, the Tempests that ruin'd his Dam, and the Pressing Affairs which call'd him another way. Nor was it a wonder that *Guiton* complain'd that they did not keep their word with him ; for it is not to be imagin'd, that because the Principal Articles for the surrender of *Rochel* were written and sign'd by the King, that there were not others agreed upon by word of mouth. Always in the reducing of Cities that surrender at discretion, there are several things which are not absolutely left to the discretion of the Victor, but are privately corroborated with verbal Assurances. And it was believ'd to be much more advantageous to the King to take that Course, because what he granted afterwards to reduc'd Cities, lookt so much the more like a Gracious Favour, when there appear'd no Promise in Writing : Be-

1628. fides that, the King would not oblige himself to his Subjects by Acts that seem to carry the Form of a Treaty. So that there might be Articles granted by word of mouth without other Assurances : and perhaps it was by one of those Articles that *Guisson* pretended to be continu'd in his Dignity. Nevertheless that particular is no-where to be met withal in any of the most Exact Memoirs of that City. For by the most express and assur'd Relation that I can find, the King by the first of the Written Articles, promises to leave 'em the free exercise of their Religion in the City ; which put 'em in hopes that it should not have bin remov'd from the usual place ; but they were deceiv'd ; and that Promise was evaded by an Insulting Equivocation. For after the Church was given to the Catholics, the Reformed had a Place appointed 'em without the City to build another : and the King himself would needs take cognizance of the place, and enlarg'd it somewhat beyond the limits mark'd out by the Commissioners. To which breach of Faith and Word, when the Reformed were about to have said something by way of complaint, they were taken up short, and to stop their mouths, it was told 'em, that their City being surrender'd at discretion, the King would beat down the Walls and the Fortifications, which being done, what before was without the Enclosure, being no longer divided from the rest, the whole would make but one City. This was not the thing which was meant by the secret Promise ; but the vanquish'd must accept of what Interpretation the Victor pleases to put upon their Promises.

The Inhabitants were kindly enough us'd ; but the City lost all her Priviledges. The *Roman* Religion was re-establish'd in all its splendour, which it prefers above all things, and the King translated thither the Bishopric of *Maillezais*. In the Month of *November* came forth a Declaration, which contain'd twenty four Articles. The first six were all about the re-establishment of the Catholic Religion, and the Circumstances belonging to it. The Seventh order'd the erecting of a Cross in the place where the Castle stood, upon the Pedestal of which was to be engraven the History of the Reducing the City, the memory of which was to be preserv'd by a General Procession every year upon the first of *November*. The Eighth command-  
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ed the founding of a Monastery of Minims upon the Point <sup>1628.</sup> *de Coreille*, which is one of the Extremities of the Canal, to preserve the History of the Mound or Dam in two Tables of Copper to be fix'd upon the Church-door. The next four contain'd an Amnesty for what was past, and a confirmation of the Edicts for liberty of the exercise of the Reformed Religion ; the Church excepted, which the King reserv'd to be turn'd into a Cathedral. There were nine more that follow'd, which took from the City her Fortifications, Franchises and Priviledges, and quite alter'd the Form of the Government. The Twenty second forbid all Foreigners, though naturaliz'd, to reside in the City without expreis leave by Letters under the Great Seal. The Twenty third extended the same Prohibition to the Reformed who had not bin settled Inhabitants before the landing of the *English*. Which two Articles were the source of an infinite number of Vexations in the succeeding years. The last oblig'd the Inhabitants to take out Licences to keep Arms, Powder and Ammunition, and to trade abroad. So that there was nothing left but the Place, and the remembrance of that poor City's former Power and Grandeur.

*The End of the Ninth Book.*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.  
THE SECOND PART.

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THE TENTH BOOK.

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The Heads of the Tenth Book.

**R** *Rejoycings among the Catholics. The War continues in Languedoc. Cruelties, Insulting, and Executions. Personal Enmity between the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Rohan. A new Sedition at Lion against the Reformed. The pretended Conversion of a sick Man that fell mad. Decrees and Declarations against the Duke of Rohan and his Adherents. The King and the Cardinal take a Journey into Italy. The Siege of Privas, the Inhabitants of which are betray'd. Cruelties exercis'd upon that City. Pretences of the Catholics. Conversions of Soldiers taken Prisoners. Declaration upon the taking of Privas. The Consternation of the rest of the Reformed. A Treaty of the Duke of Rohan with Spain. Alets reduc'd. An Assembly permitted at Anduse, and remov'd to Nimes. Peace concluded. An Edict of Grace. The Contents of the Edict. The King's Letter to the Queen upon the Peace. The Duke of Rohan retires. The reducing of Montauban. An Assembly of the Clergy. Particular Acts of Injustice; Missionaries. The Duke*

*Duke of Rohan is accus'd of the Ruin of the Churches. Cavils about the Rights of Exerciſe. The Biſhop of Valence perſecutes the Foreign Miniſters. The Original of the Injuſtice done upon occaſion of the Annexes. New Seeds of Civil Wars. The Queen-Mother retires. An Alliance with Guſtavus King of Sweden. Projects of Reunion, wherein the Cardinal appears. Intrigues of Joſeph the Capuchin. A Draught of a Project. How the Synods were to be made to ſpeak. Inclinations of the Miniſters and People. Projects of Petit and Milletiere. Difference of their Intentions. Verity of the Project, of which the precise time is uncertain. A National Synod. The Commiſſioner's Speech. Miniſters ſuſpected by the King, excluded out of the Synod by his Order. The Answer to the Commiſſioners Speech. The vain Oppoſition of the Commiſſioner to the Union of the Churches of Bearn, with the reſt. Several Propoſals of the Commiſſioner. The Synod ſends Deputies to the King. Papers. The Deputies kindly receiv'd. Nomination of General Deputies. The Reformed fear'd at Court. Important Reſolutions of the Synod. Exerciſe forbid. Donations. Conſulſhips. A captious Clauſe. Oppreſſion of the Public Liberty. Civil War of the Duke of Orleans. The Biſhops of Languedoc ſide with his Party. The Reformed continue faithful. Biſhops depos'd. Execution of an innocent Miniſter. The Duke of Rohan ſerves the King in Italy. The Affair of the Annexes in the Dauphinate, referr'd to four Commiſſioners. Conſulſhip of Alets. Exerciſe forbid. Shameſul Cavils. A raſh Curioſity of two Scholars. The death of Guſtavus. Great Troubles in the Kingdom. Advice of the Commiſſioners of the Dauphinate about the Annexes. Re-eſtabliſhment of Privas. A Treatiſe intitl'd, The Euchariſt of the Ancient Church. Exerciſes forbid. Party-Colledges. Continuance of the Public Oppreſſion. Pretenſions of France over all Europe. The Duke of Sulli made a Marſhal of France. A Decree upon ſeveral Subjects. Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counſellors of the Chamber of Guyenne in certain Caſes. The Reformed Counſellors of the Chamber of Caſtres, forbid to wear Scarlet Robes. The pretended Poſſeſſion of the Urſulines of Loudun. Ridiculous Effects of Exorcisms. The death of a Prieſt, pretended to have bewitcht thoſe Nuns. New Vix-*

tions upon the Subject of Annexes. Grand days at Poitiers. Terror of the Churches. An important Decree upon several Articles. Another troublesome Decree about meeting the Sacrament. The demolishing of the Church of St. Maixant. A Pleading of Omer Talon, Advocate General. Distinction between the Right of Exercise, and the Right of the Church. Divers Decrees about grand days against the Reformed. Persecution rais'd by Cacherau against the Churches of Normandy. Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counsellors of the Chamber of Castres. The Colledge taken from the Reformed of Loudun. Exercise forbid at Paroi and la Chaume. Order of the Intendant of Poitou upon the Subject of Annexes. The Reformed of Metz forbid to have a Colledge. The Duke of Bouillon changes his Religion.

1628.

Rejoycing  
among the  
Catholics.

There was great rejoycing at Rome for the reducing of this City. The Pope sang Mass himself, made Prayers on purpose; gave plenary Indulgence to some Churches for two days; and wrote to the King Breifs cramm'd with Eulogies and Applauses. The whole Kingdom resounded with nothing but Congratulations, Vows, and Returns of Thanks: nothing was so talk'd of but the Cause of Heav'n, the Interests of God, and the Triumphs of the Church. Flattery turn'd all Accidents and Events into Miracles; and Invention suppli'd 'em with all sorts. In the mean time the War continu'd in the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*: and the Duke of Rohan held out the best he could against three Armies, commanded by the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Mommorancy, and the Duke of Epernon. The Catholics also in all places reviv'd the Cruelties of Charles the Ninth's Reign. There was nothing to be seen but Plundering, Burning, Massacr'ng, and Executions upon Executions: and for an addition of Insulting to Cruelty, the People were made believe, that the poor Creatures that were hang'd, all chang'd their Religion at the Gallows: Only to deprive 'em of the desire of recanting, or the means and opportunity to contradict what was said of 'em, they could not forbear to send 'em to the other world; and the People were oblig'd to believe their Conversion, upon the Faith of the Monk, who had persecuted 'em

Cruelties,  
Insulting,  
and Execu-  
tions.



'em to death. And some Relations are to be seen in Print, which 1628.  
 aggravate the Barbarity of the Catholics to that degree, as to  
 publish 'em guilty of ripping up the Bellies of Women with  
 Child, and tearing the half-form'd Embrio's out of their  
 Wombs; sometimes also after they had vitiated the Mothers.  
 Moreover the Duke of *Mommorancy*, having forc'd some of the  
 Reformed who had neither the Courage to retreat or defend  
 themselves, took 'em all upon Composition: but he would not  
 promise 'em their Lives, unless they would oblige the Duke of  
*Rohan* to surrender *Aimargues*, a considerable place which he  
 had surpriz'd: and because the Duke of *Rohan* lookt upon the  
 Condition as ridiculous, the Duke of *Mommorancy* caus'd no  
 less then Sixscore of his Prisoners of War to be hang'd. There-  
 upon the Duke of *Rohan*, to enforce the Catholics to wage War  
 with more Civility, storm'd one of their Fortresses, and put all  
 the Garison to the Sword. Which Reprisals stopt the Career  
 of those barbarous Executions: Nevertheless the Enmity  
 which had bin long between the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke  
 of *Rohan*, broke forth with greater Fury; for the Prince wrote  
 very sharp and invective Letters to the Duke, and the Duke an-  
 swer'd him with as much disdain. And then it was that the  
 Prince, forgetful of his Character, reveng'd himself after a  
 manner no way becoming his quality; for toward the end of  
 the year, he procured a Decree in Council, that the Duke's  
 Houses should be demolish'd, his Woods cut down, and his  
 Goods confiscated; and that he might be Master of the Execu-  
 tion, he caus'd it to be committed to himself, and discharg'd  
 his Trust with an extraordinary exactness: nor did he think it  
 beneath himself, to get the Confiscation of his Enemy granted  
 to his own use.

*Personal  
 Enmity be-  
 tween the  
 Prince of  
 Condé,  
 and the  
 Duke of  
 Rohan.*

Nor were the Reformed better treated in those places where *A new dis-  
 tinction in  
 Lion a-  
 gainst the  
 Reformed.*  
 there was no War, then in the Provinces where they were up  
 in Arms: For at *Lion* the seditious Rabble fell upon 'em a se-  
 cond time, and upon a Pretence no less false then ridiculous.  
 The Contagion, which made great havock in other places, was  
 got into this City. This Misfortune was attributed to a sort of  
 People, who, as they said, were wont to go about and grease the  
 doors of private persons; for which reason those Miscreants  
 were.

1628. were call'd by the name of *Greasers*, or *Engraisseurs*. But in regard the Reformed were they who were to bear the blame of all the Misfortunes which beset the Catholics, the Rabble fail'd not to take this opportunity to wreck their Malice upon 'em. The Magistracy made strict enquiry after this Crime, and seiz'd upon some of those pretended *Greasers*, among whom, as it was said, there was found one of the Reformed Religion. But the punishment of those poor Creatures would not satisfy the Mobile; all the Reformed must be disarm'd to appease their fury: and the Violences of that *Canaille* must be let alone unpunish'd, tho they had knockt several persons o'the head. So that the Reformed were constrain'd to hide themselves for several days, and some that were most expos'd, were forc'd to quit the City.

About the same time also a Young man of the Reformed Religion was seiz'd with a violent Fever, of which he dy'd: and because he fell into a *Delirium*, the Priests would needs make that an Argument, that he dy'd a Catholic. In the height of his Distemper he talk'd of nothing but his Father. Thereupon a Jesuit being brought to the Bed-side under the name of his Father, ask'd him, if he would not die in his Religion, but never said which, whether the Reformed, or the *Roman*? The sick Person having made answer, *Yes my dear Father*, presently the Equivocal Term of *Father*, an Appellation which the Catholics generally give their Priests, was laid hold of, as a proof that the man desir'd to change his Religion. But the Real Father coming to his Son some time after, and putting the same Question to him, which the Young man answer'd in the same manner, they fetch'd about another way, that the latter Answer was the effect of his *Delirium*; that he still thought he spoke to the Jesuit, and that his last words were a confirmation of the former. So that notwithstanding the Complaints of his Father, and the evident Symptoms of his Son's *Delirium*, they would have it pass for a lawful *Conversion*; they drove all the Reformed Persons out of the Room; the Catholics got possession of his Body, and after his death buried him after their manner. For the Catholics care not at which Door People enter into their Communion; Fraud, Violence, Fear, Interest, Frensie, all must be serviceable to their Triumphs, and the Salvation of their Con-

The pretended  
Conversion  
of a Sick  
Person  
that fell  
into a  
Phrensie.

In the mean time the Court and the Parlements darted all their Thunderbolts against the Duke of *Rohan*; more especially the Parliament of *Tholouse* made the most bloody Decrees against him that ever were set forth against a Rebel: But on the other side, they invited all his Adherents to quit him, with all the fairest Promises that could be made 'em. The King publish'd a Declaration upon the 15th of *December* at *Paris*, wherein extremely enhauncing the Favours which he had shewn the *Rochelois*, and the Advantages they had found by submitting to him, he exhorted all others who had taken Arms to do as much, and to come in, and make their acknowledgments to that effect, before the Prothonotaries of the Jurisdctions to which they belong'd, within fifteen days. He order'd also the Cities that held for the Duke to send their Deputies to the Court to make their Submissions; and upon these Conditions he promis'd upon the word of a King, to be kind and favourable to 'em; and to make 'em equal partakers of his Graces with his other Subjects: but he condemn'd to most rigorous Punishments all those that persever'd in their Rebellion. This Declaration wrought very little effect, because the Duke of *Rohan* made those that adher'd to him deeply sensible that there was much more to be expected from a General Peace, then every single man could obtain from a Particular Submission. But these Reasons would have bin of little force, had they not seen the Cardinal engag'd in a Foreign War, which would not permit him vigorously to pursue his utmost efforts in *France* against the remainder of the Reformed.

1628.  
Decrees and  
Declarations  
against  
the Duke  
of Rohan.

That Minister was desirous to revive the Reputation of his Master in *Italy*, where it was very low, by reason that they who govern'd as Prime Ministers before him, had too great a kindness for the Court of *Spain*. To that purpose, he sent an Army thither in such a Season of the Year, that there was more likelihood of seeing it ruin'd, then hopes of any Success to be obtain'd by it. And to say truth, Had the Success been unfortunate, the Expedition might have been lookt upon as rash and inconsiderate. But there is nothing that prospers better then those things which an Enemy believes his Adversary dares not

The King  
and the  
Cardinal  
take a  
Journey  
into Italy.  
1629.

1619. undertake. The Army forc'd its way through all the disadvantages of Places, notwithstanding the rigour of the Winter, and the Duke of *Savoy's* men that oppos'd their Passage: And after he had settl'd Affairs on that side in a very glorious manner, the King return'd to *Cevenes*, and laid siege to *Privas*. And indeed there was something surprising in the Speed and Diligence of this Great Minister. For there had not elaps'd above six Months between the reducing of *Rochel*, and the taking of *Privas*; and during that small time, the Cardinal had caus'd the King to take a Journey into *Savoy*, and recover'd the Affairs of *Italy* into a good Condition. This acquir'd him so great Credit with the King, that it was impossible he should mount any higher; and besides, it spread both admiration and astonishment all over *Europe*. So that the Reformed were in a dismal Consternation, when they saw the remainder of their Cities menac'd by those Victorious Troops, which in such a terrible Season had forc'd all the Obstacles of Art and Nature. So that the Duke of *Rohan* had much ado with all his accusom'd Arguments, and the hopes of Succour that *Spain* promis'd him, to prevent the voluntary Surrender of all those Cities.

The Siege  
of *Privas*,  
the Inhabi-  
tants of  
which were  
betray'd.

The King then, having receiv'd great Applauses in all places through which he pass'd in his way to *Italy*, for the success of his Arms before *Rochel*; and having beheld at his return the Roads strew'd with *Conversions*, procur'd by a great number of Missionaries that march'd along with his Army, and such as well knew how to improve the Argument of Terror, met with no stop till he came to *Privas*, before which Place he sat down in *May*; and into which *Chabrilles* and *Montbrun* had put themselves under pretence of holding it out. But they were both suspected, and it was discover'd that *Chabrilles* treated with the Court, and were to deliver up *Vivaretz* to the Cardinal for a good Reward. *Montbrun* was more wary, and would be intreated, and su'd to, before he would yield: Besides, they mutually sow'd distrusts in prejudice the one of the other. *Chabrilles* offer'd to hold out the Place, provided he might have the upper hand, as being afraid that *Montbrun* would thwart him.

On the other side *Montbrun* declar'd what he knew of *Chabrilles's* Treason, and did all he could, lest the City should be put into



into his hands. This quarrelling of theirs fell out right, and had the intended Effect, to set the Soldiers at variance one among another. The Relief which was to have bin sent thither, and which lay at *Boutieres*, refus'd to march thither at the persuasion of *Chabrilles*, who promis'd other Succors so soon as it should be seasonable. The Soldiers of the Garison deserted, and the greatest part of the Citizens did as much. Thereupon *Mombrun* having thus render'd the place almost defenceless, went away together with some few Captains to the King's Quarter, where he was detain'd Pris'ner for fashion's sake, on purpose to force the Town to a Surrender at discretion. For in reality he had made his Bargain; and the Pretence alledg'd for his Detention, that he had left the Town before he had secur'd himself by a Capitulation, was a meer Shamm. So that the Garison of *Privas*, which was retir'd to the Fort of *Thoulon*, astonish'd at the detaining of *Mombrun*, and the Captains that follow'd him, and finding themselves without either Chieftain or Governor, surrender'd at discretion. But when the King's Forces enter'd the Town, the Fire took hold either of some Barrels of Powder, or else upon some Mine that was prepar'd ready to spring, if the place had bin attack'd according to the methods of War; which Accident blew up some of the King's Soldiers, and gave others a Pretence to put the Garison to the Sword. So that all the Cruelties that could be exercis'd upon a City taken by Assault, were put in practice at *Privas*. The City was plunder'd and burnt, and whatever escap'd the Fury of the Soldiers, was only reserv'd for the Gibet or the Gallies.

*Cruelties  
exercis'd  
upon the  
City.*

The Catholics accus'd the Reformed to have set Fire to the Powder; and the Reformed accus'd the King's Soldiers to have committed that abominable Fact, that they might have a Right to sack the City, which they could not have by the voluntary Surrender of the Town. And indeed 'tis most probable, that the Reformed would have taken better measures, had they bin the Authors of that Accident. For it happen'd too soon to do any considerable damage to the Enemy: nor was the little harm it did, worth the trouble of making such an Attempt. However, the Soldiers were believ'd who accus'd the Garison of the foul Play. People that are hated, are soon believ'd to be criminal;

*The Pretences of  
the Catholics.*

1629. nal ; and the Antipathy which men have againſt 'em, gives an Air of Evidence and Truth to all Accuſations that are laid to their charge. For this reaſon it was, that theſe poor Creatures were lookt upon as guilty of aſſaſinating a Capuchin, who was call'd *Jerome de Condrien*, and whom the Monks of his Order will needs have to be a Martyr. There has bin alſo a Relation of this pretended Martyrdom publiſh'd, and ſo exactly dreſt up with all the Circumſtances of it, that for a man to have been acquainted with all that is there ſet down, he muſt not only have bin preſent at the Action, but a patient and quiet Spectator alſo. Nevertheleſs, this pretended Crime muſt needs be committed in a place where there was no body but the Criminals, and the perſon that ſuffer'd ; and the chiefſt part of the Circumſtances ſo ill jumbld together, that it was eaſily to be diſcern'd, that it was only a Romantic Story of a roasted Horſe, ſuch as are brought us from *Japan* or *China*. But the King being extremely tractable, ſuperſtitious, and prepoſſeſ'd with an averſion for the Reformed, ſwallow'd, without any examination, what was urg'd againſt 'em, to foment and buoy him up in his prejudic'd Opinion.

Conver-  
ſions of  
Soldiers  
tak'n  
Prifoners.

In like manner they vaunted the *Converſions* of Soldiers, that embrac'd the Catholic Religion before they dy'd. But beſides, what I have obſerv'd in other places upon theſe pretended *Converſions*, I ſhall here ſpeak it once for all, that there were many Catholics who bore Arms in the Reformed Army ; That theſe Catholics hoping for better Uſage, if they call'd themſelves Reformed, then if they acknowledg'd that being Catholics, they had ſerv'd in the Armies of thoſe who were term'd Enemies of the State and the Church, tarry'd till there was no longer any hopes of mercy for 'em, before they declar'd themſelves ; That ſome of 'em alſo ſav'd their Lives by this Artifice, acting the part of Zealots, and of the Godlier ſort of the Reformed, till the Miſſionaries put 'em in hope of Pardon, upon condition they would change their Religion ; That theſe perſons eaſily yielded to whatever was infus'd into 'em by the Monks : ſo that when they met with the Depoſitions of theſe falſe *Converts* againſt the Miniſters, or any other of the Reformed, 'twas neither Juſtice nor ſound Reaſon to give Credit to their Teſtimony.

mony. Moreover, the *Cruelties* Exercis'd upon the taking of 1629. *Privas*, were cry'd up as a just piece of Severity, and an Exemplary punishment : And as if that merciless Butchery had not bin enough to satisfie 'em, the King publish'd a Declaration *A Declaration upon the taking of Privas.* in the Month of *June*, which forbid all those that were not in *Privas* during the Siege, to return, and Confiscated all their Goods : It deprived all the rest of the Reformed of the Liberty to settle there without expresse leave ; and set forth, that possession it self, without permission, should not give 'em a Title to any Right. We shall relate in due place the Injustice and Cruelties that were committed in these later years, under the pretence of that Declaration.

The taking of *Privas*, and the Circumstances of the Reducing it, begat Fear and Consternation on every side : And besides, the Havock which was begun in several Places, by the little Armies which the King sent thither, quite daunted the Courage of all that were capable to defend themselves. They were utterly out of Hopes of being Assisted by the *English*, who since the Taking of *Rochelle*, had still held the Duke of *Rohan* in suspense with fair Promises. But the Cardinal had begun a Treaty of Peace with 'em, before he carry'd the King into *Italy* ; and the Negotiation was perfectly concluded during that Journey : so that the News of that Peace was publish'd while the King lay before *Privas*. 'Tis true, that the *English* Envoy assur'd the Duke, that the Peace would not be of any long Continuance. But tho that Promise might have bin rely'd upon, the Duke who stood in need of present Ayd, could not stay for an Assistance that was promis'd him in pursuance of an uncertain Rupture of so late a Treaty. There remain'd only the Assistance of *Spain*, where *Clausell* had concluded a Treaty the Third of *May*, in the Duke's Name. But 'twas well known, *A Treaty of the Duke of Rohan with Spain.* that there was no Confiding in that Succor, which the Insupportable slowness of the Council at *Madrid* would not permit 'em to expect in any time, so as to reap any Benefit by it. Besides, that the Catholic Zeal of that Court gave the Reformed great reason to question, whether or no she were sincere in her Treaties with Heretics : and then again, that Forraign Alliance did not please several of the Reformed themselves. The Men :

1529. Men of the Quill wrote to and fro with great vehemency; and the Monks coming in for a share, most bloody *Satyrs* appear'd against the Duke, and all those that were of his Religion and Party. His Adversaries maintain'd against him in all those Writings, that the Forraing Succour with which he flatter'd himself, was both impossible, unprofitable, and unjust. They also excus'd by divers Arguments the Breach of Treaties, which it was not always requisite to observe. In pursuance of which *Maxim*, they shew'd, that all the Reasons which the Reformed brought were Insufficient to justify their Arms. They would needs have it, that the Reformed had extorted all the Favours which had bin granted to 'em, and particularly the Briefs; consequently, that the Obligation was void, and the Revocation lawful. 'Twas said, that Kings were oblig'd to punish Heretics, as the Servants of God, as *Protectors* of the Church, and because that Heretics have bin always troublefom to States and Kingdoms. 'Twas asserted, that the Reason of Public Welfare, exempted Kings from observing their Promises made to their Subjects, who were never permitted to wage War; and that tho they were attack'd, it was not lawful for 'em to defend themselves, and they were very large and copious upon this Tyrannical Opinion. They were also very diffusive upon the Question, what Place the Reformed held in the Kingdom? Wherein it was asserted, that they were no separate Body: and upon that Principle they condemn'd their Assemblies, their General Deputations; and in a word, whatever else was the Consequence of a lawful Union. A new sort of Politics, from whence the Pretences for a Great Number of unjust Actions were drawn. Lastly, by a sort of Argumentation altogether Catholic, they alledg'd the Victories of the *Roman* Church over *Herese* to be a Mark of her being the True Church; and the Fall of the Reformed as a Mark of their Heresie. But it would be a hard matter to demonstrate, that Violence, Surprise, and Treachery, which are the Weapons which the *Roman* Church makes use of against her Enemies, were Weapons becoming the Truth, and that the Ruin of her Adversaries by such means, was a good Argument to convince 'em of Heresie.

But



1629.

But while the Duke of *Rohan* struggl'd with these Difficulties, the Reducing of *Alets*, which open'd her Gates to the King without any Opposition, totally discourag'd those that were still resolv'd to have defended themselves; and the Advantageous Conditions which that City obtain'd, perswaded all the rest to imitate Her, that they might be no less happy then She. The Consideration of the Disorders that happen'd at *Privas*, made 'em believe the Capitulation of *Alets* the more tolerable; for that as it was one of the most Considerable that belon'g'd to the Party, her Example extreamly sway'd the Rest. Nevertheless the Duke surmounted all these Obstacles, and neglecting his own Advantages, which he was given to understand in the King's Name, should be much greater if he would treat apart by himself, then if he obstinately insisted upon a General Peace; he engag'd all his Friends and Adherents, to make but one Treaty for all. To which purpose he obtain'd leave to call a General Assembly at *Anduse*, from whence it was translated to *Nimes*, to the end it might there be more free. For the King granting the Confirmation of the Edicts, there was nothing which could cause a Dispute, but the Article concerning the Fortifications. 'Twas the King's desire they should be demolish'd, but the greatest part of the Cities refus'd to Consent to it. They judg'd it to be the greatest Mischief that could befall 'em, tho they should stand the utmost of Extremity. And to say truth, in regard there were still remaining about Thirty strong Holds, the meanest of which was able to hold out a Siege of three Months, they might have put the Cardinal to a plunge, had he insisted upon that Article. But particular Interests, the Cardinal's Correspondencies, the Fear of Treachery, the Example of *Privas*, and chiefly that of *Anduse*, that first of all gave way, and first of all agreed to the Demolishing of her Fortifications, made all the Deputies that were at the Assembly submit to give the same Consent.

*An Assembly permitted at Anduse, and translated to Nimes.*

The Peace was then Concluded toward the end of *June*, publish'd in the King's Camp, and afterwards the Treaty being turn'd into an Edict, was publish'd at *Nimes* the next Month. It was granted in the Form of a Favour; and because the King afforded it to his vanquish'd and humbl'd Subjects of his meer good:

*Peace concluded.*

1529. good will, upon no other Considerations or Motives but those of his Clemency, it was call'd the *Edict of Grace*. Upon which Title there was a High Value put, to cure the Reformed of their Fears, lest this Edict should be no better observ'd then the Rest: and because it was taken for a pretence to violate those that preceded, that the Grant of 'em was wrested from the King by force; therefore that there should be no excuse for the Infringing of this, because the King had granted it as a Victor, out of the meer Instigation of his Royal good will. Nevertheless, the very next Day after the Publication of the Peace, being the 29th of *June*, the Cardinal wrote a Letter to the Queen-Mother upon the occasion, from whence it might be concluded, that the Motive to this Peace was not any Inclination to observe the Edicts obtain'd by the *Heretics*, but to ease the People of the Consequences of the War, and for fear of offending their Protestant Confederates, who would hardly have bin drawn to Confide in those who sought the utter Extirpation of their Reformed Brethren. But the Queen was already discontented with the Cardinal; nor was there any thing which more displeas'd her then the Success of the Enterprises which he undertook. She had done as much as she could to hinder the Success of the Siege of *Rochelle*; and at the same time that she vow'd Pilgrimages and other Acts of Devotion for the Taking of it, she set all her Engins at work to disappoint the Prosperity of that Important Design. Not that she lov'd the Reformed; tho they had serv'd her faithfully upon several Occasions: for in regard they had offended her in others, their Injuries lay deeper at her Heart then their Services. But that was no strange thing: For we may build more securely upon the Resentment of Men, more especially of Princes, then upon their Acknowledgment. Time obliterates out of their Memories all the Impressions of their good Services: and when they pardon, they do but suspend the Resentment of an Injury, the Remembrance of which the least Pretence revives. Now that which oblig'd the Queen to fret at the Cardinal's Prosperity, was this, that she saw the Cardinal's Reputation fix'd by the Success of his Designs: whereas she saw her Credit sink by degrees, while he that before was but her Creature, lest her hardly  
any

The Edict  
of Grace.

any share in the Government of Affairs. And she would not have bin sorry to have seen him less fortunate in his Enterprises against the Heretics, that there might have bin a Party left in the Kingdom to restore her to the Authority she had lost, when occasion offer'd. However, the Cardinal always paid her most profound Respects, that he might not expose himself to the reproach of despising a Princess to whom he was beholding for his Fortune. But to return to the History.

The Edict contain'd in the first place a long Preface, which after an insulting manner set forth the means employ'd to reduce the Reformed to obedience. The Taking of *Rochel*, the Sacking of *Privas*, the voluntary Surrender of *Alets*, were represented in a Rhetorical Stile, not common in Edicts. There were the Names of Five and twenty Towns well fortify'd that durst not stand the first Shot of the King's Batteries; and which together with the Duke of *Rohan* and the Nobility of several Provinces, had implor'd his Clemency by their Deputies, offering to demolish their Fortifications for fear of giving any distrust of their Fidelity. After which the King, sway'd by compassion only of the Misery of his Subjects, and that he might more absolutely gain the hearts of those who had bin guilty of so many Relapses, ordain'd in two and twenty Articles what he would have observ'd for the future. The Edict was term'd *Perpetual and Irrevocable*; and according to the accusom'd stile, the First Article enjoin'd the Re-establishment of the *Roman* Religion in all the freedom of its Exercises; and of the Ministers of the Worship of it in all their Goods and Estates. But by a singular Clause, 'twas the King's pleasure that only Monks living up to the strictness of their Order should be plac'd in the Monasteries of the Cities reduc'd. The Second was altogether new; for that while on the one side it promis'd to maintain the Reformed in the free Exercise of their Religion, on the other side it set forth an extraordinary desire of their Return to the *Roman* Church; and exhorted 'em to lay aside all Passion, to the end they might be capable of receiving the Light of Heav'n: And the King insert'd this desire of their Conversion, to the end it might be admir'd as the most splendid Testimony of his good will. The Third related to the Qualifications of the Curates

*Contents of  
the Edict.*

1619. that were to be settled in the Parishes of the Conquer'd Countries, and the Provision that was to be made for their subsistence. The next contain'd a general and particular Amnesty of whatever had bin aſted during the War. The Fifth contain'd the Declarations, Edicts and Articles *enregister'd* in Parlements; and that which follow'd, ordain'd the Restitution of Churches and Church-yards, and gave leave for the rebuilding of demolish'd Churches. The Seventh allow'd three months time for the demolishing of Fortifications, which was to be done at the expence of the Inhabitants Labour, according to such Orders as the King's Commissioners should give; and in regard the King left no Garisons in the said Cities, he oblig'd 'em to give him Hostages, who were to remain in custody, where he should appoint, till the Work was fully compleated: And the Preamble of the Edict declar'd, That the Hostages had bin deliver'd before it was publish'd: nor did this Article leave the Cities any more then the bare enclosure of their Walls. The Eighth restor'd the Reformed to all their Goods and Estates, their Tythes, Accompts and Suits, and cancell'd all contrary Decrees and Ordinances. The Ninth gave 'em leave to re-enter into their Houses, and to settle in the Kingdom where they pleas'd themselves. But he excepted out of the first part of this Favour all the Inhabitants of *Pamiers* that resided in the City, when the Prince of *Condé* retook it from the Duke of *Rohan*; and out of the 2d. he excepted the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, *Rochelle* and *Privas*, where he suffer'd no body to resettle anew. The next Seven that follow'd contain'd the Accustom'd Regulations for the discharge of Persons that had bin any way concern'd in the management of Money, or in the Administration of Justice. The 17th and 18th confirm'd the Customs for the Election of their Consuls, and the Municipal Government; and those of the Assembly of *Foix* in reference to the Assembly of States. The Nineteenth imported a Discharge, in favour of the Consuls, for the management of the public Money. The Twentieth refer'd the Seats of Judicature, and Audits of Receipts, in such places from whence they had bin discharg'd by reason of the Troubles: And the last restor'd the Party-Chamber to *Castres*, so soon as the Fortifications should be demolish'd; and maintain'd



tain'd it in all the Jurisdictions that had bin allow'd it by the 1629. Edicts.

Upon the 15th of *July* the King wrote a Letter to the Queen Mother, wherein he appear'd extremely well satisfi'd with the Peace which had bin concluded. He declar'd himself highly pleas'd with the Marks of their Affection which the Reformed had given him: That he thought there remain'd no more Seeds of Rebellion among 'em; and that they labour'd in the demolishing their Fortifications, with the same zeal that they rais'd 'em. As for the Duke of *Rohan*, after he had kiss'd the King's Hand, he departed with permission to retire to *Venice*. To say truth, 'twas no more then a Banishment cover'd over with the gay name of Permission. For it was by no means judg'd a piece of prudence to let the Duke alone in *France*, where his Reputation and his Intreagues might hinder the stifling the remainders of the Conflagration. However, it was no less beneficial for him to keep himself at a distance in such places where he could give no suspicion, as it was for the Court to remove him. For the least jealousy of his Conduct, had he staid in *France*, had either brought his Head to the Block, or lockt him up in a languishing Imprisonment. His Mother and Sister were releas'd after the Peace; and the King allow'd some reparation to the Duke for the wast which the Prince of *Condé* had made of his Estate.

*The King's  
Letter to  
Queen Mo-  
ther about  
the Peace.*

*The Duke  
of Rohan  
retires.*

This Peace in the main had not bin disadvantageous to the Reformed, if by taking from 'em their Places of Security, they could have bin cur'd of that distrust, which the ill observ'd Promises of the Catholics, experienc'd for seventy years together, had imprinted in their minds. They found themselves at the discretion of their Enemies by the Razing of their Fortifications; and all the Power of the Prime Ministry being in the Cardinal's hands, would not permit 'em to sleep in quiet under the Promises of his Good-will. Upon these Considerations it was, that *Montauban* refus'd a long time to ratify what the Assembly of *Nîmes* had decreed. The Siege which she had so gloriously sustain'd perswaded her that she was invincible: And her Inhabitants were so putt up with their Success, that they believ'd that no body durst attaque 'em. However, some Forces were sent that way

*Montau-  
ban re-  
fus'd.*

1629. to put 'em in fear; but the Cardinal, who aspir'd to be accounted the most accomplish'd of all Hero's, and to be thought able to do more by his presence, than a great Army by the Dint of their most daring efforts, order'd his affairs so well, that the honour of reducing *Montauban* redounded wholly to himself. Thither he went; was admitted; and put into it what number of the King's Forces he pleas'd; order'd the Fortifications to be level'd, & did more in a few days by an affectation of extraordinary Clemency, and of being exact to his Word, than a Victorious Army, where the King was in person, could accomplish by a long Siege. When he made his Entry into *Montauban*, the Ministers presented themselves to kiss his Hands; he receiv'd 'em: but before that, he gave 'em to understand, that he did not allow 'em that Honour, as Deputies of any Particular Body, because the Reformed made no Particular Body in the Kingdom; but only as men of Learning, for whom he had an esteem. The end of this Compliment was, to let the Reformed know, that their Union was quite extinct; and consisted no longer in any other thing, than in their Profession of the same Doctrine. The Ministers of State, the Intendants, the Governors of Provinces, and Princes themselves for a long time, did 'em the same honour, as the Cardinal had done the Ministers of *Montauban*: But at length, the Clergy, weary of hearing the Compliments of the Ministers, prefer'd upon all occasions, before those of all the other Deputies, obtain'd a Declaration which forbid 'em to make any such Deputations, as I shall have an occasion to speak in another place.

*Assembly of the Clergy.* As for the Assembly this year assembl'd at *Paris*, they chiefly minded their own Affairs. They obtain'd a Decree of Council, which forbid the seizing in the hands of the Receivers of the Clergy the Pensions which had bin allow'd 'em, under pretence of being the Debts of *Converted* Ministers. And this open'd a large Door for the Knavery of those who were laden with Debts, and had not wherewithal to pay. But there were some Articles in the Ordinances of *Lewis XIII.* upon which the Clergy thought fit to make Remonstrances. Among which there was one which oblig'd 'em to draw up an Inventory of their Evidences. Against which they urg'd that such an Article would do 'em wrong; for

for that the Enemies of the Church, meaning the Reformed, 1629. would draw from thence a pretence to molest 'em in the Possession of their Livings. Tho there was as much reason to fear the Vexations of the Catholics, as those of the other People, because they would have found a means to prove the Falshood or Nullity of their Evidences, had they bin once expos'd to the Examination of cunning people; but it did not behove them to speak of any other but the Reformed, whose Name was most proper to conceal their secret Intentions. They demanded upon another Article, that the Clause of *Verify'd in Parliaments*, requir'd by the *Ordinance* to set a Value upon the Concessions which they had obtain'd of several Kings, might be taken away. For they saw well, that at that rate, they should lose a great part of their Priviledges, which wanted that Formality: Whether it were that the Parliaments did not easily allow those sorts of Favours; or whether it were that the Clergy durst not present 'em for fear of a Refusal. They rather chose that such Concessions should be granted by way of Contract with the King, then by the public Forms of Law, in regard the most Zealous Defenders of Arbitrary Power, almost all of 'em agree, that Contracts are more Inviolable then the Laws. But I make this Observation chiefly in this place, to the end that men may see, that this Clause, of which the Clergy so well saw the Consequence, had not bin inserted in several Edicts given in favour of the Reformed, and particularly in that of *Nimes*, but only that they might have an Opportunity to deprive 'em of a great number of Concessions of High Importance for their welfare and quiet.

Now they who have a desire to understand how the Reformed were handl'd in such Places where they liv'd under the Protection of the Edicts, may readily understand by some Examples. The 23. of *April*, at an Assembly of the Town-Hall of *Poitiers*, there was a Resolution taken to admit no more of the Reformed to be sworn into Masterships of Trades; and the Reason was this, that the contrary Custom caus'd Differences, and for that the Catholic Masters oppos'd it. As if the Opposition of a few Male-contentes were to have bin of any value in an Affair which the Edict had so clearly decided. The King,

1629. at another time, being at *Valence* in the *Dauphinate*, pass'd a Decree of the Council of State, touching the Bells, the Church-Yard, the Minister's, and the School-Master's Salaries, and other Affairs of the same nature, to the good liking of all the Inhabitants: but the Reparation of the Church, contain'd a Regulation, which in despite of Custom, and the apparent Interest which the Reformed had in the Thing, confirm'd to the Curate, the Catholic Consul, and such and such Inhabitants as were of the same Religion, the Power of distributing the Alms, and the Government of the Hospital. It may be easily then judg'd, what share that Regulation left us the Reformed of the Alms, or in the Government of the Hospital. But the Parliament of *Rennes* bethought themselves of being more just this year, and by a Decree of the 12. of *June*, Confirm'd the Private Article of that Edict, which Exempted the Reformed from spreading Carpets before their Doors upon solemn Procession-days; onely barely ordering that Carpets should be spread. But the Parliament of *Dijon* was not in so good an Humour. For it happen'd that a private person was accus'd before 'em, for committing some Irreverence during the Procession of *Corpus Christi* Day. The Party accus'd, according to the Edict, demanded the Removal of the Cause to the Chamber of *Greenoble*. But the Removal was deny'd him, under pretence that it was a matter of Sacrilege, and that the Parliaments were to have the sole Cognizance of those Crimes. But nothing was more unjust then this Pretention, in regard that the pretence of Sacrilege was one of the Cases, wherein the Reformed had most reason to be afraid of falling into the hands of Judges altogether prepossess'd. The Parliament of *Paris* also by a Decree of the Third of *August*, reduc'd the Priviledge of taking an Associate of the Reformed Religion, for the drawing up and passing Sentences in Criminal Processes brought against those of the Religion, to Cases of Marshal Law onely. The Edict extended it to Final Sentences, by whatever Judges they were given: and Custom had stretch'd it to all manner of Criminal Processes, because it seem'd Equitable; the drawing up of the Process by the first Judge, being that which of necessity byasses the Sentence of the Superiour. I thought it requisite to set down the Original of this



this sort of Practice ; because that these particular Decrees have in time bin turn'd into a General Law.

But nothing was more mischievous to the Reformed then the 1630.  
 Establishment of Missions, which were Compos'd for the most <sup>Missiona-</sup>  
 part of persons of a violent, seditious, and pedantic Spirit, who <sup>ries.</sup>  
 thought it an honour to themselves to excite Tumults, and to  
 draw bad usage upon themselves, that they might have an Op-  
 portunity to trouble the Principal Members of the Reformed  
 Churches. The most dangerous of these brangling Pettifoggers  
 were certain Laics of the Scum of the People, the most Eminent  
 of which were Pedlars, Cordwinders, Cutlers, and such  
 like Riffraff, who rambld about from Town to Town, from  
 Consistory to Consistory, from Synod to Synod, to give Insolent  
 Challenges to the Ministers, preach Controversies in public  
 Places upon Theaters set up like Mountebank's Stages; to teaze  
 and weary out the meaner sort of people with pitiful and ridi-  
 culous Cavils ; and to endeavour by the *Conversion* of some poor  
 silly Widgeon or other, to gain a certain spill of Money which  
 the Clergy had fixt as the Reward of such petty Victories. But  
 I shall speak more at large in another place of this new sort of  
 Adversaries, my business in this place being only to let you  
 know, how much the Duke of *Rohan* was bespatter'd with Re-  
 proaches and Scandals after the Conclusion of the Peace ; the  
 chiefest part of those that had most importunately prest him  
 to make it, imputing the Fall and almost Ruin of the Reform-  
 ed Party to his Ambition, his Avarice, and his Precipitancy. <sup>The Duke  
of Rohan  
accus'd of  
the Ruin  
of the  
Churches.</sup>  
 So that he was forc'd to write an Apology for this last Peace :  
 wherein resuming his Discourse from the Assembly of *Rochelle*  
 which began the War, he made it appear by a Recital of all that  
 had been transacted, that his Conduct was altogether Innocent,  
 and that the last Peace was altogether necessary, at a time  
 when *France* having no Foreign Troubles to divert her, was  
 pouring upon the Duke with no less then six Armies at once.  
 But these Reproaches were only thrown upon him by those to  
 whom the Peace was not so gainful as the War. For in the  
 main, the Duke had gain'd the Hearts of all the People, and  
 almost all the Reformed were of Opinion, that he would have  
 done

1630. done much greater Things for 'em then the Admiral *Chatillon*, had he bin as well seconded by the Citizens and Nobility as the Admiral was.

*Cavils about the Right of Exercises.*

In the mean time they began to brangle with the Reformed in divers places about the Right of Exercises, more especially on that side next to *Rochelle*, where *Thuilerie* the Intendant, and *St. Chament* the Governor made several Attempts. The first ordain'd that the Exercise should not be performed but in Places where it ought to be, according to the *Edict*; and that the Reformed, to make appear the Rights to which they pretended, should produce their Proofs before the Intendant within fifteen Days. He added, that within the said Term such Gentlemen as would perform the Exercise within their own Houses, should declare which was the Place of which they made choice for their Principal Dwelling: upon which they should enjoy the Right so long as they remain'd there with their Wives and Families; and that the said fifteen Days being expir'd without any such Declaration made, they should be deem'd not to have sufficient Proofs of their Right, and therefore should have no more Preaching in their Houses till the King should otherwise ordain. This Inquisition was the occasion that the Churches in those Quarters were forc'd to undergo the Persecution of a world of brabbling Cavils. But what was most troublesom, was, that the Churches whose Right was confirm'd by *Thuilerie's* Order, were in no better Condition, seeing that afterwards they found out a thousand Devices to deprive 'em of the Fruit of those Sentences. For in Places of which the Lords of the Mannors were Catholics, the best settl'd Rights in the world signify'd nothing, in regard the violent Zeal of the Lord would not let his Tenants enjoy their Advantage. Of which there was an Eminent Example at *Rochechouard*, where the Exercise of the Reformed Religion began in the Year 1559. and where the Commissioners entrusted with the *Edict* of *Nantes*, confirm'd it in 1601. by a solemn Decree. Nevertheless the Lord by force expell'd the Reformed from the Place where they were accusom'd to Preach, so that they were forc'd to seek out another. And notwithstanding all their Complaints they were expos'd to long and tedious Vexations, which could

could not be determin'd but with the diffipation of their Church. 1626.

The Bishop of *Valence*, a violent Spirit, and a hot-headed Persecutor, upon the 15th of *June*, procur'd a Decree of the Privy Council, which forbid any Foreigner, tho a receiv'd Minister within the Diocess, to continue his Ministry in the Kingdom. There were three of these whom the Bishop would needs involve in the same Prohibition; *Martin*, *Scarpus* and *Allesi*: for the Bishop, as a Temporal Lord, had condemn'd 'em all three. *Allesi* kept his ground at *Livron*, without taking any notice of the Decree. *Scarpus* retir'd to *Die*, where he liv'd without officiating in the Ministry. And as for *Martin*, he only chang'd the place of his Residence, but never stirr'd out of the Diocess. Which made the Bishop stark mad, a man otherwise proud, and transported with his Passions. But he obtain'd nothing from the Council but only against *Martin* who was the most hated, because he had bin a *Capuchin*; and for that after he had quitted his Habit, he wrote a Book entitl'd. *The Capuchin Reform'd*, wherein he gave no Quarter to the Hypocrisies of that Institution; and farther, because the Bishops having put him in Prison, his ill usage could neither make him alter his Conduct, nor abate his Courage.

*The Bishop of Valence persecutes the Foreign Ministers.*

That year, the same Bishop began a Persecution, which deriving the Original of it in a particular Diocess, spread itself afterwards over all the Kingdom, and was the occasion of above 35 years vexation to the Churches. The Pretence was, because one and the same Minister preach'd by turns in several places. And the King was made believe, that those places which were call'd *Annexes*, or *Quarters*, belonging to some principal Church, were so many Usurpations that were not authoriz'd by the Edict, tho there were nothing more false. For those *Annexes* were places where the right of Exercise had bin acquir'd for some one of the Reasons mention'd in the Edict; but not being able of themselves to maintain a Minister apart, were join'd together by the Authority of a Synod, to make up a sufficient Salary for one Pastor. This was no injury to the Interests of the Clergy; to whom it ought to have bin an indifferent thing, how the Reformed order their Churches to be serv'd. Besides

*The Original of the Injustice done upon occasion of the Annexes.*

1630. that, 'twas very convenient for the Reformed; who, by that means, provided for their Churches and their Ministers at little Expences. And that Reason was sufficient to excite the Zeal of Catholic Persecution, to deprive 'em of that advantage. And it may be thought that this Vexation began in *Valence*, because it is a Bishopric compos'd of two in one, *Valence* and *Die*, tho the Bishop bears the name of *Valence* only. Now that Prelate could not endure that the Heretics should unite several poor Churches together, to enlarge the Minister's Salary, because it belong'd only to the Church of *Rome* to unite several poor Bishoprics, to augment the Revenue of one single Bishop. This was seconded by the Bishop of *Vaison*, who join'd with him in his Persecutions: and both together obtain'd two Decrees of Council, one of the 3d of *October*, against the Minister of *Dieulefit*; the other dated the 11th of the same month, forbidding 'em to preach in any other then the place of their Residence. Nothing could be more vexatious in the Consequences of it to the Provinces wherein there were many Churches, more especially since the King had taken away the money granted by the King his Father in recompence of the Tithes.

*New Seeds  
of a Civil  
War.*

It appear'd by these Examples of the Persecution, that the Reformed had not now those Forces, which caus'd the Catholics to spare 'em before; but that in despite of the Act of Grace, they would be brangl'd every day out of the remainder of their Priviledges. In a word, within less then two years they had so many unjust Injuries done 'em, as are hardly to be imagin'd. But two things hinder'd, that they did not hasten their destruction. The first was, because the Court itself was intangl'd in most desperate Quarrels and Confusions. Providence permitted, for the justification of the Reformed, who had bin all along accus'd of being the sole Causes of the Troubles of the Kingdom, that after the Ruin of their Affairs, the Catholics should have their turn; should enter into Treaties, Leagues and Conspiracies, renew the Civil Wars, and keep the Kingdom, till the death of the King, in continual Combustions. The original of which Troubles was the Queenmother's discontent, who could not brook the high credit to which the Cardinal had attain'd



attain'd by the success of his Enterprises. That Princess, ambitious and jealous of her Honour, was affronted that the Cardinal, whom she had introduc'd into Court, should be so powerful as to slight her; and that on the other side, she should have so far lost her former Reputation, that she could not as well condemn her Competitor. She saw herself despis'd since the taking of *Rochel*: and in truth, since that Enterprize had succeeded, the Cardinal had chang'd his Behaviour with all the world: nor did he carry himself in any thing so cautiously as before, because he thought he stood in need of no body's protection. Nay, he could not forbear jesting a little too satyrically upon the Queen; and in regard the Favour he was in had created him many Enemies, there were some that took delight officiously to repeat his Jest, and to season 'em with some dashes of particular malice. So that the Queen display'd all her Fury against him, and notwithstanding all the care which the King himself, Cardinal *Bagni*, and other persons of the highest quality took to reconcile 'em, she would never pardon him. The Duke of *Orleans* took his Mother's part, and several other considerable Lords did the same. As for the Cardinal, he was too much employ'd in dissipating all these terrible Storms, to think of the Reformed; and his Enemies had too much business on the other side, to mind these miserable Remains of a Party that made no longer any Figure in the Kingdom. But the Cardinal had the good luck, or else the cunning, to vanquish all these difficulties, and to reduce the Queen, his Mistress, to retire into *Flanders*, since she could not stay neither with safety nor honour in a Kingdom where she had so long exercis'd the Supreme Authority. The Duke of *Orleans* also departed *France* soon after, but return'd with his Arms in his hand.

1631.

*The Queen  
withdraws  
into Flanders.*

The second thing which afforded some relaxation to the Reformed, was, that the Cardinal was desirous to uphold the King's Alliances with the Foreign Protestants; that he had renew'd the League with the Foreign Protestants; and for that he had renew'd an Alliance with *Gustavus* King of *Sueden*, a brave Prince, Ambitious, one that had acquir'd the Reputation of a great Captain, and who but a little before had made an Invasion into *Pomerania*, where he made it evident, that it was not a

*Alliance  
with  
Gustavus  
King of  
Sueden.*

1631. thing impossible to bring down the Puissance of the Emperor. This Prince enter'd *Germany* at the Cardinal's sollicitation, and made those surprizing Progresses which are hardly to be believ'd upon the credit of Relations. They were afraid he would have gone too far, so that after two years of continu'd triumph, he was slain at *Lutzen*; no body being as yet able to discover whether the mortal Stroke proceeded from the hand of his Friends, or his Enemies. There was also great care taken in treating with him, to prevent his Conquests from doing any prejudice to the Catholic Religion; and that Prince was very complaisant with the Cardinal upon that Subject. So that whether he would not offend a Confederate attended every where by Terror and Conquest; or whether it were that it was thought but Justice to spare the Protestants for the sake of a Prince so favourable to the Catholics, it was not lookt upon as a seasonable time to overwhelm the Protestants of *France*.

Projects of  
Reunion.

But what they were unwilling to do openly, they attempted by means more closely conceal'd and dangerous. With this design it was, that they set afoot agen the Projects of Reunion, which were always as it were Forerunners of a Tempest that was insensibly gathering together. Two sorts of People were caught in this Snare. People that were sincere and upright, who believ'd in the sincerity of their hearts, that a reasonable composition might be drawn from the Catholics, at least in reference to the most gross and palpable Abuses; and that after they should be agreed upon Expedients to secure the Conscience, they might unite in an outward Communion: that Schism, lookt upon by both sides as a great mischief, would surcease by this Accommodation; and together with Schism, all Discord, Hatred and Persecution of the weaker by the stronger, which are the inevitable Consequences of it: that being return'd to the Bosom of the *Roman* Church, People that were expert, might the better labour in the Cure of her Distempers, because they would be no longer suspected; and for that being arm'd with Truth, they would in time, by the light of it, dispel the darkness and mists of Prejudice and Error. There have bin at all times some People flatter'd with this pleasing Vision; and who never will be taught, that the mischiefs of the *Roman* Church

Church are incurable, because she refuses all manner of Cure. 1631.  
 Errors purely speculative, and which arise from the false *Idea's* with which the mind is prepossess'd, may sometimes surrender to the evidence of a Truth well made out by Demonstration: but Errors of Interest are proof against all the most evident Demonstrations, in regard they derive their Original from the corruption of the heart: and for that Maladies of that nature are not always to be assuag'd by Remedies that convince the Reason. Other People of a quite different Character, either seduc'd by Promises, or push'd forward by Ambition, or else conceited of their own parts, and aspiring to the Honour of having put an end to these fatal Contests, which for above a hundred years together had occasion'd such Convulsions over all *Europe*, desperately threw themselves into the gaping Chasms of this pretended Concord; and provided they met with any likelihood and facility, never gave themselves the trouble of taking securities and measures in favour of the Truth.

'Tis said the Cardinal was desirous to make use of these two *With which the Cardinal closes.*  
 sorts of People to endeavour this Re union; because he might procure the same service from the simplicity of the one, as from the little sincerity of the other. And though the Author of his Life dares not positively assert that he had this Project in his Eye, because he meets with nothing of it in his Memoirs; nevertheless, 'tis not improbable that he had it in his thoughts: whether it were that he was desirous effectually to accomplish that Enterprize, or that he would have it so believ'd for a secret Reason of his own Policy. However, the Method which has bin publish'd, remains intirely in the limits of the Project, of which I shall suddenly have an occasion to speak. Moreover, the Cardinal affected all things that appear'd to be great; and in regard he had a great desire that all his Actions should be the Subjects of so many Panegyrics, an Enterprize so extraordinary, as the Re-union of Religions could not chuse but be most proper to flatter his Vanity. In a word, there happen'd some things during the first years that elaps'd after the taking of *Rochel*, that seem so naturally to depend upon this Design, that it may from thence with great probability be concluded, that he had laid the groundwork of the Project in good earnest. On the

1631. the other side, in regard that at the same time he had lost his Reputation at *Rome*, where his Alliances with *Gustavus*, and other Protestant Princes, were very much disgusted, because it seem'd that the Catholic Religion was as great a loser by their Victories, as the House of *Austria*; it may be said, that he only made use of his Projects of Re-union out of a design to regain the Pope's favour, by putting him in hopes that he would bring back all *Europe* under obedience to the Holy See.

*Intreagues  
of Joseph  
the Capu-  
chin.*

However it were, Projects were spread abroad upon this Subject which seem'd to come from the Cardinal, because the first Overtures were carri'd about by a Capuchin, who had a great share in his Confidence. This was the famous Father *Joseph*, to whom the Austerity of his Order was no obstruction from being the Minister of the most Secret Intreagues of that Prelat; nor from doing him more important Services by his Negotiations, then all his Favourite Generals at the head of their Armies. The design was to bind a Conference between the Reformed Ministers and some Catholic Doctors: but to preserve the Advantage on the *Roman* Religion's side, two things

*A draught  
of the Pro-  
ject.*

were resolv'd upon. The first was, That the *Roman* Religion should not yield an inch of ground, either as to her Doctrine or Worship; not so much as in things of small Importance, or such as had bin the first occasions of *Schism*; as the Matter of Indulgences. But to take away this Pretence which this Obstinacy of the *Romish* Church, in her Opinions and Practices, might give the Reformed to persevere in their Separation, there were two Expedients set a foot. The first was, To agree on both sides upon the Expressions that were to mollify and sweeten the Articles which would be most harsh and uneasy. The other was, To shew by Writings well compos'd and laid together, that the Catholic Religion was not so different from the Reformed as vulgarly it was believ'd; and that the difference was so slight, that it could be no lawful cause of Disunion. The second thing that was to save the Honour of the *Romish* Religion, was, that they were to bring it so about that the Reformed should be the Solicitors; to the end, that in the Reunion they might appear as Penitent Children that made the first steps towards their Mother to regain her Favour; and that the Catho-  
lic



lic Church might look like a Mother that held forth her Arms <sup>1631.</sup> to embrace her Children returning to their duty.

To bring this to pass, they were desirous to make use of the Synod themselves; and they were to endeavour to make the Proposals of it in the Provincial Synods, to the end the Deputation to the National Synod might be so order'd as to fall upon Persons proper to manage this Design, and furnish'd with power to embrace the Expedients that should be agreed upon in the name of their Provinces. The first step, as the Plot was laid, was to send a Deputation to the King with a Remonstrance, that certain ill affected Persons went about to persuade him, that the Reformed Religion infus'd into the Professors of it, Sentiments contrary to the good of his Service; but that they intended to shew the contrary by a faithful Explanation of theirs: That to that purpose they besought his Majesty to permit 'em to enter into a Free Conference with such Doctors as he should please to nominate; and that if they could but be convinc'd that there was a possibility of Salvation in the Catholic Religion, they would be glad to come to a Reconciliation. Upon this Proposal they were to be taken at their words; and because they demanded no more then to bind the Conference, it was to be allow'd 'em as long and as free as they could desire.

*How the  
Synods  
were to  
speak.*

But for the accomplishment of this Design, there was a necessity of securing a sufficient quantity of the Ministers. They had sounded all that resided round about *Paris*, but found 'em very variously inclin'd. There were some, who either through corruption or simplicity, lent an ear to the Proposals, and who also drew up draughts of a Reunion, which were communicated to the Cardinal, to the end he might be judge whether they were proper or no: And there are Memoirs that shew the number of the Ministers thus gain'd to be about fourscore. There were others who by no means approv'd these Projects; but who might be allur'd by various Interests, that hinder'd their opposition; whether they were already engag'd in Troubles, or fear'd the being brought into Vexations; or whether they were not insensible of the Delusions of vain Hopes. But there were others also that were stiff and inexorable, that came quick to the point, and declar'd that the nature of the Differences between the two Religions

*Inclinati-  
ons of the  
Ministers.*

1631. Religions would not endure an Accommodation. These Inclinations of the set'd Ministers about the Court, encourag'd the Projectors to sound those in the Remoter Provinces; that they might consider with which of these three different Inclinations it was most proper to close. As for the Reformed Laics, they found 'em all in the opinion of the Obstinate Ministers; and the greatest part of 'em, not content to reject the Proposal as impossible, lookt upon it as fraudulent, and serving only as a cover for some wicked Designs. In short, they were thinking to make use of violence; and after the Success of the Conference, where the King was to be in Person, the more easily to turn the Scales which way he desir'd, they were to enforce all the rest of the Kingdom to stand to the Treaty which the Deputy-Ministers should conclude. Edicts, Banishment of the Obstinate, and Military Executions, were to make good the Resolutions taken in the Conference; but such as would not accept of the Reunion, were to be allow'd the liberty to dispose of their Estates, and to withdraw within a certain time.

*And the  
People.*

*Difficul-  
ties.*

It was also thought convenient to hasten the summoning of a National Synod for the execution of this Design, because they thought that things being well order'd in the Provinces, that Assembly would serve to forward it. But they met with one unlucky Obstruction which retarded the Grand Affair. For the Pestilence rag'd in several Provinces of the Kingdom; so that 'twas impossible at that conjuncture of time to assemble Provincial Synods. And in the Assembly it self that was held at *Charonton*, there were great complaints of the Obstructions occasion'd by that Distemper which hinder'd the Deputies from coming to the Assembly. In the mean time, there were two men found out, of the two different Characters above-mention'd, who seem'd to agree with the Cardinal in his Projects. The one was *Petit*, a Minister and Professor of Theology at *Nîmes*. The other was *Milletiere*, who had written so much upon the Affairs of *Rochel*, and who had a great desire to signalize himself by a large Book upon the Subject of the Reunion. *Petit* had the reputation of being an Honest man; but he was one of those that suffer'd themselves to be bewitch'd with the charming name of Concord; and who, because they are honest, and mean well  
them

*Petit's  
Projects.*

themselves, believe all the World to be like 'em. Moreover, 1631. he had rather in view the Reunion of the Protestants among themselves, and particularly of those that follow'd the Doctrine of *Arminius*, condemn'd by the Synod of *Dort*, then of the Protestants and Catholics. But in regard he only propounded general means, they were not so easily appli'd to the Cardinal's Designs, with whom all honest men were afraid of dealing upon this matter. Because it was a scurvy thing to deal with a Crafty and Potent Minister, who with ease might abuse the meanest Overtures that were made him. This caus'd the more prudent sort of the Reformed to fear whatever bore the name of Reunion; more especially the Synods rejected all the Proposals relating to it with scorn. For which Reason, *Petir's* Project being by no means relish'd, he never put it to the Press, but laid aside all his idle Fancies, and persever'd in the Reformed Religion. *Milietiere* was a man all fume and vapour, full of himself, and persuaded that nothing came near his Merit and Capacity. Moreover, either out of fear, lest the Court, remembering what had past, should sit upon his Skirts, or in hopes to acquire great Honour, and to raise some great Fortune by the success of this Enterprize, or tickl'd with the Applauses which the Jesuits gave him, that they might draw him to their Party, they quite debauch'd him, so that he sided altogether with the Cardinal in his Project, and drew up a draught of an Accommodation just as the Cardinal desir'd it. He allow'd the *Romish* Church to be in the right almost in all things; and in those which he would not give himself the trouble to justify, he made use of soft and qualify'd Expressions, under pretence of explaining 'em, and made 'em pass for Questions that were not to hinder the Reunion of the Reformed.

And Melietiere.

The different Projects of these two Men clearly display'd the difference of their Intentions. The one laid down Principles to which the Church of *Rome* was far from agreeing, but against which she could not defend her self, if there were any thing of reality and sincerity in her Treaty of Reunion: And in that sense it was, that the Affair was almost always

Difference in their Intentions.

1631. taken by such as through simplicity clos'd with their Designs. The other granted for a Tacit Principle, that the *Romish* Church was in the right, and that there was nothing else but misunderstanding on the part of the Reformed; and this was the usual way of those who had this Concord in their eye, that they had more of worldly Compliance, then honesty or zeal for the Truth. But these attempts toward a Reunion came to nothing, because *Petit* did not carry his Overtures far enough, and for that *Miletiere* appeared too evidently partial. Besides, he had the misfortune not to be approv'd by the Catholics; so that when, after the Synod of *Alençon* in 1637. he publish'd his *Means to obtain Christian Peace* by the Reunion of the Catholics and Evangelics upon the Differences of Religion; he was terribly vex'd to see that the *Sorbonne* so ill receiv'd it, and censur'd it so briskly, as if they had held a correspondence with the Ministers of *Charenton*. Yet this was no hindrance, but that he was a long time a charge to the Churches, in whose Communion he affected to continue, to give the more credit to his Visions. But *John Daille*, who began about that time to make himself known by his Writings, refused him so briskly from the very original of these Projects, that poor unfortunate *Miletiere* became at last the abomination of the Reformed, and the scorn of all Honest men. So that after several Admonitions and Warnings to no purpose, the Synods declar'd him no longer a Member of the Reformed Churches; nor was there so much as one that would receive him into her Communion: So that he was forced to turn Catholic through necessity, to the end he might be of some Religion. After which he became a Missionary, and went rambling about in search of Conferences; where he was still so badly handl'd as would have put him quite out of courage, but that his Obstinacy was such as nothing was able to vanquish. But at length *Charles Drelincourt*, one of *John Daille's* Colleagues, and a true Scourge of Humourists, such as *Miletiere* was, totally routed him in a Conference, the Acts of which were publish'd. However, this did not happen till several years after the time that I speak of.



To return then to my Subject, I say, that this Project of *Re-union* was spun out a long while, and past through more then one hand, because there are some Memoires still extant about the Time of the Cardinal's Death. The Jesuit *Cludebert* succeeded the Capuchin, who dy'd in 1638. and greatly boasted of his having gain'd many Ministers. But a Thing of that nature remains very doubtful, when it is only attested by men of that Habit: and what they report upon that Subject may well be thought no more then a Romance made at Random. But the Cardinal had so much Business, by reason of the Conspiracy of *St. Mars*, and was laden with so many corporal Infirmities, that there is but little likelihood he should perplex his Brains with Designs of so great Importance. We'll grant in the first place, that he was assur'd of Peace with *Spain*, and that he had an Intention to keep a-foot the Forces that serv'd at the Siege of *Perpignan*, to the end they might be quarter'd up and down in the Provinces, to reduce by Terror those that would not willingly obey. Certainly a man would think there should be something too harsh and cruel in such a design, for a Person that felt the Approaches of Death, and was just ready to drop into his Grave; Consequently could not promise to enjoy the Fruit of such a bold Undertaking. The most prudent Authors therefore acknowledge they knew nothing of it but by Hear-say: and so that it may be thought that if he did open his Mind to any body upon this Subject, he did it by way of Stratagem, to make people believe that he felt himself strong enough to live a long time, since he undertook such great Designs. Thus *Tiberius* conceal'd his deadly Infirmities under the Cruelty of the Orders which he dispatch'd into all parts; and made the Terrible Acts of Injustice which he committed, to the destruction of his Subjects, to be look'd upon as Testimonies of his Youth and Vigour.

But before the Cardinal drew so near his end, there had been Attempts made which the Wisdom and Constancy of several Ministers, and perhaps the Confusions in the Kingdom rendered fruitless. Nevertheless I must needs say, that this Project, in the full extent of it, and with all the Circumstances,

1631.  
Issue of the  
Project in  
General.

The truth  
of this  
Project.

1631. was not altogether a *Chimera* ; that if it were not a Whimsey of the Cardinals, yet it was a Megrim of the Jesuits: that we have seen it set a-foot in our Days as a Project which the Court of *France* approv'd ; and that almost every part of it was put in execution. I may add, that the Illustrious *Hugo Grotius* went very far in these Projects of Reunion: He had a strong Fancy for it all his Life-time. It appears also by Letters which *du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, wrote to him from before *St. Angeli*, in 1621. that he had been a great Stickler before that Time in those Accommodations, and that he labour'd to bring 'em to perfection, by giving up the Cause in some Things to the *Roman Church*, and excusing her in all the rest. He likewise approv'd the *Essays* of *Miletiere*, and testify'd a High Esteem of him and his Works. Some years before his Death, he apply'd himself more then ever to this same Christian Concord, and Printed *Consultations*, *Remarks*, *Vows*, and *Discussions*, which only serv'd to create Disputes about the manner of proposing the Peace. But let us now return to our History.

A National  
Synod.

The Contagious Distempers were no sooner in part abated, but the Reformed held a National Synod at *Charenton*, with the King's Permission, and tho the Breif were dated the 17th of *January*, the Synod did not meet till the First of *September*. *Galand* also who had bin Commissioner in the two latter, was likewise Commissioner in this ; and he did several Things that gave an occasion to the Weaker sort to observe that the Synod was not free.

The Com-  
missioners  
Speech.

His Speech was honest enough: He gave Assurances in the King's Name, that what was past was forgot, and that for the future they should have all the liberty granted them for the Exercise of their Religion, and to hold Synods ; provided the Reformed continu'd in their Duty, devoted to the King's Service, without speaking against the Public Tranquility, and that they refrain'd from keeping either Foreign or Domestic Intelligence. And he gave these Assurances as in the Name Of a good Father, and a good King. But as soon, under pretence, that the preceding Synods had made Regulations to which the King had not agreed, and which were,

as

as he said, conceiv'd in Terms that were subject to various Interpretations, he propounded the renewing of 'em, not forbearing to hint somethings that were never hinted before. He declar'd in the first place, that the King would no longer admit of Protestations, nor Remonstrances against the Establishment of the Commissioners that were present at the Synods; and he alledg'd that it was Conformable to the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the Politics of the best Regulated States. In the second place he requir'd, that no Foreigners should be call'd to the Ministry within the Kingdom; because it was the King's Pleasure that those Functions should be reserv'd for Natural French-men. He put 'em in hopes, that by having Recourse to the King's Favour, they might obtain Favour for those who had bin admitted since the year 1623. But he extended the Prohibition for the future, to all that were born in Foreign Principalities, Societies, or Republics, Confederates, or under the Protection of *France*: and in a word, to all that were not born in some place within the King's Dominions. In the third place, That they who should be once admitted Ministers, should never stir out of the Realm without the King's leave. And because that *Salbert*, Minister of *Rochelle*, had withdrawn himself during the Troubles, that he might have the Liberty to Write, the Commissary declar'd him Suspended from the Exercise of his Functions: forbid him to stir out of the Place which the King had allotted him for his Exilement, or rather for his Prison; and disabl'd the Synod to nominate him in the Distribution of the Churches. In the fourth place, He renewed the Regulation which forbid the Ministers from meddling with Politic Affairs.

This Article had a particular Aim against *Beraud*, Minister of *Montauban*, a person of somewhat too violent a Spirit, and who went a little too fast. During the last Troubles he wrote a Book, wherein not content to justify the Taking up of Arms, he undertook to maintain, That Ministers had a Call to bear 'em, and to shed Blood. The Commissioner aggravated the Importance of that Opinion, dangerous in such a man as *Beraud*, who besides that he was qualify'd as a Minister, was also a Professor

*Minister;  
suspected by  
the King,  
excluded  
from the  
Synod.*

1631. fessor in Divinity. He was also the first that pronounc'd Sentence upon this Offender, and order'd the Synod to Censure him. There were also two other men, whom it was the King's Pleasure to have excluded out of the Synod, tho they were Deputies of their Province. The one was *Bouteroue*, Minister of *Grenoble*, which the Parliament of the *Dauphinate* thought worthy of no other Honour then to be committed to the Flames; because it discours'd a little too freely of the Affairs of the Times, and of the Lawfulness of taking Arms by the Reformed. The other was *Basnage*, Minister of *Carentan*, who had had too great a share in the last Assembly of *Rochelle*, and who appear'd in the Synods a very zealous and active Stickler. The Commissioner having made an end of what he had to say, an Answer was made him to every Thing that he had propounded. In general, the Answer was very submissive; only they reserv'd to themselves the liberty of making their Supplications to the King, not to exclude from his Favour for the future, such as were born within the same Limits with those whom he was willing to tolerate for the Time past; and to comprehend *Salbert* in the Favour granted to all those who had bin involv'd in the Misfortunes of the preceding Commotions. When they came to answer the Conditions which *Galand* had express'd in his Speech, and which were to serve as a Foundation for the Assurances of the King's Good Will; they stedfastly deny'd that they had ever spoken Words from which any Offence could be taken, and that were contrary to the Publick Tranquility; but they complain'd on the other-side, that in several Places the Catholics had perverted the Ministers Words, and wrested their most Innocent Expressions into Criminal Language. As for *Beraud*, that it was proper to hear him, before any thing could be said in his Business: He acknowledg'd the Book, and averr'd that he had not Taught any such Doctrin as was laid to his Charge; and imputed to the Malice of the Time, whatever was tax'd for suspected in it. He said, that there might be some Ambiguous Words in it, but that he detested the Consequences that had bin drawn from it. But the Commissioner would not let this pass for an Excuse, and convinc'd *Beraud* to have expressly written

The Answer  
to the Com-  
missioner's  
Speech.



written in the Preface of his Book the very Things of which he was accus'd. So that he was very smartly censur'd by the Synod, who stigmatiz'd the Expressions of his Book with the Appellation of *Scandalous Terms*, which he had made use of to an *ill purpose*. This Doctrin was condemn'd, and the Ministers were forbid to teach it. In the mean time, *Beraud* continu'd excluded from the Synod; and before he could be readmitted, he was forc'd to undergo a new Censure from the Commissioner's Mouth.

But this was not all that *Galand* did in the Synod. He would needs oppose the Union of *Bearn* with the rest of the Provinces. The Pretence was, that it had bin hitherto displeasing to the Court; that it had bin tolerated only for the Doctrin, and not for the Discipline; That the Clause of the Regulations that only seem'd to hinder it, *till Bearn was united to the Crown*, did not authorize the admission of it after the Reunion, without asking the King's leave. He insisted upon the Laws of *Queen Joane*, which forbid the removing the Causes of the Inhabitants out of the Countrey; and alledg'd the Example of *Sedan* and *Metz*, where the Ecclesiastical Affairs were determin'd in the same Countrey. But the Deputies of *Bearn* wanted no Replies to overthrow these Reasons; and the Reunion of their Countrey to the Crown, serv'd 'em as a potent Argument to make it out, that since they were accounted Members of the Nation, they had a Right to require that their Causes might be adjudg'd in the Synod of the Nation: that their Condition was not the same with *Metz* and *Sedan*, which were only under the protection of the Crown, and far from being reunited. They farther alledg'd, that the Laws of their Countrey were no way opposite to 'em; for that having their Synods and their Consistories within themselves, there remain'd only some particular Affairs of the Pastors, that could be remov'd to the National Synods. These Reasons, and some others, being seconded by the inclination of the Synod, prevail'd so far, that the *Bernois* got the better of the Commissioner; and that the Union was made upon certain Conditions. And the Synod, to the end they might be the less expos'd to Reproaches, for having done too

much

*The Commissioner in vain opposes the Union of the Churches of Bearn, with the rest.*

1631. much in judging this Affair, lookt upon it as prejudg'd by the usual presence of the Deputies of *Bearn* in the other Assemblies, since the King had also sent Commissioners thither : more especially for that the King had receiv'd their Complaints in the same Paper with those of the rest of the Churches. So that the Synod could not properly be said to make the Union of that Province with the rest, but judg'd it to have bin already made ; and for that they had presuppos'd that the Reasons of the Obstruction ceasing, the King would no longer be displeas'd with it.

Several  
Proposals  
of the Com-  
missioner.

But *Galand* insisted farther, That there were several Articles that concern'd the Discipline and Practice of the Churches to be reform'd. There were some that concern'd the proclaiming of such as had chang'd their Religion, which was wont to be done publicly : and others touching the Registring of Christnings and Marriage : several upon the particular subject of Marriages ; upon the Censure of Books ; upon the Censure of Unlicenc'd Books, of which number the King had sent'em several to be condemn'd : upon the laying out of the Royal Money ; upon Precedences in Churches ; and the Prayers which were to be made for the Lords of the Mannor, or such in whose Houses the Churches assembl'd. He was willing they should pray in general for the Lords of the Religion, but not make any particular mention of the Lords of the Soil. He propos'd also, That for the future, they should hold no more National Synods in any other place then at *Charenton* : and this was a Trifle which the Catholics laid so deeply to heart, that tho the preceding Synod had granted to the Province of *Normandy* the power to summon this, the Court would not grant it for no other place then *Charenton*. He demanded also, That *la Bastide*, Minister of *St. Afrique*, might be remov'd from that Church, and out of the Province of *Upper Languedoc*, for some Actions for which he had bin imprison'd, and afterwards indicted. But more especially he propounded, That no other persons but the Elders should be call'd to give their Advice in the Consistories ; because Assemblies and Meetings of Masters of Families, fortifi'd Consistories, and other Councils of the like nature, created

red Suspensions and Jealousies. On the other side the Reformed 1631. gave him satisfaction in several things, because it was no longer in their power to refuse him any thing: but they defended their practice of praying for the Lords of the places where they assembled; and *Galand* was oblig'd by dint of Remonstrance, to write to the King for leave to strengthen the Consistories, when necessity requir'd it, with three Ministers and three Elders out of the Neighbourhood.

In the mean time the Synod sent Deputies to the King, to carry him their Submissions, and a Paper of fifteen Articles, which set forth, That since the Reformed had neither any General to lead 'em, nor any strong Holds, Acts of Injustice and Oppression were every day multipl'd upon 'em. After they had return'd their most humble Thanks to the King for the marks of his Favour, and a Supplication that such Edicts as he thought convenient to number among the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom might be observ'd, they desir'd the re-establishment of those Churches where free Exercise had been interrupted: and by the Article it appear'd, that there were three sorts of Interruption which depriv'd the Reformed of their Churches. The one was somewhat remote, and was occasion'd by the Hostilities which had enforc'd the Inhabitants to quit some certain places during the War; and where the Catholic Zeal would not suffer 'em to meet again during the Peace. The other proceeded from the desolation of the places which the Catholic Armies had ruin'd: and the third deriv'd itself from the Decrees which the Bishop of *Valence* had procur'd upon occasion of the *Annexes*. For beside those which he had obtain'd the year before, he had caus'd another to be issu'd forth, of the second of *May*, wherein, to obviate the Reason why the Reformed pretended to fix themselves in the possession of their *Annexes*, by alledging that they were places permitted, the right of which being grounded upon the Articles of the Edict, had extended the prohibition of one Minister to preach in several places, to places *permitted*. For these several Reasons, without naming the places where their Exercise had been obstructed in other Provinces, they set down Four score and twelve in *Ceven-*

*The Synod  
sends Deputies to the  
King.  
Papers.*

1631. *nes, Vivarêts, the Upper and Lower Languedoc, and in the Islands of Ré and Oleron.* The fifth requir'd the Revocation of the Decrees granted to the Bishop of *Valence*. The sixth complain'd of the Prosecutions of some Ministers, accus'd to have utter'd words both disrespectful and undutiful, tho they had only preach'd their own Doctrine with moderation. The next set forth the delays of the Governors in the nomination of Commissioners that were to be present at the Synods, which had reduc'd some Provinces to be without Assemblies of that nature. The eighth and ninth insist'd upon Foreign Ministers. The tenth desir'd that the Prohibitions of *Beraud, Bagnage* and *Bon-reroue* to sit in the Synod, might be taken off. The eleventh concern'd the grand Article of the Edict, which declares the Reformed capable of all manner of Employments; and complain'd, that it was so ill observ'd, that the Reformed were not admitted into the meanest and lowest Offices; that they were refus'd the Degree of Doctors of Physic, and the Title of *Aggregated*, where *Accumulation* was customary; and that they were refus'd their Freedoms in the meanest Trades. The twelfth demanded the Release of such as had bin condemn'd to the Gallies, according to the Edict of Peace; of which number there were above Two hunder'd. The thirteenth demanded restitution of the municipal Tolls which had bin promis'd in 1628. as also by the Paper answer'd at *Montauban* the next year: which had not prevented the Revocation of the Assignations allow'd for the year 1627. nor their failing to allow any for the three next years; so that there was due for the time past the Sum of Six hunder'd thousand Livres. The Compensation promis'd the *Bernois* after so solemn a manner, had bin as faithfully observ'd as the rest of the Edicts. The one moiety of it was of a sudden defalk'd; so that the fourteenth Article requir'd that care might be taken about it. We might add to the same Article the hard Usage of the Ministers of the Bailliage of *Gex*, who had bin depriv'd for a long time of the King's Relief-money, which had bin granted 'em in recompence for the Ecclesiastic Estates. Not that either *Bearn*, or the Countrey of *Gex* had any share in the last Civil Wars; but only in testimony of a  
more



more perfect good-will to the Reformed, they that liv'd peaceably, and that they were call'd Rebels, were treated both alike. Lastly, the fifteenth Article contain'd an humble Request, That the Court would command the Advocate General of *Bordeaux* to surcease prosecuting a Minister and his Son, whose Cause was nevertheless depending in the Chamber of *Guyenne*, which was then at *Agen*, whither it had bin remov'd.

The Deputies that carri'd this Paper, and the Letters from the Synod, to the King and the Cardinal, were *Amyraut* and *Villars*. The King gave 'em leave to make their Speech to him at *Monceaux*, and testifi'd by his Answer, that he was well satisfi'd with them and the Synod. They were likewise well receiv'd by the Cardinal, who assur'd 'em that the King would maintain and protect 'em according to his Edicts: that he gave *Beraud* and *Basnage* leave to sit in the Synod; but that before he granted the same Favour to *Bouteron*, 'twas fit the King should be more amply inform'd of the Crime that was laid to his charge: that the King would give a very favourable Answer to their Paper, so soon as the Synod brake up. *To the end*, said he, *that he might treat with his Subjects in a manner more suitable to his Sovereign Dignity, and the Sacred Authority of his Word*: But the more edifying and solid part of his Answer was a Gift of Sixteen thousand Livres in ready money, to defray the Expences of the Synod. All which the Commissioner imparted to the Synod, before the return of the Deputies. *Beraud* resum'd his Seat in the Assembly: soon after *Basnage* took his again, and at length *Bouteron* had leave to sit there as well as the rest.

*The favourable Reception of the Deputies.*

For five years together there had not bin any alteration of the General Deputies: and during that time *Bazin*, who was one of those that were employ'd, happen'd to die. The Synod therefore had Orders to supply his place, but they were not left to their accusom'd liberty of Nomination. 'Twas the King's pleasure till then, that six Persons should be nominated for him to chuse two out of that number; and the circumstances of the Permission giv'n the Synod to name 'em, pointed so exactly to the

*The Nomination of General Deputies.*

1631. the Persons which it behov'd 'em to nominate, that it was to little purpose to make choice of any other. The Synod well observ'd this Innovation, but because it was the King's pleasure, they obey'd. The Marquis of *Clermont* was continu'd, and the Commissioner's Son was put into *Bazin's* room. These were order'd to carry the Nomination made by the Synod, accompanied with Letters full of Duty and Respect. To which the King made known his Answer by the Commissioner; which consisted of a testimony, that he was more and more satisfid with the Proceeding of the Assembly, and the Nomination they had made: that he would accept of 'em after the Synod was broken up; that he would give a Gracious Answer to their Paper, and he would allow the Synod three days longer to sit.

The Reformed  
fear'd  
at Court.

They were so accusom'd at Court to be afraid of the Reformed, that they seldom slept in quiet, while they were assembled; and their very Synods gave 'em terrible Alarms. This, which was only compos'd of People still consternated at the taking of *Rochel*, and the reducing of all the rest of their Towns and Cities, disquieted their rest for all that: and the Catholics, dreaded by the Progresses which *Gustavus* made in *Germany*, fanci'd him already in *France*, and restoring by main force the Reformed to their pristine Splendor; which was the Reason that the King as earnestly prest the separation of the Synod, as if it had bin the Politic Assembly of *Loudun*, or that of *Rochel*. Nevertheless, before they broke up, the Synod ordain'd three things, which gave the Missionaries and Politicians fair Pretences to make loud Outcries. The first was a Regulation against the Accommodations of Religion, which refer'd to an Act of the same nature that pass'd in the National Synod of *Mompelier* 1598. where all such kind of Projects were condemn'd with extraordinary Severity. The second was the Appointment of a Solemn Fast throughout all the Kingdom, which the Catholic took for a Proof that the Reformed were in hopes of being re-establish'd by the Arms of *Gustavus*: for which Reason, said they, those People endeavour'd to engage Heaven on their side, by Devotions more then ordinary. The third was a Declaration which the Synod made, that the *Lutherans* who

important  
Resolutions  
of the  
Synod.

who desir'd it might be admitted to the Communion ; that the Reformed might contract Marriages with 'em, and take 'em for Godfathers, provided they would instruct their Children only in those things, wherein the *Lutherans* and Reformed both agree. The Missionaries believ'd all obstacles of Reunion with the *Romish* Church remov'd by this Declaration : for that they could not conceive why the Reformed should have any more Repugnance against the Transubstantiation of the Catholics, then against the Impanation and Ubiquity of the *Lutherans* ; more especially since the Synod acknowledg'd, that tho there were Error in the *Lutheran* Doctrine, yet there was no *Venom* ; and that there was no *Idolatry* in their Worship. The Politicians believ'd it to be an Artifice of the Synod's Prudence, by this compliance with the Doctrine of his Ministers, to insinuate themselves into *Gustavus's* Favour.

But notwithstanding all this, the Reformed were oppress'd with several Acts of Injustice, almost over all the Provinces : For besides the accustom'd Cavils about the Rights of Exercise and Church-yards, the Decrees obtain'd by the Bishop of *Valence*, almost Dispeopl'd whole Provinces. Nothing was to be seen but Churches shut up, and Ministers Imprison'd, for not having obey'd the Prohibitions against Preaching in more then one Place. The Minister of *Chatillon*, a paltry Place in the *Dauphinate*, serv'd himself nine or ten other Churches besides that ; if we may believe the Substance of the last Decree obtain'd by that Pre'late : Nor was it impossible, because the greatest part of those *Annexes* were particular Houses where the Gentry would have Preaching in their Families ; and where there were but few others besides their own Domesticks. Many times also this Exercise was not common, it may be not above once a Month, or once in three Months, in consideration of some Donative given upon that Condition to the Principal Church. In the mean time, the rest of the Bishops would needs appear no less Zealous then the Prelate of *Valence* : So that every one sought to ruin the Churches in his Diocess. This procur'd a Decree of Council of the same nature, dated *June 6.* against *Rivet*, and other Ministers of *Saintonge*, at the Request

1631. of the Bishop of *Saintes*: Where a new Cavil was set a-foot about the Place of Exercisē; and if they could not dispence with resettling 'em in Places, where the Proofs were too clear to be contested, yet they would not restore 'em without paring off something from the Real Right that belong'd to 'em; and removing 'em out of the middle of the City where the Church had always stood to the dirty Fag-end of some Suburb.

*Exercise  
forbid.*

The Exercisē was likewise forbid at *Rioux* in *Saintonge*, by a Decree of the Sixth of *March*: The Clergy of the Province were Plaintiffs in this Process, and there was a Question annex'd to it concerning the Possession of the Church yard, which they pretended was to be left to the Catholics, because there was above Eight hundred of them in the Parish, and not above Twenty of the Reformed. But they never said a word that the Congregation, for all that, was very numerous, as being much frequented by the Reformed Inhabitants of the Parishes adjoining. However, the Church had strong and sufficient Proofs of the Possession of it for above Eight years before the *Edict*: But for all that, they were depriv'd both of their Exercisē and their Church-yard, leaving only another small Place for their Burials at the Charges of the Corporation. And indeed the Poverty of the Churches was such as oblig'd some Religious persons to bestow Donatives and Legacies to prevent the loss of Legal Right. But the Catholics greedy of the Profits, and moreover minding nothing but to hasten the Ruin of the Churches, commenc'd tedious Suits upon these Donations, and sought a thousand Quirks and Pretences in Terms and Circumstances to bring the Cause about on their side. Many times also the Heirs of the Donors oppos'd the Effect of the Will, and gave the Catholics an Opportunity to apply the Profits to themselves. Thus *Elias Alardin* gave this year an Annual Rent of Two hundred Livres toward the Maintenance of the Minister, and Three hundred Livres to the Poor. But this Donation prov'd the Original Occasion of a Suit that lasted above Fifty Years: and which was adjudg'd to the Advantage of the Church not above three years before the Revocation of the *Edict*; by that one single Act of Justice to cover and palliate  
a t hou



a thousand others much more crying that were committed over all the rest of the Kingdom. 1631.

The Promises of giving a Gracious Answer to the Paper, so soon as the Synod brake up, were so soon forgot, that upon the 19th of *October*, the King set forth a Declaration, purporting, That in all Places where there were but Four Consuls, the first and Third should be Catholics, if there were no Capitulation to the contrary. The Design of which Declaration was to exclude the Reformed from being admitted into the States of *Languedoc*, whither the Cities sent none but their first Consul. Thus the Reformed were excluded from meddling with the Municipal Government of their Cities, and deprived of all the Honours that were annexed to the first Consulship. But in regard that many times the first Consul scorn'd that Employment, or was not capable of it, the most Honourable Functions were then exercised by the second, who was generally a Man of Learning and bred up to Business. And for the Clause that mention'd contrary Capitulation, 'twas a meer piece of Fraud: For it was not meant thereby, that if there were any such Clause which gave the First Consulship to the Reformed, he was therefore bound to hold it: but if there were any such Clause as took from the Reformed the whole Consulship, they were bound to rest contented. 'Twas sufficient for a City that had Surrender'd at Discretion, if an Order came from the Duke of *Montmorenci*, or some other Chieftain of the Royal Arms; or for a City that had not expressly Articul'd that there should be no Alteration in the Consulship, to say, that there was a Capitulation to the contrary. *Lunel* and *Bedariens* for these Reasons lost their share in the Consulship which remain'd entire to the Catholics.

But the Reformed were not the only Persons who complain'd of Oppression: For the Cardinal carry'd his Authority in the Government so high, that all the Kingdom groan'd under this New and unequal Yoke. The Catholics could not forbear murmuring, to see the Liberty of the Kingdom die together with the Pride of *Rochel*; and they who were blinded by a false Zeal for Religion, well perceiv'd that the Power of the Reformed

*Consulships.*

*The Public  
Liberty  
oppress'd.*

1631. formed had only serv'd for an Obstacle to delay the Public Servitude. The Sovereign Courts were treated with unheard-of Scorn and lofty Disdain. The Court of *Aides* refus'd to verify certain Edicts that burthen'd the State with new Impositions, and being inform'd that the Edicts were just ready to be brought to 'em while the Court was sitting, they would not stay for 'em, but rose immediately. For the punishment of which presumption the Court was interdicted, and other Judges set up in the room of those that had been so hardy, to judge of their Power. They continu'd in this Condition for some Months; nor could they be restor'd till they had most servilely submitted themselves. Nor was the Parliament any better us'd. For after the Queenmother and the Duke of *Orleans* were withdrawn, the King sent a Declaration to the Parliament against the Prince and his Adherents. But that same Senate, instead of verifying the Declaration, divided, and order'd Remonstrances. The King to punish this piece of Malapertness, sent an Order to the Members to come a-foot to the *Loure*, not by their Deputies, but in a Body, and to bring the Registers along with 'em. Which being done, the whole Assembly, as *August* as they stil'd themselves, were enforc'd upon their Knees to hear a tedious and mortifying Censure, which reduc'd all their Power only to the enregistring and publishing all Declarations that were sent 'em, without any hesitation. The Keeper of the Seals tore before their faces the Decree for dividing the House, and the Parliament had the hard Fortune to hear a Decree pronounc'd, which either exil'd or suspended from their Employments some of the most considerable of their Members.

1632. It was not to be wonder'd that such unheard-of Proceedings should provoke the Spirits of the People to take Arms. The Duke of *Orleans* therefore being return'd into *France*, was soon join'd by a numerous Body of Malecontents, and in a small time beheld all *Languedoc* at his devotion; and they who had bin the most fierce Persecutors of the Reformed, threw themselves into this New Party. *Lesfranges*, Lord of *Privat*, sided with the Duke, and perish'd in the Cause. The Bishops of

*Albi*,

*Civil War  
of the Duke  
of Orle-  
ans.*

*The Bishops  
of Lan-  
guedoc  
sided with  
him.*

*Albi, Uzez, Nimes, Alets, St. Pons* and *Lodeve* join'd with the Duke of *Mommorenci*. The Bishop of *Leon* also was accus'd to have had a share in this War, and could not obtain his Pardon till after the King's Death. On the other side, the Reformed serv'd the King with extraordinary Courage. The Second Consul of *Nimes* preserv'd that City for the King, and expell'd the Bishops and the First Consul, who favour'd the Duke of *Orleans*. *Montaubon* sent her Deputies as far as *Monceaux*, to assure the King of the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, who offer'd to march a League out of their City to meet the Duke, and fight his men if they approach'd near their Quarters. The Duke of *Espernon* also had so much confidence in 'em, that he made no scruple to enter the Town, tho much inferior in strength, and to commit himself to the mercy of a People whom he had so rudely handl'd in time of War. *Marion*, Camp-Assistant on the King's side, made himself Master of *Privas*, which had bin abandon'd since it was taken, and recall'd the Inhabitants who serv'd him successfully, and defended the Town for the King against their own Lord. One would have thought that such an Action should have cancell'd the Memory of what was pass'd : and indeed those poor Creatures were suffer'd to resettlement without any notice taken of it. But Thirty years after, they were made to understand, by Cruel Persecutions, that past Offences are never to be expiated by succeeding Services; and that by a Maxim quite opposite to the Rule of the Almighty, Transgressions are longer retain'd in the Memories of Princes, then Good Services.

The Bishops of *Albi* and *Nimes* were degraded by reason of their Rebellion; and the Bishop of *Uzez*, dying in the midst of the Process, avoided the Disgrace. The rest were no less guilty, but perhaps might have better Recommendations; and their Acquittal cost 'em no more then a little agony of Fear. However, the Process commenc'd against Bishops for High Treason made so loud a noise, that the Reformed could not forbear triumphing, and to reproach 'em with their Principal Members tumbling into Rebellion, which till then, was lookt upon to be the only Portion and Character of *Heresy*. The

1633. Ministers lookt upon it as a piece of Divine Vengeance that the Bishops, who had so often accus'd 'em of breathing nothing but Rebellion, should so openly precipitate themselves into the Sin of Rebellion, that the veneration due to their Character could not exempt 'em from Punishment. But to mortify these Triumphers, they thought it expedient to put to death *Marets*, the Minister of *Alets*, as if he had had a hand in the Insurrection. Nevertheless, all his Crime was only this, That all the People of the City siding either with the Lord, or with the Bishop, he was not so fortunate as to hinder the City from joining with the Malecontents; though he himself sat still without so much as meddling on either side. Thus was one Innocent Minister offer'd up to atone for the Transgression of several Prelats, and the Minister of *Alets* paid for the Bishop. *Couran*, another Minister of the same Church, was only banish'd. The City of *Lunel*, the Governor of which was the Bishop of *Nimes*'s Brother, was inveag'l'd into the Duke of *Orleans*'s Party; and *Scoffier* Minister of the Place, was set down in the Catalogue of those that were to be sacrific'd. But after the defeat and taking of the Duke of *Mommorenci*, he gave the Governor of *Aiguemortes* notice of the Flight of the Bishop and his Brother, which was well taken; and that Mark of his Affection for the King's Service, sav'd his life.

The Duke  
of Rohan  
serves the  
King in  
Italy.

The Duke of *Rohan* was recall'd to Court upon occasion of these Troubles; and honour'd with several Employments; whether it were to find him business that might hinder him from seeking for any in these Confusions; or whether it were to take him by the point of Honour, and engage him in the King's Service by that Mark of Confidence. But this War being suddenly ended by the taking and death of *Marshal de Mommorenci*, serv'd only to advance the King's Authority, and disgust the Duke of *Orleans*, who retir'd out of *France* a second time; as also to add some new access of weight to the Slavery of the People. The Reformed reapt this little advantage by it, That they had but few Injuries done 'em this year, and continu'd somewhat free from Molestations. Only the Ministers in the *Dauphinate* were still tormented because they preach'd in

more



more then one place. But upon a Petition which they presented to the King, they obtain'd a Decree which sent 'em to four Commissioners of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who were order'd to take their Informations, and after that to give their Advice to the King. These Commissioners enlarg'd some Ministers, and sent 'em to the King for the interpretation of the Decrees of his Council; so that they were forc'd to tarry some years before the business was decided. The Consulships also gave some occasion for Innovation. *Machaut*, the Intendant, order'd that the Consulship of *Alets* should be alternative under the good pleasure of the King, and till he should otherwise ordain. But the Reformed who found this Sentence extremely opposite to their Ancient Customs, appeal'd to the Council, where the Question hung for twenty years undecided. Upon a Process commenc'd against the Reformed of *Mountain*, touching the right of Exercise, and building a Church, *Bignon*, Advocate General, procur'd a Decree which depriv'd the Reformed both of the one and the other. He laid down those things for a foundation of his Conclusions, which if he could have got 'em to have pass'd currant, the Reformed must have lost the three fourth parts of their Churches. First, He affirm'd that the Reformed had no right to any Church, but in places of Bailliage set'd by the Commissioners; and he supported this Assertion by the Decrees set forth in 1562. and 1577. which by consequence had bin revok'd by the Edict of *Nantes*. Moreover, he would needs have it, that the permission of the Lord, which was produc'd by the Inhabitants, should be lookt upon as extorted; because it was not to be presum'd that a Catholic Lord would permit the establishment of a Religious Exercise that was contrary to his own. This was well found out to destroy all those Places where the Reformed Exercise was perform'd in Catholic Proprieties. Had the Church produc'd the most solid Proofs in the world of their Possession, and sail'd of the Lord's permission, it would have bin urg'd, that that very defect had disannull'd all the rest; and if they produc'd the Lord's leave, then they cri'd it must have bin extorted. But at last he pretended that the Place belong'd to an Ecclesiastic Lord;

1632.  
*Affairs of the Annexes in the Dauphinat refer'd to four Commissioners.*  
Consulship of Alets.

Exercise forbid.

A shameful Cavil.

1632. and so the Reformed, who produc'd Evidences since 1558. could not reap the benefit of a Possession near fourscore years. This was no more then positively to say, That whatever Title the Reformed could produce, 'twas impossible for 'em to have any Justice done 'em.

An incon-  
siderate  
Curiosity of  
two Scho-  
lars.

There happen'd at the beginning of this year an Accident altogether singular; the Circumstances of which were so remarkable, as not to be omitted in this History. Two Scholars of the Academy of *Saumur* took a fancy to be present at the Mass, which the Catholics call *Midnight-Mass*, because it is said upon *Christmas-day* in the Morning, presently after *Midnight Bell* has rung. Many times a silly Curiosity carries young People to be Spectators of these fine Shows, because a prodigious Concourse of all sorts generally crouds to gape upon this Solemnity, as expecting something extraordinary. But what was more, these young Hair-brains presented themselves before the Altar, as if they intended to receive the Communion; but upon their taking the Symbols into their hands not with that reverence as they ought to have done, they were known for what they were, apprehended and indicted; but for fear of depriving the City of the benefit which they reap'd by the Academy, condemn'd to very easy Penalties. There was an Appeal from this Sentence. But the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris* furcharging the Sentence of the former Condemnation, order'd by a Decree of the 17th of *February*, That the Scholars should declare and acknowledge at *Saumur* within the ordinary Jurisdiction of the Seneschallship, in a full Court, upon their Knees, and bareheaded, That they had *rashly* gone upon *Christmas-day* in the Morning to *Midnight-Mass*, and that they had *indiscreetly* received the Sacrament of the Altar: That they should beg pardon of God, the King and Justice; that they should be banish'd out of the City and Provostship of *Paris* for three years, and out of the Seneschallship of *Namur* for ever; that they should be fin'd twelve hundred *Livres* to the King; of which two hundred should be laid out in Bread for the Prisoners in the Palace Jaile; two hundred for the purchase of a Silver Lamp, to be hung before the place where the Sacrament of that Church was deposited;

deposited; and the remainder for the setting up a Copper-plate, whereon the Decree should be engrav'd, and for setting a Fund for the furnishing that Lamp with Oil to perpetuity. The Decree also enjoin'd the Scholars to obey their Proscription exactly, and forbid 'em relapsing into the same Transgressions again upon pain of death; sent 'em to the Judges of *Saumur*, who were to see the Sentence duly executed, and to detain 'em in Prison till payment of the Fine. Which last Clause was without question added to oblige the Parents or Relations of those Young men, to pay the said Fine as a Ransom for their Release. However, they refrain'd in the Decree from the words *Amende*, and *Amende Honourable*; so that had it not bin for the Fine, a man might have said that it had bin a Consistory which condemn'd those young Fops to a public Reparation for an Offence that deserv'd it according to the Discipline of the Reformed: They had not then well studi'd the Privileges of the *Roman* Religion. In these latter years they would have adjudg'd it, that those Scholars by that Act had embrac'd the *Roman* Religion, and the Church and the Academy both, would have bin interdicted.

But the death of *Gustavus* this year deliver'd the See of *Rome* from the fear of his Arms. But in regard the Generals that succeeded him preserv'd the Advantages they had won, it no way cur'd the Wounds which the House of *Austria* had receiv'd; and *France*, who found the convenience of an Alliance with *Sueden*, made a new Treaty with *Christina*, *Gustavus's* Heirefs. Moreover, the Cardinal had much business both at home and abroad, and so much ado to guard himself from Conspiracies against his life, that he had not time to think of the Protestants. Never were known within the compass of one year, so many Changes of Officers at Court, in the Armies, in the Governments of Towns and Provinces, then were seen this year. The Reformed made no figure; but for all that, the whole Kingdom was full of Factions and Cabals. So that these Commotions which could not be imputed to *Heresy*, sufficiently justifi'd the Religion upon whose Shoulders they would have thrown the Occasions

1632.

The Death of Gustavus.

1633.

Great Troubles in the Kingdom.

1633. Occasions and Causes of all the last Wars ; and no less truly then apparently fix'd the Accusation upon the Wickedness and Infidelity of the Government. It seem'd but reasonable, that the Reformed should be excus'd, who had only taken Arms for their Liberty, when the Catholic Lords, Princes and People had recourse to the same means, for the preservation of their Privileges and their Dignities.

*Advice of  
the Com-  
missioners  
of the  
Dauphi-  
nate upon  
the An-  
nexes.*

In the mean time the Presidents *Frere* and *Perissot*, and the Counsellors *Basset* and *Calignon*, appoinred Commissioners by the King in the Parliament of the *Dauphinate* to examin the Affair of the *Annexes*, plid the Commission close, and drew up their Opinions, which they sent to the King the Seventh of *May*. They asserted that there were several Places within the Province where the Exercise was permitted, which were serv'd by one of the same Ministers ; and this they thought could not be prevented, because the Articles of the Edict upon which the Right and Privilege of Exercise was founded, did not confine 'em to the place of the Ministers Residence, no more then the Memoirs sent by the King to the Commissioners who lookt after the execution of the Edict. But they presuppos'd, that under the Pretences of Marriage, Baptism, or some other Occasion, the Ministers took the liberty of preaching in places where they had no right ; and that might happen out of a respect which the Ministers had for the Gentlemen, whose Houses were not precisely qualifi'd for the settlement of a Right of Exercise. The Commissioners pretended that they had provided against that Abuse ; and advis'd the King to forbid the Ministers, and all the rest of the Reformed, under the Penalties of the Edicts. This Advice was follow'd in Council, and produc'd a Decree of the 26th of *September*, which cop'd it out almost word for word ; which for some time gave some respite to the Persecutions begun by the Bishop of *Valence*.

*Re-esta-  
blishment  
of Privas.*

One thing happen'd this year which afforded not a little Consolation to the Reformed. For the Receiver of the Taxes of *Vivarez* presented a Petition to the Council that he might be discharg'd, because he could not raise the Money which was laid out upon his Division. Now the principal ground of  
this



this Petition was the ruin of *Privas*, the Inhabitants of which Town, durst not venture as yet, either to build their Houses, nor to till their Lands, because they were not yet allow'd by Authority to resettle themselves in opposition to the Rigorous Terms of the Act or Edict of 1629. The Council by a Decree of the 15th of *February*, referr'd the Receiver to *Miron*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, for his Advice. And *Miron's* Advice was, To moderate the Severity of the Edict, and to permit that the Inhabitants of *Privas* might return to their Habitations, and resettle themselves in the City; and withal to leave the Offices of the City free without distinction of Religion. He also accompani'd his Advice with good Reasons, of which the chiefest were, That all the Rebels were dead, or had made amends for their Offence; that the greatest part of 'em were slain at the taking of the City; that a good many were dead of the Pestilence that rag'd for three years together; that those few that remain'd had faithfully serv'd the King, and ventur'd their Lives in his Service against the Lord of the Place; that the Wives and Children both of the one and the other had suffer'd enough to expiate both their Husbands and their Parents Crimes; that the Lord of the Place had bin the only hindrance that obstructed those poor People from resettling themselves, and that there was no likelihood of finding Catholicks anow elsewhere to repeople the City. The Council was mov'd with these Reasons, and *Miron's* Advice was follow'd and put in execution. But in regard there was nothing so much preach'd up at that time as the Constancy of the Royal Word, which they would have had to be the Subjects only security, they forgot to be so punctual as they ought to have bin, in demanding the Revocation of the last Edict in due Form: and so the Children were punish'd in our days for the over-confidence of their Fathers. They had done better, had they follow'd the Politic Maxim of the Cardinal himself, who, to oblige the Duke of *Lorraine* to give him some assured Pledge of his Word, told him, He must have other Security then the Word of a Prince, who was guided by Infusions from without, and had already broken his Promise. And indeed

1633. deed the King was incens'd against the Reformed by so many sorts of People, and there was so little reliance on the Promises that had been made in his Name, till the Present time, that it would have bin more proper to have demanded of him verifid Letters Patents for the Security of this Reestablishment.

*Treatise,  
intitl'd,  
The Eucharist of  
the Ancient  
Church.*

But the Ministers of *Paris* were not so favourably us'd, by reason of a certain Book that was publish'd under this Title, *The Eucharist of the Ancient Church*. This Book was written by one *Aubertin*; and he had the Approbation of his three Collegues, *Mestrezat*, *Drelincourt* and *Daille*. They assum'd the Quality of *Pastors of the Reformed Church*, and of Ministers of the Gospel. *Aubertin* also, who dedicates his Book to his Flock, call'd 'em *the Faithful of the Reformed Church of Paris*. *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* were stil'd, as well in the Title as in other Places, *Enemies of the Church*. Now the Clergy's Agents bethought themselves of a short way to confute this Book which made a great noise. For instead of answering the Book, they endited the Author and his Approvers; and letting alone the Matters of Fact and Reasons, they attack'd the Titles of the Book and the Preface, and the Terms of the Allowance. Against *Aubertin* there was a Warrant given out to seize his Body by a Decree of the Privy Council, dated *July* the 14th, importing, That if he could not be taken, that he should be cited to appear within three short days; and the Approvers were summon'd to make their personal appearance. This Affair made a great noise, but came to little, being as it were stil'd in the birth, and producing for this time no other then verbal Prohibitions. The Book was no longer sought after, so that the Success encourag'd the Author to review, enlarge and handle the Matter from the bottom in a Thick *Latin* Volume, which was never printed till after his death; nor durst any of the Impartial Catholic Doctors venture to refute it closely and roundly.

*Exercises  
forbid.*

But the Reformed were constrain'd to look on, and see the Rights of their Exercises violated in more then one place this Year. The Council took from 'em *Saujon*, by a Decree of the

18th of *November*, because the Lord of the place was a Catholic. *Citois*, Seneschal of *Richlieu*, which the King had erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom in favour of the Cardinal, for the same reason obstructed the exercise at *St. Gelin*, which is a Demesne that holds of the said Dutchy. And the Cardinal, tho at the bottom he were not so nice as others in those things, countenanc'd and approv'd what his Officer had done. The Colledges also which they of the Religion had enjoy'd in places of which they had bin a long time Masters, were miparty'd this Year by a Decree of the Council of the 23d of *July*. The occasion of this Decree, was a dividing of Voices which happen'd at *Castres*, upon a Petition of the Catholics of several Cities, who pretended to make the Edict of 1631, for miparty'd Consulships, a President for the Colledges. The Decree of the Council decided the division of Voices in their Favour, and authoriz'd the Argument they alledg'd.

*Partie-  
Colledges.*

But the following Year was not so serene nor 'peaceful for the Reformed: For tho the Cardinal, in a flattering Speech which he made the King, seated upon this Throne of Justice the 8th of *January*, acknowledg'd that Heresy had not bin the sole Rebel in his Kingdom, yet hardly any but the Reformed suffer'd this Year. 'Tis true, that the King of his meer Authority, without examining their Deeds and Evidences, cancell'd the Priviledges and Exemptions of several Cities that were not liable to the Vexations of Taxes. The Pretence was specious; for it seem'd as if the King had not us'd 'em so severely, but to throw upon 'em some part of the charge with which the others were over-burden'd. But in regard that in process of time it was apparent, that tho these Cities were made liable to Taxes, and yet the rest were no way eas'd, 'twas found that this same change proceeded from no other design then to reduce the whole Kingdom to a Uniformity, and involve the entire Body in the same Servitude. As for the Reformed, they were molested for other Reasons. There was something of Policy intermix'd with the Vexations that beset them. Nevertheless

*The Continuance of  
the Public Oppression.*

1634. vertheless they were ne're a whit the less real nor incommo-  
 dious. A Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and a Divine of *Lion*, printed  
 a Book at *Paris*, wherein he maintain'd that the King of *France*  
 had a Right to all *Europe*, and that he did well to make Allian-  
 ces with the Protestant Princes, to recover the Usurpations of  
 the House of *Austria*; which was openly to publish the Cardi-  
 nal's Designs. The *Spaniards* were willing to make the best  
 of this opportunity, to revive the dejected Courage of the ze-  
 alous Catholics in their Favour. Thereupon a certain Author,  
 who assum'd the name of *Alexander Patricius Armacanus*, wrote  
 in their behalf against the Doctor of the *Sorbonne*. He made it out  
 at large, That the Alliance of the King of *France* with Prote-  
 stants, was contrary to the Interests of the Catholic Religion,  
 because the War with the *United Provinces* and that of *Germa-  
 ny*, were Wars for the sake of Religion. He made use of all  
 that had bin said for the Justice of his Arms, against the King;  
 and shew'd that the House of *Austria* was under the same Cir-  
 cumstances in respect of the *United Provinces* and *Germany*. He  
 strenuously made it out, That the King chiefly employ'd the  
 Heads of the Reformed for the Conduct of his Armies; for  
 that he then had given the Command of 'em to the Dukes of  
*Roban* and *Bouillon*, and the Marshals *de la Force* and *Chatil-  
 lon*. I know not how he forgot that he had bestow'd a Mar-  
 shal's Battoon upon one of the Reformed. Perhaps it might  
 be after the Author had publish'd his Book. However, the  
 Duke of *Sulli* receiv'd that Honour this Year in the Month of  
*September*; which was done, to make him amends for the Em-  
 ployments which the Queenmother had taken from him: a  
 Recompence which he had staid for above twenty Years. How-  
 ever, he liv'd seven Years afterwards, and in his latter days  
 shew'd some more marks of Piety then he had done all the rest  
 of his life. He had bin always seen present at the Sermons  
 preach'd in his House, but after a very indecent manner: for he  
 was generally playing with a little Dog that sat upon his knees.  
 But a young Minister rebuk'd him by degrees for those ill Ha-  
 bits; accusom'd him to Censures; set up a Consistory in the  
 Church that met in his House, and made him accept himself  
 the

*Preteusions  
 of France  
 to all  
 Europe.*

*Answer'd.*

*The Duke  
 of Sulli  
 made a  
 Marshal of  
 France.*



the Office of an Elder, wherein he officiated till his death. But to return to *Alexander Patricius's* Book, it was thought that there was nothing more proper to ward off the Gasbes of his strenuous Objections, then to vex the remainder of the Reformed with some Acts of Injustice. But in truth they serv'd to very little purpose; for still the Cardinal bore the reproach of doing more mischief to the Catholics abroad, then to the Reformed at home; and that while he took from the one some Church or Church-yard, he was the occasion that the other lost whole Cities and Provinces.

I do not reck'n among the greatest Vexations of the Reformed, the Decree of the 16th of *March*, set forth in the Parliament of *Paris* against Foreign Ministers; which under pretence that they might hold Correspondencies with the Enemies of the Kingdom, or preach Doctrines contrary to the Laws of the Land, forbid 'em for the future to exercise the Function of the Ministry in *France*; order'd those that were admitted to quit their Functions, and threaten'd the Reformed with heavy Penalties if they went to hear 'em. I also look upon another Decree of Council dated *June 20.* as a small thing, tho it made the same Regulation in particular for *Poizou*; and added Prohibitions to all the Ministers to preach in Villages, out of the places allotted for their Exercises. I rank in the same number the Decree of the Parliament of *Dijon*, which condemn'd the Reformed to spread Carpets before their Houses upon Procession days, or to suffer 'em to be spread at their own charges, excepting such as were very poor, and not able to defray the Expences. These were things that made little noise, neither could they be attended with any considerable Consequences.

But there was something of greater Importance in the Decree which the Catholic Officers obtain'd from the Council *Febr. 5.* which adjudg'd to the Dean of the Catholic Counsellors, tho he were the youngest of all, in the absence of the President, the Right of Precedency, above the Reformed Counsellors, both in the Court of Audience, in the Council, and in the Town-house. 'Tis true, that the same Decree preserv'd to

*Decrees upon several occasions.*

*Precedency adjudg'd to the Catholic Counsellors of the Chamber of Guyenne.*

1634. every one, in other Cases, as in all public and private Sittings, at the Visitation of Pris'ners, at Hearings, Examinations, and Confronting of Testimonies, and at the Torturing of Criminals, the Rank which appertain'd to 'em by the Antiquity of their Reception. But for all that, this Decree made a very great Breach in the Priviledges of the Officers of that Chamber. Nevertheless there was a Declaration of the 29th of October, about the Robes worn by the Counsellors of the Chamber of *Castres*. The Reformed, according to Custom, wore Red Robes and Caps lin'd with Ermin, both in the Public and Private Assemblies of the Chamber. But the Parliament of *Tholouse*, who could not brook that mark of Equality, had set forth several Decrees against that Custom, of which the Reformed took little Notice, as believing their Authority independent from that of the Parliament. Thereupon the King interpos'd in the Contest, and put an end to the Dispute by an Edict; wherein after he had set forth, that the Custom was not grounded upon any Edict, and that the Thing was done contrary to his Intentions, as he had made known to those Officers by several Letters under his Privy Signet, he forbid 'em, according to the Decrees of that Parliament, to assume that Priviledge, till the Chamber shou'd be incorporated. Thus the Reformed were depriv'd of the principal mark of Honour which was to have bin annex'd to their Dignities, though the Edicts of their Creation ascrib'd the same Prerogatives to them, as to the Catholics.

The Coun-  
sellors of  
the Cham-  
ber of *Ca-  
stres*, for-  
bid to wear  
Red Robes.

The pre-  
tended Pos-  
session of  
the *Ursu-  
lines* of  
*Loudun*.

There were many people who took for an Affair of Religion, the Comedy that had bin Acted for several Years together, at the *Ursulines* Nunnery in *Loudun*. That Convent was govern'd by a Priest, whose Name was *Urban Grandier*, learned, a good Preacher, and pleasant in Conversation. He had also written a Book against the Celibacy of the Priests, and spoken somewhat freely of some other Practises of the *Romish Church*. His Enemies therefore bethought themselves of Accusing him with *Magic* and *Witchcraft*; and particularly of having deliver'd some of the Nuns of that House into the Power of

of the Evil Spirit. The Credulous People fail'd not to believe 1634.  
 this Story; and so much the more easily, because that Posses-  
 sions of the Devil and Exorcisms had bin talk'd of time out of  
 mind. But the Authors of this Farce perform'd their parts so  
 ill, and *Grandier* defended himself so well, that 'twas a long  
 time before Judges could be found that would be so Complai-  
 sant as to determin the Affair to the good-liking of these Bigots.  
 The Parliament of *Paris*, that pretends to great Knowledge in  
 the Chapter of *Magic*, and never Sentence any Body to Death  
 for that Reason alone, was not thought proper to take Cogni-  
 zance of that Affair, wherein persons that were too upright  
 and sincere, were not to be employ'd. Therefore they were in a  
 great Quandary what Commissioners to Nominate for the  
 Hearing and Determining this Cause. For as there was a ne-  
 cessity of having Ecclesiastics to judge *Grandier*, so there was the  
 same necessity that his Judges should be at the Devotion of  
 others. These Difficulties made 'em several times change the  
 Exorcists themselves, who were no way so successfully Ser-  
 viceable as they ought to have bin to the Designs of those who  
 guided this Affair. There is nothing which affords more Di-  
 vertisements then to read in the verbal Reports of those Exorci-  
 zers, the grand Oversight which those ill-instructed Religious  
 Dunces every moment made; whether it were mistaking one  
 Question for another, and so making Answers no less absurd,  
 or in pronouncing the *Latin words* which they were made to get  
 by Heart, so ridiculously maim'd and mangl'd as they were; or  
 whether it were in altering some Term, which made 'em  
 stumble into monstrous Incongruities against all the Rules of  
 Grammar. These *Buffoneries*, which made all the Spectators  
 laugh, put the *Exorcists* quite beside the Cushion, who afforded  
 no less Pastime to those that were present by the Excuses which  
 they alledg'd in Favour of the ill-prepar'd *Demon*. However,  
 at length they found out such people as serv'd their turn to com-  
 pleat this Farce. *Grandier* was Condemn'd to dye, as being  
 Covicted by his own Confession, not only of having both Writ  
 and Spoken in Contempt of the Catholic Doctrin, but of *Ma-*  
*gic* also, by the Depositions of the pretended posselt Persons.

*Ridiculous  
Effects of  
Exorcisms.*

*The death  
of a Priest  
accus'd of  
having be-  
witch'd his  
Nuns.*

They

1634. They likewise took for Proof of his being a *Magician*, the Constancy which he shew'd under the Torments of the Rack, and at his Death; as also the Marks of his Averſion to the *Bigotries* practis'd by the *Romiſh Church* upon the like Occaſions, which he teſtify'd upon the Ladder. But ſerious perſons, who ſaw him do no more then what the Reformed did, when Condemn'd to the ſame Punishment, believ'd that all his *Magic* conſiſted only in this, that he was half a *Heretic*; and that he had done no other harm to the *Nuns*, then to teach 'em a Doctrin little conformable to that of the *Romiſh Church*, in reference to Monastic Vows and Celibacy. And there were ſome honeſt people who pity'd his Condition, and murmur'd that the Life of a Man ſhould be Sacrific'd to the Hypocriſie of ſome certain Villains that made it their Buſineſs to gain by Frauds of that nature. However they thought fit to keep up ſome Remains of this Diabolical Poſſeſſion for ſometime after *Grandier's* death, leſt people ſhould perceive that the whole Aim of this ſacrilegious Play was only to get his Blood. But at length the Miſchief ſurcea'd; the *Nuns* appear'd no more upon the Stage; and the *Miſſionaries* themſelves made little or no more noiſe of the Accident, becauſe there happen'd ſome things in the carrying on of the Comedy, the Reproach of which they had not the Impudence to bear.

New Vexations about the Annexes.

On the other ſide, the Perſecution began again under the pretence of *Annexes*; and the Biſhop of *Valence*, unwilling to be bauk'd in his Enterprize, renew'd his Violences in his Dioceſs. The Prior of *Aureil* alſo, in imitation of him, had the boldneſs by vertue of his own Authority, to Arreſt *Apaix*, a Miniſter in thoſe Quarters, who came to Preach in other Places, beſides that of his Reſidence. He lock'd him up firſt of all in his *Priory*, from whence the Biſhop's Almoner remov'd him to the Priſon of *Valence*. Nor could he obtain his Liberty, till he gave Bail for his forth-coming. But at length he was abſolutely releas'd, and his Bail diſcharg'd by a Decree of the Priy Council, dated *Novem. 24.* Which Decree might have bin taken for an Act of Juſtice, had it not bin attended eight days after, by a more rigorous Declaration then all the Decrees that



that had bin issu'd forth upon this occasion. It was dated from *St. Germans, Decem. 12.* and forbid the Ministers of *Languedoc*, and all others to Preach or perform any other Exercise of the Reformed Religion in any other Places then where they resided; provided that Place too were one of those where the Exercise was allow'd. And the Penalty of transgressing was, to be punish'd as Breakers and Disturbers of the Peace, and a Fine of Five hundred Livres, which they were to be constrain'd to pay by Imprisonment of their Bodies, and an Arbitrary Amercement. The Pretences for this Severity were, that the Tenth Article of the *Edict* of 1561. forbid Ministers to ramble from Village to Village to Preach; which as they affirm'd, was likewise confirm'd by several Decrees. 'Twas presuppos'd, that the Right of Exercise did not belong to those Places, and that the Ministers of *Languedoc* had broken the Regulation: And this Declaration was sent to *Castres*, where it was Register'd *Jan. 5.* of the following Year. Nevertheless, the Declaration afforded a fair Occasion for the dividing of Voices: For it Reviv'd an *Edict* which was cancell'd by that of *Nantes*, which was of pernicious Consequence, in regard that all the Concessions of that Act might be eluded, by explaining 'em by the Terms of *Other Edicts* that were abrogated: And indeed this Method was found so useful and proper to ruin the *Edict of Nantes*, that they pursu'd it as far as it would go. Moreover, the *Declaration* presuppos'd that the *Annexes* were Places without Right of Exercise; but the Reformed never yielded that to be true. Nevertheless the Thing being past into a Law, the Ministers were reduc'd to a great Streight, from whence they could not free themselves till after several years Patience under another Reign. But the most heavy Persecution of the Reformed this year, was that of the Extraordinary Sessions in *Poitou*, which met on purpose to vex 'em; and whose Jurisdiction extended into *Angoumois, Anix, Anjou, Le Maine, La Touraine, Le Limousin*, and *Perigord*. This Grand Sessions was an Assembly consisting of Commissioners chosen out of one or several Parliaments, which were sent into those Provinces where any public Disorder were pretended to have bin committed, which

*An Extraordinary  
Sessions in  
Poitou.*

1634. could not be suppress'd by the Proceedings of Ordinary Justice. So that they were like those Itinerary Parliaments, which formerly went from place to place to Administer Justice where Necessity chiefly requir'd it. These Grand Sessions were wont to be a Terror to persons in Power, who had oppress'd the people without fear of punishment: So that when this Grand Sessions approach'd any Provinces, all Offenders against whom no body durst open their mouths before, began to quake for fear of the Punishments which they deserv'd. But this Year the Grand Sessions did no harm to, nor terrify'd any body but the Reformed. And the manner of their pronouncing Sentence was enough to put those poor Creatures in fear of being lost past all Redemption. But in regard that in the main their Decrees made more noise than they did mischief, and the rest of the Provinces being exempted from this Storm, it may be thought that the Cardinal fought rather to shew his Grandeur and his Power, then the effect of his Rigour, to stop the mouths of those that accus'd him of favouring *Heretics*.

*Affrights  
of the  
Churches.*

This Assembly sat down at *Poitiers* the 4th of *September*. and that of the Audiences the 11th of the same *Month*; and under pretence of punishing Offences that were not pardon'd by the *Edict*, and after which no Inquisition had bin made by reason of the Troubles, they put all the Churches of those Provinces in fear of the loss of their Exercises. After they had ordain'd the inferiour Judges to give Information of all the Violences, Rebellions, Usurpations of Cures and Priories, to Decree, Seize, and make all requisite Pursuits and Inquiries, even to the Definitive Sentence exclusively, the Grand Assizes began to issue forth Sentences more decisive. There was one of the 6th of *September*, which contain'd Nine principal Articles; The first forbid the Reformed for the future to Bury in Catholic Church-yards, under the Penalty of a 1000 Livres, and to have the Corps's digg'd up agen. The second ordain'd, that the Catholic Service should be re-establish'd in Churches which had bin in the possession of the Reformed. The third forbid Tolling to Church with the Bells that belong'd to the Catholics. The fourth took from 'em the Priviledge of having

*An Important  
Decree upon  
several Ar-  
ticles.*

Schools

Schools in places where they had not leave to erect 'em by verifi'd Letters-Patents. The fifth, to oblige the Reformed Lords of Mannors to make choice in which of their Feiffs they intended to settle their Habitation, and consequently the Right of Exercise. The sixth ordain'd, that they should surcease their Exercises in places where the Lords should become Catholics; and that they should not perform 'em within the Feiffs of Catholics, but with their consent. By the seventh, they were to demolish all Churches built in Church-yards, or near to Churches where the Catholic Service might be interrupted; as also all those that had bin built since the *Edict*, without permission verifi'd. The eighth forbid Preaching in the Houses and Habitations of Ecclesiastics; and the close of that Article extended the Prohibition to Halls and Public Places. The ninth condemn'd the Reformed to refrain from the word *Church*, when they spoke of themselves, and to call their Doctrine by the Name of the *Pretended Reformed Religion*, under the Forfeiture of 500 Livres. This Article principally concern'd Treaties of Marriage, where the Persons covenanting call'd themselves *Members of the Church* belonging to the Places of their Abode. This Nicety went a great way: But I have known Catholic Notaries, whose Zeal was so scrupulous, that when the rough Draught of the Contract was brought to 'em, which began, *A Treaty of Marriage which by the good Pleasure of God will be Solemniz'd, &c.* would needs have the words, *By the good Pleasure of God*, blotted out, as doing *Heresie* too much Honour.

This Decree was properly the substance of all the rest that were made by the Grand Assizes. There was nothing to be seen but the taking away of Church-yards, Exercises forbid, Preaching silenc'd, Churches pull'd down, and inconvenient and vexatious Regulations. Upon the 20th of *September*, a Decree was set forth, which oblig'd the Reformed, both Men and Women, to get out of the way upon Tingling of the Bell, when they met the *Romish Sacrament* in the Streets; or if they could not, to put themselves into a Posture of Respect: and in regard the Women had no Hats to pull off, they would needs enforce them to kneel like the Catholics; and for the Men, tho this Regulation

*Another  
troublesom  
Decree a-  
bout meet-  
ing the  
Sacrament.*

1634. lation were renew'd almost every year, neither getting out of the way, nor pulling off their Hats would serve their turns, when they fell into the Hands of the Populacy. The same Regulation was confirm'd by another Decree, dated Nov. 24.

The Church  
of St.  
Maixant  
Demolish'd.

Omer Talon's manner of  
Pleading.

The 26th of *October* came forth a Decree, which order'd the Church of *St. Maixant* to be Demolish'd. The Archbishop of *Tours*, who was Abbot of that Place, made a *Latin Speech* to the Grand Assizes, which favour'd very strong of the Colledge; but the Cause of an Archbishop against the Reformed, was too Specious to require much Pleading. Nevertheless, *Omer Talon*, the Son of *James Talon*, Advocate General in the Parliament of *Paris*, who had the same Employment in the Grand Assizes, pleaded strongly for the Archbishop. He affirm'd openly, that the Reformed were suffer'd only by Toleration and Connivance, as men suffer a Thing which they had rather be without. From which dangerous Principle, he drew a Consequence much worse: That what concern'd the Religion of the Reformed, was not to be reckon'd among Things *favourable*, for which the Terms of the Law are wont to be favourably interpreted; but that in their Cases the Rigor of Expression was to be observ'd. Tho nothing could be said more contrary to the Intention of the Act, and the Repeated Promises of *Lewis XIII.* but chiefly of *Hen. IV.* who had declar'd more then once, that Ambiguous Expressions ought to be *favourably* explain'd. Besides *Talon* sought for the Interpretation of the *Edict* in the preceding *Edicts*; which was very strange in a man that made a profession of Honesty, as he did, and who was too clear-sighted, not to understand that there was nothing more Unjust, or more Imprudent then to fetch from Laws revok'd, the Explanation of a New Law which Repeals 'em. 'Twas either a great piece of Injustice, or a manifest Absurdity to seek for the Sense of a new *Edict* in those that preceded: Besides, that they must have bin in some measure conformable to the New one, or else they could never be any way effectual; and by consequence, they could never be serviceable to pinch and strait-lace Concessions of a New Law, when they contain'd Expressions neither so Ample nor so Favourable.

Never-



Nevertheless, upon this Principle it was that *Talon* lean'd, 1634.  
 That he might make a distinction between the Right of Ex- *A distin-*  
 ercise, and the Right of the Church. For he asserted, that no *tion be-*  
 Churches could be built but in places of Bailliage; and such whose *tween the*  
 possession was grounded upon the Edict of 1577. because the *Right of*  
 Sixteenth Article of the Edict of *Nantes* allow'd the having *Exercise,*  
 of 'em, *according to the Twelfth Article of the Conference of the Church.*  
*Nerac.* From whence he concluded, that the Favour not be-  
 ing extended in express terms to New Possessions, establish'd  
 by virtue of the Siege of *Nantes*, they could not have places  
 built on purpose to preach in; and that there could be no  
 preaching but in the Minister's House, or else in one that  
 was hir'd. But to say truth, there was enough in the Ar-  
 ticle it self of the Edict to refute this Cavil. For that this  
 Article coming after all the rest, which explain'd the Founda-  
 tions of the Right of Exercise, 'twas natural to extend the  
 Permission for building of Churches, to all places where for  
 the future it was lawful to preach. The Article of *Nerac* was  
 not quoted to reduce the Liberty of having Churches to places  
 where the Privilege of Exercise was purchas'd from the time  
 of that Conference; but to testify, that in regard the Treaty  
 of *Nerac* permitted the building of Churches, wherever the  
 Exercise was then granted by the Edicts, it was in like man-  
 ner permitted by the Edict of *Nantes* to build, or have 'em  
 in all Cities and Places where that New Edict establish'd  
 the Exercise. But though no such thing had bin, yet it  
 may be said that this Pretension was but a meer Cavil at  
 best, from which there redounded neither Honour nor Ad-  
 vantage to the Catholics; since in reality, the Exercise being  
 permitted, 'twas indifferent to the Catholics to see it per-  
 form'd in a House built on purpose, or in a hir'd House. 'Tis true,  
 that the greatest part of the Churches were built since 1600.  
 but that was no reason why they should be call'd Usurpa-  
 tions; for that which hinder'd the building 'em sooner, was,  
 because the Reformed had places there where they perform'd  
 their Exercises which the Edict oblig'd 'em to quit; either  
 because they were Houses belonging to Ecclesiastics, or because

1634. they were Structures belonging to Corporations, as Halls, Town-Houses, and the like. The loss of which Buildings made 'em bethink themselves of having others; and till they could raise Money to build Churches, they were forc'd to hire Houses, where sometimes they lodg'd the Minister himself.

*Several  
Decrees of  
the Grand  
Assizes a-  
gainst the  
Reformed.*

Nevertheless, upon this Foundation it was, that the Grand Assizes condemn'd so many Churches: And it is requisite to be observ'd, for the better understanding whence it came to pass, that in one and the same Decree they order'd the demolishing of a Church, and at the same time the producing of the Tythes and Evidences by vertue of which they claim'd the Right of Exercise. The reason of which double Order was, because they thought that the Right of Exercise was no Evidence of the Right of the Church, but that the one might be had without the other. However, to involve more Churches in the same Inconvenience, they added one more of Proximity or Inconvenience to the Catholic Churches; and under those Pretences, besides the Church of *St. Maixant*, they condemn'd the Churches of *Cherveux*, *Chef-boutonne*, *Mougon*, *Genouille*, *Lusignan*, and I know not how many more. There were several Decrees also which order'd the Restitution of Church-yards to the Catholics; forbid keeping of Petty Schools; dispossest the Reformed of some Chappels; gave Commission to order the Ministers and Consistories of certain Ministers to produce their Evidences; forbid opening of Shops of Holidays, and to frequent Public Houses during Mass-time. Cooks also and Vintners were forbid to admit People into their Houses during that time, or to sell Flesh upon Prohibited Days. Others forbid blaspheming the Mysteries of the *Romish* Religion, or to hinder the Officers of the Places from spreading Carpets before the Houses upon Procession Days.

1635. These Proceedings continu'd for some time after the Year was at an end; nor were other Places besides those aforementioned, exempted from as great Acts of Injustice.

Upon

Upon the 16th of *January* the Privy Council issu'd forth a Decree, the Consequences of which would have bin very awkward, had it bin put in execution. For *Cacherat*, Minister of *Quillebauf* in *Normandy*, was a Man of a mutinous, factious, turbulent, insolent and transported Spirit; always at odds with his Church; always quarrelling with the Synod of his Province. He had created Troubles and Vexations that had lasted above ten years, and which had bin carri'd to the National Synods. Among the rest, that which was held in 1631. had us'd him civilly; which made him but more proud and daring. But the Synod of *St. Lo* suspended him from the Ministry for his Rebellions; and in regard he refus'd to appear, he was summon'd before the next. These Proceedings transported him even to Rage; insomuch that he presented a Petition against all the Ministers of *Normandy* to the Council, wherein he accus'd 'em of intruding into the Ministry without a Call; that they had abus'd their Functions; that they forsook their Pulpits to hold forth at Meetings; that their Mission was not conformable to the Statutes of their Discipline; and that they had bin illegally admitted by their Churches, whither they had never bin sent either by Synods or Colloquies. He desir'd they might be treated as Deserters, and forbid to officiate in the Ministry, and that what they had hitherto done, might be declar'd null and void. He complain'd that they had load-ed him with Calumnies to ruin his Reputation, and that they detain'd his Salary from him, which they had not paid him in two years. Lastly, he concluded, that no Ministers might for the future be admitted before they produc'd Authentic Acts of their being call'd, to be view'd by the Advocates General, or their Substitutes: And that they who took upon 'em at present to officiate, should be oblig'd within a Month to shew their Diploma's and their Qualifications to the Judges of the Places. These Hairbrain'd Accusations put the Reformed in great fear at a time when their Destruction seem'd to be sworn. And they made no question but the Bigots would embrace so fair an opportunity to put all the Churches in confusion; more especially because he was one that liv'd still in their Communion; who

1635.  
Persecuti-  
on rais'd by  
Cacherat  
against the  
Churches  
of Nor-  
mandy.

1635. who gave the occasion. Nevertheless, all this Hurliburly had no other foundation, then the lending of some Minister of one Church to another, without *Chacherat's* Approbation; or some Order executed in his Church against his Will. At length, after a long solicitation, a Decree was made which dismiss both Parties, but order'd, that for the time to come no Minister should be admitted without taking the Oath of Allegiance; that they who had officiated in Foreign Countries, should not reassume their Functions in *France* without the King's Permission, and taking a new Oath; and that no Foreigner should officiate in the Ministry, or in any other Religious Office without express leave. But the Innovation of swearing Allegiance was that which most perplex'd the Reformed. For they held it much for their Ministers Honour, that the State was wont to be assur'd of their Fidelity, without exacting a solemn Promise; but that the Bishops were oblig'd to take the Oath before they could be admitted. Besides, they took this Oath for a forerunner of great Misfortunes; as being a Custom borrow'd from the Reign of *Charles* the IX. And lastly, they were afraid that it would prove the occasion of a thousand Cavils, to engage 'em to swear things either contrary to their Consciences, or prejudicial to their Liberties. But luckily for 'em this Decree came to nothing, as being never put in execution. As for *Cacherat*, he abjur'd his Religion; and having obtain'd a Pension from the Clergy, enough to live upon, without working for a Livelihood, he never any more disturb'd the Peace of the Churches. Some Memoirs there are that mention an Edict to the same purpose with the Decree; but I never saw it, and believe it to be an Error of him that compil'd 'em.

Precedency  
adjudg'd  
to the Ca-  
tholic  
Councillors  
of the  
Chamber  
of Castres.

But the 18th of the same Month the King set forth a Declaration that gave Precedency to the Counsellors of the Parliament of *Tholouse* that serv'd in the Chamber at *Castres*, in the absence of the Presidents, before the Reformed Counsellors, tho never so much their Seniors; so that that same Chamber was reduc'd to the same condition with that of *Guyenne*. Toward the end of this Month also, the Catholics would needs make the Reformed of *Loudun* pay the Costs and Charges they had



had bin at in exorcising the *Ursulins*; for as yet they had not done with that Farce. The Reformed had erected a Colledge in that City, where they were very numerous. The Catholics therefore meditating which way to deprive 'em of it, presented a Petition to *Laubardemont*, deputed Commissioner to take the Informations concerning that same Diabolical Possession, and much at the devotion of the Ecclesiastics. They set forth, That the *Ursulins* house was too little to contain 'em, and for the performance of those Exorcisms that were requisite; that all the Churches of the City were taken up, excepting one Chapel which the Guardian of the *Franciscans* offer'd to lend 'em; that the Colledge of the Reformed ought to be taken from 'em, as being erected without the King's leave; and upon these Suppositions, they desir'd that the Colledge might be given to the Catholics; that so the *Ursulins*, or a part of 'em, might be remov'd thither, for the better convenience of exorcising 'em. Upon which, the Commissioner gave 'em a Grant of it with a Proviso, till the King should otherwise ordain. And thus the Reformed were made to pay the Expences of a Comedy, wherein they were no otherwise concern'd then to make themselves sport with it, and laugh at it in private.

The 9th of *March* the Council put forth a Decree, which forbid the Public Exercise of the Reformed Religion at *Paroi* in *Charolois*, a small Village, of which the Abbot and Monks of *Clugni* were the Lords. Cardinal *Richlieu* was chosen Abbot of it, and by Consequence he had an Interest in that little City; so that the Decree could not fail of a solemn execution. But besides the Interdiction of Public Exercise, it contain'd also a Prohibition to keep Schools therein; to sell Flesh upon prohibited days; to work with their Shops open on Holydays; to meet in Houses to perform the Duties of Catechizing, Preaching or Prayer; to hinder the Ecclesiastics from visiting and comforting the Sick; to sing Psalms in the Streets, or so loud in their Houses, as to be heard; to bury in the Church-yard belonging to the Hospital, or at any other hours then those that were prescrib'd by the Edict. It order'd also the Reformed to keep and spread Carpets before their doors upon Procession days.

1635.  
The Col-  
ledge taken  
from the  
Reformed  
of Lou-  
dun.

Exercise  
forbid at  
Paroi.

1635. days. It gave leave that the Reformed might send their Children to the Colledge which the Cardinal had founded, with promise that they should not be seduc'd to change their Religion; and that they might be Sheriffs if elected, without any obligation of being forc'd to hold. At the same time the Reformed of *Chaume*, a Borough depending upon the Jurisdiction of *Olon*, which belong'd to the Marquis of *Royan*, lost their Right of Exercise. Nor was there any notice taken of their Possession well prov'd; or that they had not only the consent of the Lord, but an agreement in writing made in the year 1600. with him, the Curate and the Catholic Inhabitants, wherein the Lord expressly covenanted to desist from all opposition against their Right for the future. All the Favour they could have shewn 'em was, that they had the liberty left 'em to make their Addresses to the King, that they might have some other place allow'd 'em without the Jurisdiction of *Olonne*.

Order of  
the Inten-  
dant of  
Poitou  
about  
Annexes.

Now in regard the Declaration of the preceding year in reference to the *Annexes*, had render'd the Law general, tho it were only set forth for the Province of *Languedoc*, the Ministers of *Saintonge* and other places, were put to a great deal of trouble upon this occasion. *Rivet* of *Champvernon* was deputed to the Court by the Synod assembl'd at *Mauzé*, to crave some relief against these Vexations; who brought back a Reference of the 16th of *April* to *Villemontée*, Intendant of Justice in those Provinces. This new Judge was given to understand, that the Prohibition mention'd in the Declaration, and by the Decrees, depriv'd the Reformed of all manner of Exercise of their Discipline, and expos'd all Ministers that preach'd in any other place then where they resided, or by vertue of an Order, or Loane authoriz'd by the Synods or Colloquies, to a thousand Prosecutions: tho those Accidents many times could not be avoided, by reason of the death, sickness, absence, suspension or degrading of the Incumbent Ministers, or upon some other urgent Business which requir'd the Synod to depute Commissioners. They gave him to understand, that there were Ministers settl'd by the Synods, to preach alternately in several places where they had a Right of Exercise, and by

con-

consequence they could not be accus'd of preaching out of the places where they were set'd. The Commissioner was apprehensive of these Reasons, and by an Order of the 22d of *June*, gave the Ministers leave to preach out of their Residence when they should be sent upon any of the fore-mention'd Occasions. 1635.

However the Reformed of *Metz* were not so favourably us'd at the Council. For they had a desire to erect a Colledge in their City; but the Bishop of *Madaure*, Suffragan to *Metz*, oppos'd it; and the three Catholic Bodies of the City join'd with him. This Business was remov'd to the Council, where the Opposers obtain'd a Decree in their favour, dated *July* the 25th. That Decree forbid the Reformed to have either Masters, Regents, Classes, Schools or Colledges. It only gave leave that they should have Masters in the City, to teach Children to read and write *French*; but prohibited those Masters from taking Pensioners. It forbid likewise the having those Petty Schools without the City; reserving only the liberty of sending their Children to Catholic Schools. Now in regard the War began this year between *France* and *Spain*, the Affairs of State afforded some little Relaxation to those of the Reformed Religion: So that there remains little of moment for me to relate, but only what befel the Duke of *Bouillon*, Son of the Marshal. He became inamour'd of the Marquess of *Berghes*'s Daughter, who was indeed a very lovely Lady. To marry her, he renounc'd far greater Matches, to which he might have pretended. And he abandon'd himself so entirely to this Woman, no less a *Spaniard* by Inclination, then a Zealous Catholic, that by her Persuasions he quitted his Religion, fell off from the Interests of *France*, and reduc'd his own Family to the Precipice of Threatning Ruin. Therefore, that I may not be forc'd to return any more to this Subject again hereafter, I shall speak all together which is to be said of him; That he had a share in all the Confusions of *France*; that he admitted the Count of *Soissons* into *Sedan*, who was slain in a Combat before the Town; that at the same time that his Pardon was granted him for

*The Reformed of Metz forbid to have a Colledge.*

*The Duke of Bouillon changes his Religion.*

1635. that Rebellion, he enter'd into the Conspiracy of *Cinq Mars* against the Cardinal; that the Plot being discover'd, he was seiz'd in *Italy*, where he had the Command of an Army conferr'd upon him, to remove him from the City, and to be masters of his Person when they pleas'd. That knowing well that the Cardinal never forgave twice, he offer'd to surrender his City to the King to save his life, and *Sedan* was the Price of his Liberty. The Cardinal before his death had the Pleasure of that Conquest, after which he liv'd not long. Thus the Father of the Duke having had a Principality, as the fruit of his siding with the Reformed Religion; the Duke his Son lost it as the Reward of his turning Catholic. And because his Wife brought him little or nothing in Marriage, 'twas said of him, That the Dowry which he had with her was the loss of *Sedan*. This Misfortune beset him in the Year 1642.

*The End of the Tenth Book.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Edict of Nantes.  
THE SECOND PART.

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THE 'LEVENTH BOOK.

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The Epitome of the 'Leventh Book.

**A**N Assembly of the Clergy. A furious Speech of the Bishop of Orleans. Odious Accusations. The first Accusation, of openly violating the Edicts. Daille's Books attack'd by the Bishop. Second Accusation, for having taken a Prayer for the King out of the 20th Psalm. A venomous Aggravation. Third Accusation, for blaspheming the Sacred Things. A fraudulent Question of the Missionaries. The Bishop's Conclusion. A Dispute upon the second Accusation between Daille and Muis. An Edict against Blasphemers. A renewing of the first Accusation. Papers of the Clergy. Answer to the 16th Article; to the 32, 33, and 26. Interdiction of particular Exercises at Villiers le bel. Exercises!

*ses prohibited at Corbigni, Vitre and Claye. Other Regulations. The Bailliage of Gex. Schools Interdicted. An unlucky Decree of the Privy Council upon several Articles. Others touching Patents for Offices. Exercise forbid again at Claye. The House of Charity interdicted at Paris. The House of the Propagation of Faith, and a piece of remarkable Injustice. Conversion of Francis Cupif. Regulations of the Reformed of Pons. A National Synod at Alençon. The Commissioner's Speech, and his Instructions. Article touching Baptism. Answer of the Moderator. Article of Annexes ; of the payment of the Ministers and Baptism. A Deputation to the King. Papers from the Synod. The Deputies treated at Court, and their Speeches. Nomination of General Deputies. Particular Deputies. Milleriere's Projects condemn'd. The King puts France under the Protection of the Holy Virgin. The Death of the Duke of Rohan. A remarkable Order of the Intendants of Languedoc. A Presidial Court erected at Nerac. Sick People tormented by the Monks. Edict of the Duke of Bouillon in Favour of the Reformed of Sedan. The Birth of the King now reigning. A new Regulation for Villers le bel, and the Dauphinate. Statutes of the University of Poitiers. Order of Judge Maye of Montauban. Particular Acts of Injustice at Rochechouard, at Vitre and Dijon. Offices. Exercise forbid at Taulignan. Church yard at Blois forbid to be enclos'd. Croquers. Decree of the Parliament of Pau, forbidding the Exercise where there were not Ten Families. Exercise forbid at Pivigemet and Beaulieu. A singular Artifice to oblige the Reformed to call themselves Pretended Reformed. Blasphemies pretended, and pretended Sacrilege. Division of Voices at Castres, and the Effects of it. Interdiction of Exercise out of the usual places. Marriage of Priests converted. The Advocate-General's Plea. Precedence adjudg'd to the Catholics of the Chamber of Accounts at Mompelier. A new Decree about meeting the Sacrament. Vexation of some Officers of Castres. Exercises and Schools forbid. Burials, Blasphemies and Profanations. Offices. Priests and Monks changing their Religion. The ancient Church at Vitre pull'd down. Exercises forbid at Gex, Sancerre and Chauvigni. A new Cavil about the Right of Fiefs. Exercise forbid at St. Ceré. A Cavil about  
a Church-*

*a Church-yard. Exercise forbid at St. Savin and Antibes. Distance requir'd between the Church-yards of the Reformed and the Catholics. Burying violated. A pretended Miracle. Re-establishment of the Mass at Tonnaiboutonne. Offices. Schools. Blasphemies and Prophanations. Other Examples. Universities. Books. Acts of Injustice at Sancerre. Death of the Cardinal. Exercises and Irreverences. Children of a converted Priest. Visiting of the Sick, and Jurisdictions. The Death of the King.*

**B**UT the next Year a violent Tempest pour'd down upon 1636. the Reformed. The Assembly of the Clergy was fate An Assembly of the Clergy. down before the end of the Year 1635, and the chief Deputies only spoke to the King upon the Subject of the Regale, which the Parliament of *Paris* went about to extend to all the Bishoprics in the Kingdom. But *de Nets*, Bishop of *Orleans*, would not confine himself within those Bounds, when he made his Speech to the King upon the 17th of *February*. For he made A furious Speech of the Bishop of Orleans. the most violent Harangue that had ever bin spoken, against the Reformed, till that time. He utter'd nothing but Extravagances, Ravings and Blasphemies; nor did he vouchsafe the Reformed any more honourable Epithetes, then those of Insolent, Mad, and Frantic. 'Tis true, that at first, he acknowledg'd that all the States of the Kingdom had applauded the Design of the Kings of *France* to attempt the Cure of the Reformed, to whom he gave the Appellation of *Distemper'd*, by gentle Remedies; that is to say, by the Edicts of Peace: and to honour the Clergy with a false Moderation, he added, That the Ecclesiastical Body itself would not have bin sorry to have seen stifi'd and extinguish'd so many Fires kindl'd to reform and punish 'em, and to set up in their room Lights more pure and innocent to illuminate their Consciences and Understandings. But for all this fair Beginning, he fail'd not to accuse the Reformed of three things extremely odious. Odious insinuations. The first was, for openly violating the Edicts: the second was, for ceasing to pray to God for the King in their Psalms: and the third, for prophaning and blaspheming the Sacred Things. The

1636.

I. Accu-  
sation, for  
oppos-  
ing the  
Edicts.

Daillé's  
Book.

The great Proof of the first Accusation was drawn from the Act of the National Synod in the Year 1631, wherein it was declar'd, That the *Lutherans* might be admitted to the Communion, to intermarry, and present Children to Baptism. Which he pretended was contrary to the Edicts, because it tended to the introducing of a new Religion into *France*; as if by that Act of Fraternal Communion, the Synod had ever pretended to associate the *Lutherans* in the same liberty of teaching their Opinions, and publicly exercising their Religion, as the Reformed had obtain'd by the Edicts. Which nevertheless was so far from the intention of the Synod, that in the Act of the Union itself, it was expressly requir'd, That such *Lutherans* as should be made choice of for Godfathers, should promise to teach 'em no other Doctrines then those about which there was no dispute. However the Bishop hung fast upon the Apology for that Reunion, which *Daillé* had publish'd about two years after the Synod broke up. That same Minister had taken for the foundation of his Justifications the difference of Errors; of which there were some that were not so heinous as others; and among which as there are some that are intolerable, that brake all communion between the Orthodox and the Erroneous, so there are others that may be born withal, as no way tending to such a Rupture. He alledg'd for an Example of the latter, the Opinion of the *Greeks* about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, which he did not believe to be of that consequence as to authorize a Schism. He endeavour'd also to settle general Rules, to judge what those Errors are that break communion by reason of their extreme distance from the Truth. This was a very prudent Apology, and the Author's Principles were manag'd with so much discretion, that it was impossible for any person to be offended at 'em, unless blinded either by his Passion or his Ignorance. The same *Daillé* publish'd the next year a little Treatise, which he entitl'd, *Faith grounded upon Scripture*; which destroying the Authority of Tradition when the Dispute lay about Articles of Faith, prov'd exactly the Doctrine of  
the



the Reformed, and gave light to the Rules which he had propos'd for the discerning of Errors.

The Bishop attack'd these two Books with extraordinary violence. He could not endure that *Daille* should think the Anathema pronounc'd against the *Greeks* too severe, only for an inconsiderable deviation from the Doctrine of the *Latins*, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost; and so insisting upon that Indulgence, and some other Principles that *Daille* had maintain'd, he accus'd him of teaching, either in express Terms, or by Consequences necessarily drawn from his Doctrine, that all *Heresies* would admit of a Dispute, except eight of the most important. I know not how the Episcopal Charity of that Prelat could accommodate the usual Maxims which preach up Union, and detest Schism in such vigorous Terms, with this Complaint of a horrid Attempt of a Minister, that left no more then eight Reasons of Division among the Christians: as if the grand Interest of public Edification and universal, ought not to make all good men wish, that there had bin less then eight Reasons of Divorce, if they could have bin reduc'd to a lesser number, without doing injury to the Truth. But the Bishop's aim was to inculcate, that this was to teach an Indifferency in Religion contrary to the Edict, and that according to *Daille's* Principles, no Man was bound to quit his Sect, to embrace a better Opinion.

The second Accusation was still more malicious. And the Pretence which the Bishop took for it, was the Alteration made in the 20th Verse of the 20th Psalm, which is the 19th according to the *Latin*, and begins with these words, *Lord save the King*; and in the *French* Paraphrase of the Reformed, thus, *The Lord hear thy Prayer*. 'Tis true, that this last Verse had formerly bin paraphras'd after this manner: *Be pleas'd, O Lord, to defend us, and preserve the King. Be pleas'd to hear our Prayers, when we cry unto thee*. But the Reformed having made several Alterations in *Clement Marot's* Paraphrase, when they appli'd it to the Public Use of their Devotions, because his expressions

*H. Accusation, for having taken away from the 20th Psalm the Prayer for the King.*

1636. preſſions were a little too harſh, too roving, and ſomewhat too ſlight, and having made theſe Alterations at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions, it happen'd that this Couplet of the Pſalm was corrected among others, as having bin tranſlated by the Poet after a manner more conformable to the Vulgar, then to the Hebrew Original. Thereupon this Paraphraſe was inſerted inſtead of the former, *Be pleas'd, O Lord, to defend us, and cauſe the King to hear our Petitions.* Encounter all our Fears. I make no queſtion, but that when this Correſtion was made, the Reformed had a deſign to have a formal Prayer, extracted from the Words of the Holy Ghoſt, to deſire of God, who governs the hearts of Kings, that he would encline him to be favourable to their Suits. Upon that ſcore they found this New Paraphraſe more ſuitable to their Occaſions, as being in their Opinion more conformable to the *Hebrew* then the former. But certainly he muſt ſee with the Eyes of a very Irregular Paſſion, who ſees any thing in this Alteration, with which a Sovereign Prince could be juſtly and deſervedly offended.

A remem-  
mous Ag-  
gravation.

Nevertheless, the Biſhop found, as he thought, two Groſs Errors in this Correſtion. The one was, That the Senſe was corrupted: And the other was, That the Reformed had put themſelves in the King's room; and that they had aſſum'd the Prayer to themſelves which the Holy Ghoſt had dictated in his behalf. This was branded as a piece of Inſolence, and an Attempt, which abolishing the Prayer that ought to be offer'd for the Preſervation of the King, raviſh'd from him, as much as in 'em lay, the Honour, Fear and Tribute that was due to him. So that the Biſhop would ſain have prov'd from thence, That had it bin as much in the power of the Reformed to deprive the King of all the Prerogatives of his Crown, as it was to alter the words of the Pſalm, they would never have ſcrupl'd to have done it. And this Accuſation was aggravated with all the Tours, the Drefſes and Enamellings of a Quaint Wit, that Propenſe Malice and Black Malignity could inſuſe into a Quick Imagina-  
tion.

tion. Nevertheless, there is one Reflection to be made upon the Transports of this Outragious Bishop, sufficient to discover the Injustice of 'em; that this Alteration had bin made for above Seventy years, and yet never any notice had bin taken of it; and we find at this day the same Correction in the Psalms that were printed in 1560, and 1561. Therefore had this bin such a Crime, 'tis a wonder that the Zeal of the Catholic Clergy should sleep so long without ever taking cognizance of such a Capital Crime. But the Times were chang'd, and the Bishop might say what he pleas'd against an Unfortunate Party not in a condition to defend themselves.

The Third Accusation was grounded upon the Expressions which the Ministers made use of, in speaking of the Mysteries of the *Roman Church*. The Bishop call'd *Drelin-court* Impious and Blasphemer, by reason of the disrespectful Expressions which were to be found in his Writings. That Minister, the True Scourge of Controversie-Mongers and Missionaries, and who had learnt from *Moulin* the art of finding out the ridiculous part of Superstition, call'd things by their names with great liberty. For he call'd the Church of *Rome*, *Infamous Strumpet*, and the *Idolatrous Babylon*. He call'd the Sacrament which the Catholics adore, a God of Dow, an Abomination, a Wafer, which the Priest would make you believe he has turn'd into a Deity, after he has blown upon it four or five words. He handled the Mass like a piece of Farce and Mummery. Moreover, the Bishop accus'd him for saying that the Virgin was an *Idol*, and the worshipping her an Abomination: That the Festivals of the Saints were all meer Superstition; that their Legends, which the Prelate call'd *the History of their Vertues*, was a Gallimaufrie of Extravagant Romances and Idle Tales. He complain'd that the same Minister had call'd the Pope *Antichrist*, and Captain of the Cut-purses, meaning the Bishops and Monks: and that he had call'd it in question, Whether he were

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St.

1636. St. Peter's, or *Simon Magus's* Successor. Above all things, he ascrib'd to him one thing very Criminal, that he had asserted that St. *Lewis* at the point of death disgusted the Mass. Upon which we must observe, that one of the most wicked and insnaring Questions which the New Missionaries started to puzzle silly People, was, Whether they believ'd, that *Charlemagne*, or St. *Lewis*, or the Reigning King, were damn'd? 'Twas High Treason to answer in the Affirmative; and it was dangerous to answer in the Negative. For then the Missionary concluded, that men might be sav'd in the *Roman* Profession. But usually they got rid of this fraudulent Question by answering, That they made no doubt but that all Princes were sav'd, because that God enlighten'd 'em at the hour of death, and insus'd into 'em a good liking of the *Romish* Superstitions. And this Vulgar Error the Bishop laid to *Drelincourt's* Charge, because he had said something like it in some of his Works. However, these Expressions were not particular to himself, for that the greatest part of the Ministers kept up the custom of talking of the Guides and Practises of the *Roman* Church, in such a manner as the Catholics deem'd not very decent. But He stuck closest upon *Drelincourt's* Skirts, because he instructed the People by his Familiar Writings, and arm'd 'em with easy and short Answers against the Sophisms of the Missionaries. So that he was very odious to this new Order of Persecutors, who made it their business for thirty years together, by all imaginable ways, to do him one of their good Turns.

An Insu-  
ring Que-  
stion of the  
Missiona-  
ries.

The Bi-  
shop's Con-  
clusion.

The Bishop, after these Terrible Accusations, vaunted, I know not by what Figure, for it was very singular, that he was oblig'd to reserve a Charitable and Judicious Silence in reference to the Language of the Ministers; but though he forbore to speak of their Crimes, yet he talk'd loud of the Punishment due to 'em, of which he demanded a severe Infliction; that they should be forbid to pronounce such hainous Affronts and Blasphemies against the Church, against the Sacraments, against the Saints, against the Pope and his Prelates.



Prelates. That those Paragraphs wherein the Pope was call'd Antichrist, might be raz'd out of the Prayers of the Reformed; that the Prayer for the King might be restor'd as it was. That all Innovations contrary to the Edicts might be punish'd and chastis'd; that Indifferency in Religion broach'd by *Daillé* might be stiff'd in the Birth; that his Books might be burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman; and that he might be punish'd severely as a New Arch-Heretic, together with all those that favour'd his Libertinism. Which last Clause had an Eye upon *Aubertin*, *Mestrezat* and *Drelincourt*, his Associates, who being appointed by the Synod of the Province to overlook the Books, had subscrib'd their Approbation of his Works. The Bishop at last protested, That he spoke not out of any hatred of Persons, because Charity forbid him; but to destroy Errors, and prevent the Errorneous from rendring themselves odious to God, unfaithful to the King, baneful to themselves, and unprofitable to the Public. This is just pursuing the Motions of a sort of Charity, like that of the Inquisition, which puts People to death after they have repented, for fear lest if they should let 'em live they should expose 'em to the danger of a Relaps.

The second Article of Complaints, touching the *Papaphrase* upon *Psalms* 20. of an Affair of State, became a Business of Criticism: *D. Muis*, Royal Professor of the Oriental Languages at *Paris*, upheld the Bishop's Cause; and in a new Version of the *Psalms*, wherein he follow'd the *Hebrew* exactly, and in a literal Commentary which he added, he thought it best to follow the *Vulgar* in the Translation of this Verse. This man wrote against *Daillé*, who defended himself against the Attacks of the Bishop with as much Vigor as Modesty; and answer'd *de Muis* in such a manner, as to win the more unbiass'd sort of people to be of his side, or at least so propitious to him, as to judge that there was nothing that could give offence in the Alteration which he had made in the Couplet, or that hinder'd the *Psalms* from being an entire Prayer for the King. But the third Accusation gave such a Blow, that the Consequences of it were soon felt: For

*A Dispute upon the 2d. Accusation between Daillé and Muis.*

1636. the King set forth an *Edict* which was verif'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, *March* 9. and which condemn Blasphemers of God, the *Virgin*, and the *Saints* ; For the fourth time, inclusively to redoubl'd Fines, Forfeitures, and Penances: For the fifth time, to be Pillory'd: For the sixth time, to have the Upper-Lip cut off: For the seventh, to lose the Lower-Lip also; And for the eighth, to have the Tongue pull'd out.

Effects of  
that De-  
claration.

'Twas an easie thing to extend the Rigor of this Declaration to the Reformed, who no sooner taught that the Merits of the *Saints* were of no benefit to Men, or that God never appointed the *Holy Mother of Christ* a Mediatrix for Sinners, nor *Queen of Heaven*, but they were accounted Blasphemers. For which Reason it was, that upon the noise of this Declaration, *John de Gap*, a Capuchin, going to hear *La Faye*, a Minister of *Loriol* Preach, carry'd a Complaint against him of the 24th of *March*, and inform'd the Judges of several Blasphemies, which, as he said, that Minister had pronounc'd in his hearing. This Affair spun out for above two Years before it was fully prosecuted; but at last a *Capias* was issu'd out against the Minister, and Inquiry made after his Person, which enforc'd him to keep out of the way till the Tempest was over. However *Chartier* a Merchant's Son of *Blois* had not bin so easily acquitted, could they but have caught him. For there was a Complaint and an Information put in against him upon the 22th of *May*, for some pretended Blasphemy which he had utter'd against the *Sacrament*, the same Day that the *Romish Church* carries it about in a Pompous Procession. Now in regard he did not make a voluntary Appearance, but kept himself from being taken, he was condemn'd for Contumacy the First of *October*, to undergo the *Amende Honourable* before the Principal Church of *Blois*, to have his Tongue bor'd, and his Lips slit; to be Fin'd Three hundred Livres to the Poor, and Banish'd for ever out of the Balliage and County of *Blois*. These were the Fruits and Penalties of this Declaration. But this Violence lasted not long; and tho we have seen from time to time some Vexation arise from this Fountain; nevertheless  
it

it was not the Occasion of so much Mischief as they who set forth the *Edict* expected.

As for the first Accusation, it produc'd no more then Childish Cavils, with which the *Missionaries* astonish'd inconsiderable People: Not but that the *Clergy* would fain have made a Business of Importance of it. For the Bishop of *St. Flour*, who took his leave of the King, in the Name of the *Assembly*, upon the 20th of *April*, could not forbear talking of the *Union* with the *Lutherans* after a most Envenom'd manner. He made a Speech full of Allusions to the Affairs of the Reformed, more especially to the taking of *Rochelle*, which he call'd the *Rock that had a share in all the Commotions of the Kingdom, and the Foundation of a Religion contrary to that which Christ establish'd upon the Rock*. Among other things he congratulated the King, That his Power which in other Reigns was limited, now knew no bounds. A Complement which it is a difficult thing to believe, That Subjects who have any Sense or Understanding, Cordially bestow upon their Sovereigns. The rest of his Speech rowl'd all upon the Immunities of the *Clergy*, which as he made the King believe, were violated in divers things. Moreover, he presented to the King a *Paper* from the *Assembly*, of which there were many Articles that concern'd the Reformed. The greatest part were Answer'd by the King, with those Extensions that carry the Concession farther then was desir'd. Thus the Sixteenth Article demanded, That the Reformed might preach no more upon the Lands which belong'd to the *Ecclesiastics*; nor within 5 Leagues within Cities where Parlements sate, nor in Episcopal Cities, nor in Places so near Catholic Churches, as to disturb Divine Service: That Churches built in such Places might be pull'd down within three Months; and that the old Churchyards might be reserv'd to the Catholics. The King granted every thing, and added the pulling down of all Churches that had bin built since the *Edict*, without Letters Patents enregister'd: And in Cases of Difference about the Execution of the *Edict*, he summon'd the Cause before himself, because at that time there were no Commissioners. In like manner, as to the

*The first  
Accusation  
reviv'd.*

*The Cler-  
gie's Pa-  
pers.*

*Answer to  
the 16th.  
Article,*

1636. *To the 32d* Thirty second Article, wherein the *Clergy* demanded that the Ministers might not be suffer'd to Preach in the *Annexes*, the King exprest the Prohibition in more rigorous Terms then those of the Demand; and forbid the Ministers to Preach without the Place of their Habitation.

*To the 33d* Likewise to the Thirty third Article, which requir'd the Executions of Decrees of Parliaments, and Grand Assizes, for the Demolishing of Churches, the King consented; and withall, added those that had bin set forth for the Restoration of the *Ecclesiastics* to their Estates and Priviledges; and upon pretended Infringements of the *Edicts* committed by the Reformed. The rest demanded that the *Chamber* of the *Edict*, or *Party-Chambers* might not take Cognizance of Appeals of Temporal Persons from Ecclesiastical Courts; That the Reformed might be depriv'd of such Honorary Priviledges as belong'd to 'em in the Churches: And that the Bishop might confer Benefices instead of Him who had the Right of Patronage. That the Reformed Judges might not take Cognizance of the Transgressing of Holidays; That the Judges of Courts posselt in Peerage with the King, if they were Reformed, might be Reimburs'd, and Catholics put in their room: That the Commission given out for the Execution of the *Edict* in the *Dauphinate*, might be revok'd; That the Materials of the Fortifications of the Reformed Cities which had bin Demolish'd, might be bestow'd upon the *Clergy* to build Churches: That the Syndics & Promooters of Diocesses might be admitted Plaintiffs in Suits about Infringements: That the second Place at all General Assemblies in Town Houses might be allow'd the Bishop's Vicar: That it might be lawful to lay Impositions upon all the Inhabitants of *Parishes*, for the building of Vicaridge houses, Reparations of Structures, purchase of Ornaments, and other Things of the like nature: That Tythes might be paid by the Reformed, who as they pretended had bin exempted in some Places for sixty Years together, by the Misfortune of the Wars; and this, notwithstanding any Contracts, Agreements, or Decrees that had bin made or issu'd forth to the



the contrary. The King granted within a little all these Demands to the *Clergy*. Nor do I see but one Article wherein he observ'd any Measure of Equity for the Reformed; and that was upon the Twenty sixth Article, Wherein the *Clergy* demanded that the School-Masters might be Catholics; which the King granted according to their desire; but without any prejudice to Schools granted the Reformed by Letters Patents enregister'd.

Now in that ill Humour wherein the Council was at that time, there appear'd several Decrees, which put the Reformed to no small Trouble. For the Inhabitants of *Villiers le bel* and parts adjoyning, were accusom'd to meet upon *Sundays* or *Holidays* in that Borough, when the Season would not permit 'em to repair to *Charenton*, which was the nearest Place where there was any Exercise. The Place of their Meeting was some Private House where they Rendevouz'd, upon the Sound of the same Bell which Call'd the Catholics to Church. But in regard they had no Minister, they only met to hear some Sermon, or some Chapter in the Scripture read, to sing Psalms, and Pray together. These private Exercises did no body any harm; nor could the Catholics be disturb'd, in regard the Reformed had ended their Devotions long before the Catholic Church was done. Yet would they needs have these Assemblies to be a Misdemeanour, and to render their Prosecutions of those People the more plausible, 'twas added, that they spoke undecently of the *Romish Preachers*; and that they made the Children of the Catholics that were sent to their Schools to read the Books of the Reformed. Upon which immediately came forth a Decree of the Privy-Council, dated *May 16th*, by which these Petty Exercises, and supposed Misdemeanours were severely forbid.

*Corbigni* was a little City, where the Reformed had a Place of Exercise by vertue of as clear a Possession as could be in the World; so that the Commissioners had continu'd 'em in it by a solemn Ordinance made in the Year 1600. That Ordinance.

1636. dinance remov'd 'em to the farther end of one of the Suburbs of the City, within the Jurisdiction of *Corbigni*, with a *Proviso*, till the Opposition which the Abbot made to the settlement of the Exercise in the City should be determin'd. This Business hung in suspense near Seven Years; after which, there was a Decree of Council of the 13th of *March*, 1607. which allow'd the Exercise, not within the City, but in one of the Suburbs, and within the Jurisdiction of the City; and appointed that Place for the first Place of the Bailiage. But in regard there happen'd since that, an Alteration in the Proceedings of that Court, and because the City depended upon the Abby of *St. Leonard's*, the Abbot obtain'd this Year a Decree upon a Petition, which forbid the Reformed their Exercise in that Place, or upon any Lands, or within any Jurisdiction of the Abby. Nor did they, when they took away this, appoint any other Place for the Reformed; but constrain'd 'em to sell the Inheritances which they had Purchast in the Suburbs, before they would provide 'em another Place. 'Twas only told 'em, that the King's Officers should give 'em notice whither or no there had bin a Place of Bailiage deliver'd according to the *Edict*; that if there were, there might be one allow'd 'em. By which it appear'd, that the Decree had bin issued forth without any knowledge of the Cause; because this Place had bin granted in Right of Bailiage by a Definitive Decree. But for all that, this Decree was put in Execution, without any regard at all had to the Opposition which the Reformed made. They also took the Opportunity to serve this Decree when *Monsanglard*, the Minister of the Place, was in his Pulpit; to the end the Thing might make so much the Greater Noise, and more effectually redound to the Reproach and Affront of the Reformed. This *Monsanglard* had bin accus'd in Court, for having said, That at *Rome* they sold Remission of Sins; for which the Judge of the Place Condemn'd him to the *Amende Honourable*, and all the Consequences of that Punishment. But upon his Appeal, the Minister being remov'd to the Prison of *Paris*, call'd *La Conciergerie*, and pleading

ing in his own justification, That he took what he had said out of a Book of the Rates of the *Apostolic Chamber*, Printed at *Rome* it self, they were asham'd to Co. firm the Sentence, and Dismiss'd both him and the Process out of Court.

There is also another Decree to be seen of an uncertain Date, set forth by the *Chamber of the Edict of Rouen*, which forbid the Reformed to continue their Exercise in the Borough of *St. Selvin*, because it depended upon the Abby of *Almenèche*. Another Decree of Council ordain'd, That the Church of *Pur* should be pull'd down, as being too near the *Catholic Church*, after they had built another which should be neither within the Jurisdiction, Signiories, or Precincts of the *Ecclesiastics*. The 20th of *June*, came forth another *Edict* of the Privy Council, against the Lord of *Claye* and *Biche*, which forbid the Exercise within the Signiories where the Lord did not actually reside, the presence of his Domestic Servants not being sufficient to Authorize it. The same Decree forbid Preaching without the Place of their Residence, upon pain of Corporal Punishment and Imprisonment. I also find Two Decrees Cited by such as have Collected those Sorts of Acts against the Reformed; the First of which was Dated the 15th of *July*, the Other the 12th of *December*. They Imported, that the Exercises should not be perform'd in the Lord's Houses when the Minister should be absent or sick. The Parliament of *Bordeaux* also Signaliz'd themselves by a Decree set forth the 4th of *July*, against the Authority of Parents. For one *La Vallée* dwelling in the Borough of *Castres*, had marry'd a Catholic Wife, by whom he had six or seven Children, which the Wife, making an ill use of her Husband's Indulgence, brought up in the Catholic Religion. This Woman happen'd to die before the Children had attain'd the Age of Discretion, and the Father was accus'd for constraining the Children to go to the Reformed Church. Upon which the Parliament interpos'd, and gave the Advocate-General leave to bring in an Information; and in the mean

Other Regulations.

A Decree to the prejudice of Paternal Authority.

1636. time General Prohibitions were sent abroad, forbidding Parents to force their Children to go to Protestant Sermons.

Bailiage  
of Gex.

The Bailiage of *Gex* was us'd after the same manner as the rest of the Kingdom; where the Prince of *Condé*, as Governor of *Burgundy*, upon which the Bailiage depended, put in execution the Prohibitions forbidding the Admission of Foreign Ministers, comprehending under that Name the Inhabitants of *Geneva*. He also equally divided the use of the Common Pastures of the Country between the Reformed and the Catholics, though the Reformed were Ten for One.

1637.  
Schooles  
forbidden.

The greatest part of the Decrees which I have enumerated, were revived again the next year: But there were several to which they added other Articles very grievous and troublesome. The Parliament of *Rouen*, by a Decree of the 18th of *March* forbid the keeping of any Schools at *St. Lo*. For the Consistory had set up some according to the Exhortation of the National Synods, and had also put in Regents, such as those Synods approv'd. The Promoter *Coutances* undertook this Business, and upon an Appeal from the Sentence of the Ordinary Judge he procur'd a Decree, which annull'd the Power of the Consistory; forbid 'em for the future to give Approbation of the like nature; permitted Masters only to teach to write and read in private Houses, but not to instruct or Catechize, not to say Public Prayers, or read Lectures, contrary to the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church. Upon the 21st of *April* the Privy Council set forth a Decree which forbid the Exercise in the absence of the Ministers; as also in any other Places then those wherein it was lawful for 'em to reside by the Edicts. The same Decree forbid the hindring of Fathers, Mothers, Tutors, Kindred, Masters, &c. to send their Children, Relations, Friends, Servants, &c. to Masters of Catholic Schools approv'd by the Ordinaries. So that what with taking

a Vexatious  
Decree  
of the Pri-  
vy Council  
upon several  
Articles.



taking away from the Reformed the liberty of having Colledges, what with obliging the Consistories to suffer the sending of Children to suspected Masters, they who had Children to bring up, were reduc'd either to let 'em grow up in ignorance, or expose 'em to the Snares and Inveagling Persuasions and Allurements of Catholic Tutors. By the same Decree, the Reformed were also order'd to spread Carpets before their doors upon Solemn Procession-days: upon neglect of which, after the first Summons, they were to be spread at their Cost and Charges; and if they obstructed or oppos'd the doing of it, they were condemn'd to Imprisonment; which was directly opposite to the third private Article of the *Edict of Nantes*.

Upon the 28th of the same Month came forth another Decree of the Privy Council, the effects of which were still more vexatious. For it forbid the Bailiffs and Seneschals to admit any Plaintiffs or Demandants in a Suit, whether Notaries or Advocates, without the King's Letters Patents. For the Council bethought themselves of inserting into Letters of this Nature the Clause of the Catholic Religion, on purpose to exclude by that means all the Reformed from any Offices. But Custom has settl'd a Remedy against this Artifice, in regard that in almost all the Jurisdictions of the Kingdom, the Judges admitted People to the exercise of these petty Employments, upon the bare resignation of him who had the Letters Patents: so that they pass'd from hand to hand without having any recourse to the King; which spar'd the Reformed the Affront of a Refusal, the Catholics the Trouble, the Delays, and the Expence of a Suit; there being none but Employments that were somewhat considerable, for which they troubl'd themselves to take out the King's Letters Patents.

*Another  
Decree  
touching  
Patents  
for Offices.*

The King was made believe, that it was contrary to his Oath, that there should be any Offices in the Kingdom which did not depend upon him, and which were executed by persons that were not invested in 'em by his power. The first

1637. design was to deprive the Reformed of the easie means to maintain themselves in those petty Employments, which caus'd 'em to be valu'd in the places of their Abode, and shelter'd 'em from a thousand petty Vexations. But it so fell out, that this Regulation did as much Injury to the Catholics, as to others; and that the Name of Reformed serv'd in this, as well as in other things of greater moment, to involve all the *French* in the same Restraint. This was Sport for the Clergy; who exempting themselves from Servitude, sacrific'd to their Passion and Malice against the Reformed, the Liberty of the whole Kingdom.

*Exercife  
forbid a-  
gain at  
Claye.*

Upon the 23d of *June* came forth another Edict from the same Council against the Lord of *Claye*. This was the fifth that had bin issu'd out against the Exercife in his House, under pretencee that he never resid'd there; yet to ward off this Cavil, he had declar'd at the Sessions-house in *Paris*, that he had made choice of his House at *Claye* for his principal Habitation, and that he intended to reside there for the future: which ought to have mintain'd his Right of having Sermons in his House, had it not bin the Maxim of the Council to make use of any Pretence to forbid the Exercife of the Reformed Religion, and still to uphold the Prohibition when the Pretence was remov'd.

*The House  
of Charity  
forbid at  
Paris.*

The Reformed of *Paris* had set up a House in the Suburbs of *St. Marceau*, whither they carry'd their sick People; they had already furnish'd it with Fourteen or Fifteen Beds, and design'd to have sent in more. Now it happen'd that a Cooper's Prentice, born a Catholic, working with a Reformed Master in the Church Mershes, fell sick, and with his own consent was carri'd to this New Hospiral; whether he had imbib'd any tincture of his Master's Religion, or whether the Abhorrency which poor Creatures have for the *Hofel de Dieu* at *Paris*, where the Infection is generally mortal to all that are carri'd thither, caus'd him to prefer a House more neat and healthy. However it were, his removal from one

end

nd of *Paris* to the other, could not chuse but be taken notice of. Upon which a Commissioner came upon the 19th of *May* to this New House of Charity, to draw up a Verbal Report of the condition it was in, and of the use for which it was design'd. Upon which Verbal Proceſs, the Privy Council iſſu'd forth a Decree of the 30th of *June*, wherein without ſo much as mentioning the Religion, but only ſuppoſing that it was contrary to the King's Authority, to erect Hoſpitals without the King's Permiſſion, (as if there had bin ſo much need of the Authority of Men to exerciſe Works of Humanity and Charity ſo expreſſy approv'd of God) and pretending in the ſecond place, that the ſick People were not lookt after, and reliev'd in that New Eſtabliſhment, as Chriſtian Charity requir'd; it was ordain'd, that all the ſick People which were in the Reformed Hoſpital, ſhould be remov'd to the *Hoſtel de Dieu*, where they ſhould be receiv'd upon the firſt Command; that the Beds ſhould be put into the hands of Truſtees, to be at the King's diſpoſal to whom he ſhould think meet; and that the Governor ſhould leave the Houſe with all his Family, upon pain of Imprisonment, and other corporal puniſhment. This Decree was put in execution by the Uſher of the Council upon the 4th of *July*, who found no more then five ſick Perſons in the place: one of which finding himſelf ſtrong enough to provide for himſelf without aſſiſtance, had his Liberty to go where he pleas'd. The other four reſuſing to be carri'd to the *Hoſtel de Dieu*, and naming the places whither they deſir'd to be carri'd, were remov'd without any oppoſition by the care of the Uſher, who did his Office with more Civility then the Rabble would have had him.

There was a new Houſe erected in the *Fauburg St. Germain* by the Pope's Bulls and the King's Letters-Patents, under the name of, *The Propagation of the Faith*; which was design'd for the lodging of young People that might be induc'd to embrace the Catholic Religion. Now one *La Fraſerie* hapning to die, left two Daughters with his Wiſe.

One

*The Houſe  
of the Pro-  
pagation of  
Faith:  
and a re-  
markable  
piece of  
Injuſtice.*

1637. One of these having attain'd to Thirteen years of Age, and the other to Eleven, they were both inveagl'd into this House. Their Mother presented a Petition to the Bailly of the Suburb, who was then Judge of the Suburb-Court, and redemanded her Daughters. The Judge having examined the matter, and finding it to be a manifest Cheat, thought it his duty to do justice, and deliver'd the Children back to their Mother. Now the Pretence which they made use of to gain the good will of the Children was, that their Mother was marri'd again, and would be sure to misuse 'em. Upon which the Governours of the House made a most hideous complaint both against the Father-in-law, and the Bailly; accusing the one to have committed several violences in the House; and the other for coming to the House to take away the Children by main force, accompani'd with several drawn Swords that made a noise and a hubbub before the Door, to the great scandal of the House: And moreover, they positively affirm'd, That the Children had many times declar'd before their Father-in-law himself, that they desir'd to be bred up in the Catholic Religion. Thereupon the Council made a Decree, which plainly shew'd that they were not convinc'd of the truth of the Relation. For it only decreed, that the Bailly should deliver the Verbal Process to *Thiersaut*, Master of the Requests, to the end that upon farther Examination such order might be taken as should be thought expedient. However, the King summon'd before himself and his Council all Causes concerning that House and the *New Converts*, and forbid the Bailly to take cognizance of 'em for the future. As much as to say, that they thought it not just to condemn a Judge who had done no more then his duty; however, they would not leave the Reformed under the Protection of those that made a conscience of doing 'em Justice.

The Conversion of  
Francis  
Cupif.

The Doctors also of the *Sorbonne* would needs be sticking this year to display some marks of their Zeal against the Reformed. For it so fell out, that *Francis Cupif*, a Doctor



1637.

Doctor of that Faculty, and Curate of *Contigni* in the Diocess of *Angers*, embrac'd the Reformed Religion, and set forth a Declaration of the Motives that had oblig'd him to it. Which Declaration he address'd to the Bishop of the Diocess; believing it most proper to give him an account of his Conduct. But the Bishop, either disdain'd a Curate of a Village as beneath him; or else, as many times befalls the Prelates, not having Learning sufficient to answer him, lest the care of being reveng'd upon him, to the *Sorbonne*. Whereupon, that Colledge upon the 14th of *July* drew up a Sharp and Violent Order, by which they degraded *Cupif* from all his Dignities, and bestow'd a thousand Maledictions and Curses upon him. But he avoided his being far more severely hand'd by retiring into *Holland*, where he wax'd old in the Functions of the Ministry; wherein he acquitted himself in a more edifying manner, then the greatest part of those that abandon the Church of *Rome* are wont to do.

The Reformed were very numerous at *Pons* in *Saintonge*. Nor could their Adversaries contrive any other way to vex 'em, then by bestowing upon 'em a Regulation dated at *Bordeaux*, December the 5th, upon the Motion of the Advocate-General; which forbid 'em to work upon Holidays with their Shops open, nor to sell Flesh upon days prohibited by the *Romish* Church; nor to throw their Dirt about the Cross which the *Recollects* had erected, nor at the end of the Streets that adjoin'd to their Church. Here it is to be observ'd, that those Monks had erected a Cross on purpose in that very place which time out of mind had bin the common Dunghil for all the Neighbourhood. But the Convent being annoy'd by it, bethought themselves of this Expedient to remove the Nuisance; and the more easily to obtain their Desires, they demanded the Prohibitions only against the Reformed, to deprive the whole City of a Convenience; and a Fine of 80 *Livres* was laid upon all that refus'd to obey the Decree.

In :

1637. In the midst of these Vexations and Injuries done the Reformed throughout all the Provinces, they assemb'd a  
*A National Synod.* National Synod at *Alanson*. Which Assemblies serv'd to no other purpose, then to give 'em an opportunity to bewail together the bad condition of their Affairs, and to seek what Remedy was most proper to be appli'd to their Calamities. They were extreemly tormented with the presence of the Commissioners. For when they had drawn up a Paper of their Complaints, 'twas thought a great matter well accomplish'd to receive it back from the hands of their Deputies; nor could they many times obtain the favour of an Answer. Nevertheless, the Court was still jealous of these Assemblies; and they were so accusom'd to fear the Reformed in a Body, that they were always alarum'd at that which was no more then the shadow of their Union. And indeed, the Reformed were as yet considerable for their number. Their Churches in the Country were for the most part compos'd of Nobility and Gentry. There were several, wherein there were reck'nd fourscore or a hunder'd Families of Gentlemen; which did so much honour to their Religion, that you might frequently see three-score or fourscore Coaches waiting before the Place of their Exercises. They were not therefore yet so low, but that they were in a condition to put their Adversaries to trouble, had their Intentions bin evil. So that the Court, who knew too well what was in their power to do, were afraid lest the Synods should take up Resolutions which the Gentry were to put in execution. For which reason, they were unwilling that any Synods should be held for the future in any other Place then at *Charenton*, to the end they might have a near eye upon those formidable Assemblies. However, there was no danger on that side. For the Reformed well understood, that they were at the mercy of their Enemies, and that they had nothing left to preserve and support 'em but the good will of the King's

Kings pleasure. The Knowledge of this oblig'd 'em to extend their Obedience as far as it would reach, for fear of being Exterminated upon the Least pretence, as Rebels: and the Synods Labour'd by good Discipline, to remedy the Mischiefs that might arise from the Persecution. 1637.

The Court gave leave for their Synod to be held at *Alençon*, a Small City, where there was little Probability that the Reformed should attempt any great Matters; nor is it so far remote from *Paris*, but that upon Occasion the King might send his Orders thither in four and twenty Hours. Nevertheless there was a high Value put upon this Favour, as if it had been a thing of Great Importance. The Brief by which permission was given, and the Commission was couch'd in the ordinary Terms, and breath'd nothing but good Will and Kindness. The Commissioner was *St. Mark*, a Councillor of State; a Person as much at the Devotion of the Court as *Galand* had been. The Synod also sat down the 27th. of May, and after the Usual preliminary Ceremonies, *St. Mark*, having presented his Commission, made an Ingenious Speech before he propos'd the Articles with which he was entrusted by his Commission. First of all he shew'd, that the Greatest Part preach the Doctrine of Obedience; and to Confirm 'em in their so doing, he declar'd, that the King had promis'd Constantly to observe the Edicts, so long as the Reformed perform'd the Duties of Faithful Subjects. He Extoll'd in a flattering manner the Kings Power, which the Hand of God that assisted him all along render'd formidable both abroad and at home. He spoke of the Misfortunes which the Reformed had suffer'd, while they had Places of Strength in their Hands; and of the repose which they enjoy'd since they depended Solely upon the Kings Favour. He compar'd their Condition grounded upon the Kings word, and upheld against the Passions of People, agitated by too various Commotions, to the Earth that hangs pois'd in the Air by the Word of God. He heighten'd the Confidence which the King had in 'em, as appear'd by that Mark of his Favour which he had bestow'd upon 'em, by graciously permitting 'em to assemble in a Time of War: And from all these Reflexions, he concluded that it behov'd 'em to

The Commissioner's Speech.

1637. regulate all their Affections, their Words and Actions, by Obedience.

And his Instructions.

After this, he came to his Instructions, and declar'd. I. That the King forbid all Holding Intelligence, both Domestick as well as Forreign. The Pretence was, that the King had been inform'd that the Colloquie of *Nimes* and *Rouffelet*, and the Minister, had receiv'd a Letter from the *Canton of Bern*, with whom altho' they were in Alliance with the Crown, and of the same Religion with the Reformed, it was not Lawful to hold Correspondence even in Ecclesiastical Affairs, because it made the State jealous of a Correspondence of another Sort; for which reason the Kings Subjects were not allow'd to Visit Forreign Ministers: Whence it follow'd, that 'twas a Breach of their Duty to receive those Letters, or else that they ought to have acquainted the Governor or the Commissioner with 'em.

II. That the King was no way pleas'd to hear that one Province held Communication with another; as had happen'd between the Synods of lower *Languedoc* and the *Dauphinate*, upon occasion of the two Ministers *Cregut* and *Arnaud*. The Reason of this Prohibition was, because the Reformed being no Body Politick, they could not hold Politick Councils. Moreover that the King would not permit that any Minister should be deputed to be present in one Synod in the Name of another; nor that Provincial Synods should Ordain General Fafts.

III. That it was the Kings Pleasure the Ministers should preach Obedience, and that when any thing should be Ordain'd, which might seem repugnant to Liberty of Conscience, for want of knowing the Motives that induc'd him to it, they should not tax his Conduct with any design against Religion, the Liberty of which he was resolv'd to maintain: Consequently, that He order'd 'em to abstain from the Words, *Scourges of God*, *Martyrs*, *Persecution*, and other the like Terms.

IV. That he forbid 'em to make use of the Words, *Antichrist*, or *Idolaters*, or any other of the same Nature, when they spoke of the Pope or the *Catholicks*; and to forbear all Sharp and inveterate Expressions against the Ministers who had chang'd their Religion, under the Penalty of Interdiction, or a greater Punishment for the same Offence repeated.

V. That he forbid



bid the Selling Religious Books, whether Printed within or without the Kingdom, if they were not first Examined and approv'd by two Ministers, appointed by the Synods, under the Penalty of Confiscation. VI. That whereas at *Andusa*, the Synod had refus'd to ordain the Benediction of a second Marriage of a Person, whose First Marriage had been adjudg'd Null and Vacant by the Sentence of the Magistrate, it was the Kings Pleasure that the National Synod should enjoyn Obedience to the Judges in such Cases, and that what had been done to the Contrary might be amended. VII. That the Ministers should obey those Declarations which concern'd the *Annexes*, upon Penalty of forfeiting the Favours granted by the Edicts. VIII. That they should not make use of the Money taken out of the Poors Box to pay the Ministers, who were refer'd for the payment of their Salaries to the XLIX<sup>th</sup>. Article of *Particulars*. IX. That they should not go a begging from House to House, under pretence of necessary Expences, in regard the King gave leave to the Heads of every Church to assemble, in the Nature of a Consistory, to regulate the Contributions for payment of the Ministers Salaries; for defraying the Expence of Journeys for the Colloquies and Synods, for the payment of Academies and repair of Churches, of which there should be a Roll made up and Authoriz'd by the Magistrate, and declar'd to be of as full force as when the Kings Mony was to be Collected. X. That they should Correct the Sentence of the Provincial Synod of *Nimes*, which had adjudg'd a certain Summ to *Petit*, Professour in Theologie, out of the Academy Money, which had been rais'd upon the three Colloquies, contrary to the Settlement of the Regulations. XI. That there should be an Emendation of what had been adjudg'd by the same Synod, touching the Nullity of Baptism administer'd by Persons never lawfully call'd to the Ministry.

The Commissioner, being unwilling to speak any thing of his own Head upon this last Article, which was a matter of Importance and Nicely to be handled, tho' earnestly recommended to his Management, read the very words of his instruction, which without doubt had been drawn by a Divine of the

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lower Form. The substance of it was, that from the Judgment of the Synod there arose an Opinion of the Anabaptists, who repeated Baptism upon the Question which they start, whether he who perform'd the Ceremony, had been rightly call'd or no. A new Argument of which that Sect was never wont to make use. That there was an Ambiguous Interpretation to be made of the Sentence of the Assembly, which seem'd to intimate that the *Roman* Church approv'd the Baptism of the Anabaptists, tho' she declares their calling to be Illegitimate. That Baptism was of force *Ex opere Operato*, according to the Language of the School-men, to express that Vertue of the Sacrament by which it actually confers Grace upon those who receive the Outward Symbol, without any Inward preparation to participate of it, provided they obstruct not the Operation of it by any Mortal Sin. Now the *Roman* Church not having any need of Legitimate callings, by the Confession of the Reformed themselves, 'twas not for them, to invalidate that Baptism which she Approves, because that in a Case of necessity probably adjudg'd, all Persons have a Calling to administer it.

The Moderators  
Answer.

There might be curious Reflexions made upon this odd Piece of ill contriv'd Theology, were they not too remote from my Subject to make any upon 'em. I shall therefore only say, that all the Commissioners sweet Words, could not soften a sort of Articles so new, and so full of Inconveniencies that they could not be observ'd without reducing the Reformed to a most cruel Confinement. More especially the Third was couch'd in Terms that were very Extraordinary: And it was an exacting from 'em, a strange degree of Blindness, to desire that the Reformed should remain perswaded, that their Enemies had no other then good Intentions toward 'em, tho' at the same time they should see 'em doing things actually prejudicial to the Liberty of their Consciences. For this is that which was meant at least by that same strain of Language; *When for want of knowing the Motives, it might seem to them, as if the Proceedings of the Court were prejudicial to that same precious Liberty.* The Synod answer'd the Commissioners Speech, as people answer when they tremble. They excus'd  
one

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one part of those things which had serv'd as a Pretence and Ground-work for his Instructions; and as to almost all the Rest, they made great Protestations of their Ready Obedience. The Moderatour began with returning Thanks to God, that he had inclin'd the Kings Heart to uphold the Reformed by his Good Will and Favour; to which he added some kind of adulatory Complements to the Commissioner. He excus'd the Letters receiv'd from the *Switzers*, which only concern'd the Calling of *Rouffelet* to the Profession of Theology at *Neuf-châtel*, where he was born; and which had been produc'd at the Synod, in presence of the Commissioners then sitting among 'em. He excus'd the Correspondence that had been held between the Synod of Lower *Languedoc* and the *Dauphinate*, as necessary for the Enquiry that one Province was bound to make after the Pastors of the Other, according to the Method of their Discipline. He assur'd him that Private Synods should not set up any more Regulations, nor appoint any more general Fasts, but that they should submit to the Government; that they should keep close to the Confession of Faith, and the Word of God: That they should abstain from harsh and bitter Expressions against all Persons whatever; to which he added, that it was the Humble Supplication of their whole Body to his Majesty, that on his part he would Vouchsafe to restrain the Affronts and Insolencies of the Catholics. He promis'd that nothing should be written without Approbation, and that they would obey the Decrees of the Magistrate touching the Dissolution of Marriages: From which the Province of *Cevennes*, which was accus'd by the Commissioners, Protested that they never had the least thought to depart.

He enlarg'd somewhat more, and was a little more resolute upon the Article of Annexes; and told the Commissioner, that they never preach'd by force in any Place: That the Edict of 1567. which was alledg'd to Authorize these new Prohibitions, ought not any longer to have the Force of a Law, since it was revoak'd by the Edicts which were afterwards set forth; and more especially by the Edict of *Nants*: that the Ministers never preach'd but in such places where free Exercise

Article of Annexes.

1637. Exercise was allow'd: That several of those places also had been Confirm'd by the Commissioners who had confide'd 'em, as separate Quarters of the same Body: That the Ministers never preach'd out of those Circumscrib'd Limits, in the Church of another Minister, but in case of Absence or Sickness, or when some other Lawful Cause requir'd it. That they had leave by Vertue of the Edict to abide where they pleas'd themselves; and by Consequence in other places besides the District of their Exercise, when they found it for their Convenience. Upon these Grounds, they besought the King to revoke those Prohibitions which derogated from the Edicts. They besought him likewise to hinder the Officers of Justice from meddling with Annulling Contracts made between the Churches and their Ministers, to let the Method stand without any alteration for raising the Salaries of the Ministers, and paying the Schools; and to ratifie what had been done in Favour of *Petir* the Professor, as being Conformable to Custom. In a word, he justifi'd the Opinion of the Synod of *Nimes*, touching Baptism, as being the Doctrine of all the Reformed Churches: He reject'd the *Opus operatum* of the Roman Church, and humbly implor'd the King, since he permitted the Profession of the Reformed Religion, to give leave, that that same Determination of the Synod might be allow'd of.

Payment  
of Mini-  
sters.

Baptism.

After this they deputed two Ministers and one Gentleman to be sent to the King: but when they went about to read the Instructions of the Provinces for drawing up the Papers which the Deputies were to Carry, the Commissioner endeavour'd to have hindr'd 'em, as if it had been matter of Politick concern, with which the Synod had nothing to do to Meddle. Nevertheless he Suffer'd himself to be overrul'd, when they gave him to understand, that there was nothing of Debate or Consultation in the Case, but only a meer collection of such Complaints and Remonstrances into one Paper, which the Deputies of the Provinces brought ready Digested. He would also have oblig'd 'em to set down at the head of the Paper the Title of *Pretended Reformed Religion*: but as for that they excus'd themselves, by returning him for answer, That the King had never exacted from his Subjects



jects that they should brand themselves with any such Appellations, in things wherein they were to speak according to their Consciences. So that at length they deliver'd to their Deputies their Letters, their Instructions, and their Complaints. Their Instructions recommended to 'em three Articles in particular: The Point concerning the Annexes; that of Baptism; upon which they were afraid that the Council would make some untoward Order; and the Point of being exempted from spreading Carpets before their Houses, which had occasion'd great Vexations over all the Kingdom. As for the Paper of Complaints it self, it contain'd Nine Heads: And tho' the King had done nothing in consideration of the Complaints of the preceding Synod, yet they resolv'd to present 'em, rather that they might preserve to themselves the Liberty of making their Complaints, then for any hope they had of an answer.

The First Article complain'd that notwithstanding all the Promises which the King had made by the Edict of the Year 1629. There were no less then Thirty eight Places, where they could not obtain the Reestablishment of Free Exercise, tho' it had been put forth in 1620. All which places were nam'd in the Article. Forty seven Others were also mark'd down in the Second, some in *Saintonge*, some in *Aunis*, others in the Islands of *Oleron* and *Rè*, and several other Places, where they had Suppress'd the Free Exercise of the Reformed Religion by Force, through the Misfortune of the Times. The Third Article demanded the Liberty of preaching in the Annexes. The fourth contain'd three Complaints. That the Church-yards were not restor'd to the Reformed, which had been taken from 'em before the Year 1625. tho' the Restitution were promis'd 'em in the Answer return'd to their Papers: That in other Places they had been depriv'd afresh both of their Church yards and Churches: That in other Places they had been hindred from building Churches: and they nam'd several Places where these Acts of Injustice had been done 'em. There was one Town among the Rest, where they were enforc'd to bury their dead in their own Fields, and where above Three at a time were forbid to attend

1637. attend the Corps. The First spoke of *Alençon*, where the Synod was assembl'd; which had had a Suit before the Council, touching the Right of Free Exercise in that City; and of Burying their Dead in the Suburbs of *St. Blaise*, where there was a Church yard. There had been a Decree of the 13<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, which put a stop to the Cavils of the Catholicks: Nevertheless, in contempt of the Decree, and during the sitting of the Synod it self, they had given a new Assignment upon the same Brangle to the Reformed at the Council. The next concern'd the Affairs of the Country of *Gex*, where *Machaut*, by his Ordinances had overturn'd all ancient Customs of the Province, and the Regulations themselves which had been made by the Commissioners in the Year 1612. with the Consent of the Bishop, and the Catholick Inhabitants. Which Regulations had been confirm'd in Council, by a Decree of the 13<sup>th</sup>. of *December*, the same Year. But for all that, *Machaut* annull'd 'em, without giving notice to the other side. 'Tis true, they did not mention the Prince of *Condé*'s Name in this Complaint, tho' he had at least as deep a share in these Violences as the Intendant; for they were willing to pay that Respect to his Quality. The Seventh and Eighth complain'd of some Decrees of the Parliament of *Rennes*, of *Rouen*, of *Bourdeaux*, and of the Council it self, which condemn'd the Reformed either to spread Carpets before their Houses upon Procession-days, in places where that Ceremony was observ'd; or to contribute toward those things from which they were expressly discharg'd by the second Article of *Particulars*; more especially as to Fraternities, building or repairing of Vicaridge Houses, or the Hiring of Houses wherein Mass was to be said. The Places where these Sentences had been given, were *Vitré* in *Bretagne*; *Claye*, a Village near *Paris*; *Harsfleu*, in *Normandy*; *Bourdeaux*, where the Parliament had made a Decree, tho' the *Partie-Chamber*, which was then at *Agen*, had taken Cognizance of the Matter, and given a quite Contrary Sentence. The Other Places were *St. Ambrois*, in the Diocess of *Uzez*, *Sauve* and *Peiroles*, in Lower *Languedoc*; and *Seques*, in *Provence*; where Judgments had been pronounc'd by Inferiour Judges. In the Ninth, they complain'd

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of the taking away of Children ; for which they instanced the Daughter of one *Riaon*, an Apothecary at *Mamers*, a small Town adjoyning to *Alençon* ; another of *Giles Cou-nan*, not above two Years and a half Old, which the Nuns of *Treguier*, an Episcopal City of Lower *Britanie*, had brought up after the Death of her Father. The Tenth, and the next Following spoke of Colledges, by reason of which the Reformed had been su'd, wherever they went about to erect any : And more especially, for that the Commissioners, who were appointed to make a Partition of the Colledges of Royal Foundation, between the Catholicks and the Reformed in the Province of *Languedoc*, disagreeing upon this, that the Catholick Commissioner had forbid the Reformed to teach Theologie in that part which was adjudg'd to their share, the Council, deciding the Partition, had confirm'd the Sentence of the Commissioner, tho' in a Case of the same nature they had giv'n a Decree in favour of the Academy of *Montauban*. And the Pretence for so doing was, for that formerly the Academy of *Nimes*, was shar'd between that City and *Mompellier* ; in one of which they taught Human Learning and Morality, in the other Divinity. But the Synods understanding the Consequence and Inconvenience of that Division, had reunited to *Nimes* all the Parts of that Colledge. And this was enough for the Council to take from the One the new Priviledge it had obtain'd, without restoring it to the Other. The Twelfth and Fourteenth spoke of the Ministers, from whom in several Places they had taken away the Liberty of Residing therein, and whom they had depriv'd of almost all the Priviledges granted 'em by the Edicts. They were assess'd in the Parish Rolls, even for those Estates which they had let to farm : And some there were, that were constrain'd to pay the Total for the whole Parish. The Thirteenth made mention of several Places, where the Reformed had been constrain'd by Menaces and Violence to quit their Habitations. The Fifteenth renew'd their Importunities, so often repeated, for the Release of those who had been condemn'd to the Gallies during the Wars. The Sixteenth made Remonstrances upon

1637. the Attempts of the Parlements, and which was most Surprising, and a novelty altogether, of the Intendants upon the Jurisdiction of the Party-Chambers. And they instanc'd for Examples of these Attempts, the Parlements of *Aix* and *Rennes*, and the Intendant of *Labress*, who together with the Presidial Judge of the Borough, had given a Sentence quite contrary to the Decree of the Party-Chamber of *Grenoble*. In the Seventeenth Complaint was made, that the Reformed were excluded from all manner of Dignities and Employments, Doctorships, and Degrees in the Faculty of Physick, and Freedoms of Companies: Moreover that they were depriv'd of their Offices which they had in possession, as had befallen the Notaries and Proctors of the *Bailliages*, in pursuance of the Decree of the 28 of *April*, which forbid the Exercise of any Offices before the Kings Patents obtain'd. The Eighteenth Complain'd of the Parliament of *Pau*, which first began to give the Reformed of *Bearn*, to understand that they were no longer to enjoy their Liberty. They forbid 'em to toll their Bells upon certain days, which was onely to give notice of the Hours of their meeting; to appeal from the Judgments of the Provincial Synods any other where then to the Parliament; and to appoint Fasts in the Churches of the Province, before they had obtain'd leave. Lastly, they desir'd the Continuance of the Money paid of his own Bounty; and complain'd that the Assignments formerly given were revok'd.

Deputies  
how treat-  
ed at  
Court,  
and their  
Harangs.

By the Complaints renew'd in this Paper, it is apparent, that little notice had been taken of those that preceded: but for all that the Deputies repair'd to Court, and desir'd Audience. *Ferrand*, the Minister, who was the Chief Person in the Deputation, made a most flattering Harangue to the King. He carry'd as High as Possibly he could the Kings Independency, whom he call'd the *First next to God*, and *the Second after Him*: And assur'd him that whatever he said of Royal Power, was the Doctrine of all the Reformed, which he express'd in such Terms as made a Tacit Opposition to the Opinion of the Catholicks upon that Subject. And thus the Reformed became guilty of that weakness which is Common to all that are in fear. They exalted beyond



beyond Measure, by flattering Aggravations, that Power, which as they began already to be deeply sensible was abus'd to their Mischiefe, not considering that when they prescrib'd no bounds to the Power which oppress'd 'em, they legitimatized, as I may so say, the Conduct of their Oppressors, and depriv'd themselves of their Priviledge of Complaining. But all this stood 'em in no stead: For the King rather chose to remain Liable to the Censures of the Pope, then to be beholding for his Exemption to the Doctrine of the *Hereticks*. The same *Ferrand* also made a Speech to the Cardinal, in most Submissive Language, and in his

speeches both to the King and that Prelate, he made use of the usual wish, very Common in the Mouths of the Reformed, but much more in use when the Catholicks speak or write to the Pope; wherein they wish that God would cut off something from their own Years, to make an Addition to the Life of their *Pontiff*. But notwithstanding all their Cringing Submissions, they carry'd nothing back along with 'em but fair words, and the King wrote as well to the Synod as to the Commissioner certain Letters which contain'd the same in Substance that he had said by word of Mouth to the Deputies. The Chiefest Favour they obtain'd, was Money to defray the Expences of the Synod; but the Answer to their Papers was put off, till the breaking up of the Assembly.

The Commissioner was very Importunate with the Synod to break up; and by his Earnest insisting upon their Separation, it was evident that when the Court beheld the Reformed met together in their Assemblies, she was sensible of those Fears which their ancient Union had infus'd into her. And indeed there were but few Reasons that could oblige the Assembly to sit any long time; for they had finish'd their Business, and had appointed General Deputies: Which Nomination was done with Little Ceremony. The Marquis of *Clermont* was continu'd, and they joyn'd *Marband* with him for his Associate. They had also written to the King upon this Subject, and he had promis'd, according to Custom, to consent to the Nomination, after the Synod

Nomina-  
tion of Ge-  
neral De-  
puties.

1637. was broke up. Nevertheless the Marquis of *Clermont* remain'd alone in the discharge of that Employment; and neither *Gatand*, who had been appointed by the Preceding Synod, nor *Marband* who was nam'd by this, were any way concern'd with him. But the Synod no way satisfi'd that the Court refus'd to answer their Paper, and foreseeing also that so soon as they were once separated, their Complaints would be forgot, were desirous to take some Course that they might not lose the Benefit of all their Cares. To that purpose they thought it proper to joyn Particular with the General Deputies, who might solicit the Answer which was promis'd to their Papers, and chiefly take care of three Articles which they judg'd to be of Greatest Importance. The Commissioner was desirous to thwart this Resolution, and pretended that a Deputaion of that Nature was a Politick Affair, with which an Ecclesiastical Assembly had nothing to do to meddle without Express leave. But the Synod stood their Ground; and having given him to understand, that there was nothing of Debate and consultation, that their business only was to appoint certain Deputies to carry on an Innocent Solicitation, a Liberty which the Laws allow to all men whatever, and that it could not be displeasing to the King, who had frequently suffer'd the same freedom, they then went on with their Design, and Deputed *Angle* and *Gigord*, two Ministers of Great Credit and Authority in their Provinces.

Militiere's  
Projects  
Con-  
demn'd.

*La Militiere*, who had already render'd himself very troublesome by his Projects of Re-union, address'd his writings to this Synod, where they were condemn'd: And as for the Behaviour and Writings of *Daille*, who had refuted this Visionary, they were approv'd: And they wrote moreover to that same Reconciler, that if within six Months he did not manifest his Repentance, by an Authentick Declaration to the Consistory at *Paris*, they would no longer look upon him as a Member of the Reformed Churches. But the Greatest Good this Synod did the Reformed, was their appeasing the Dispute which had made a great noise for some years, upon the Subject of *Universal Grace*. Nothing was not

ever known more Hot and Violent then the Fury that appear'd in the *pro* and *con* of this New Controversie : And it had certainly Compleated the Ruin of the Churches, had not the Synod found out a way to calm the Tempest, by obliging the contending Parties to a Mutual Toleration.

The next Year was not remarkable for any Great Events that concern'd Religion. However, the Reformed were not a little griev'd to see a Declaration set forth by the King, upon the 10th. of February, by which he put his own Person and his Kingdom under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin : The Memory of which, was to be perpetuated by a Picture set up on purpose in the Cathedral Church of *Paris*, commonly call'd *Nostre Dame*. This Declaration contain'd in Substance those Expressions which the Reformed, persisting in their Sentiments touching the Object of Religious Worship, could not choose but look upon as Impious : And that alone was enough to blast all their Hopes of expecting any thing Favourable from a Prince, whose Zeal for his own Religion transported him to that excess of New Devotion. For to put his Kingdom under the Protection of a Creature, tho' never so Holy, never so Divinely Priviledg'd, was evidently to vow the Extermination of those whose Principles enjoin'd 'em to believe, that in seeking such a Protection, the King renounc'd the Protection of God.

1637.  
The King  
puts France  
under the  
Protection  
of the Ho-  
ly Virgin.

The Duke of *Rohan* dy'd this Year of the Wounds which he receiv'd at the Battel of *Rhinfeldt* : Which at first were not lookt upon to be Considerable ; or at least there was no body that ever beleiv'd they had been Mortal. Which was the reason that some People believ'd 'em to have been poyson'd ; and that the Jealousies the Court had of him, had given an occasion to lay hold of this Opportunity, to send him out of the World without any Noise : And the Chyrurgeons that were sent him, under pretence of being serviceable to him, were thought to be the Instruments of this black Piece of Politicks. 'Tis said that the Dukes Journey into *Germany*, to serve the King in the Duke of *Weimar's* Army, whither he went, against

the.

1637. the Good liking of the Court, and where he would not accept of any Command, was the Effect of some secret Projects, the Consequences of which some People were much afraid of. Some believ'd that he held a Strict Correspondence with the Deceas'd King *Gustavus*; that they had joyntly labour'd the Re union of the *Lutherans* and Reformed; that their Intreagues in Order to it had produc'd the Act of the Synod of *Charenton*: That in pursuance of that Act, the Reformed in *Gustavus's* Army had receiv'd the Communion after the *Lutheran* Manner, and the *German Lutherans* who serv'd under the the Duke of *Rohan*, in the Country of the *Grifons*, had receiv'd after the manner of the Reformed: That those two Aspiring *Genius's* built Great designs upon this Re-union; that the Death of *Gustavus*, procur'd by those who were desirous to stop the Torrent of his Victories, disappointed all the Duke's designs. Therefore it was giv'n out that he was about to revive the same Correspondencies with the Duke of *Weimar*, a Prince of vast Courage, great Experience, and accompted one of the Bravest Captains of his Time. Nor had the Duke of *Rohan* any more then one Daughter, who was a transcendent Match; and therefore 'twas verily thought that he had a design, to the end he might procure a stricter Union with the Duke, to give him his Daughter in Marriage. But that Prince was by no means belov'd in *France*, because he had nothing that was Low or Base in him, and for that he knew how to render himself redoubted. Besides he had settl'd himself in *Germany* by his Conquests, and this Year he took *Brisac*, more upon his own account then upon the Kings. A Person of such Importance, Powerful upon the Frontiers, esteem'd among the Protestants, respected by all Men, would have been too Formidable, had he been united with the Duke of *Rohan*, by so strict an Alliance. Nor were the Reformed in *France* become despicable as yet; and therefore they were unwilling they should have a Leader, of that Fame and Authority as the Duke of *Weimar*. The *Hungarians*, on the other side, were grown so strong, that their Enemies were constrain'd



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to grant 'em the Priviledge of being a Fourth Estate in the Kingdom: And it was to be fear'd, lest the Duke of *Rohan*, who made it his Business to advance the Reformed Party in *France*, should have a design to procure 'em at least the same Priviledges; and that under the Pretence of the Marriage of his Daughter, he would engage the Duke of *Weimar* and other *German* Princes in such an Enterprize. These Considerations, made it very much to be suspected, that the *Cardinal*, who knew very well how to start a great many others, was desirous to fend off the Blow, by sending the Duke of *Rohan* into another World; as knowing him capable to go through with whatever he undertook. 'Tis true, that Great Men are seldom thought to dy a Natural Death; and it is a rare thing to see any one depart this Life without searching for the Causes of his Death in the Politicks of his Enemy. However it were, the Duke of *Rohan* dy'd in the sixty eighth year of his Age; and his Death was a great Affliction to all the Reformed, who had a great Confidence in him, tho' such Persons among 'em, who had been gain'd by the Court, would needs perswade 'em that he had sacrific'd the Publick Good of the Churches to his own Interests. But above twenty years after his Death, they who had seen the Warrs which he had manag'd, never mention'd him without tears in their Eyes.

The 28th. of the same Month of *April*, *Miron* and *du Prè* Intendants of *Languedoc*, set forth an Ordinance at *Mompeliter*, which was the Rule and Model of all those which were afterwards issued out against those whom they thought good to call *Relapsers*. They took for their Pretence, what happens but too frequently in Truth, that both Men and Women, who found it for their advantage to marry Catholicks, openly profess'd the Catholick Religion, when the Catholicks would not so much as hear of the Match upon any other Condition; but almost as soon as ever the Marriage was Consummated, the Reformed would return to their first Religion, and then submitted themselves by a Publick Confession to atone for the Crime of Abjuration which they had committed. They made 'em also undergo the same Punishment, tho' they had not abjur'd, but had onely comply'd

A Remarkable Ordinance of the Intendants of *Languedoc*.

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so far as to suffer themselves to be married by a Catholick Priest. The Clergy were doubly affronted by this; in the first Place, beholding the Mysteries of their Religion profan'd by such a Piece of Inconstancy; and next to see the uncertainty and vanity of their Conquests. Thereupon they made their Complaints to the Intendants, aggravating in a most inveterate manner that Profanation of their Catholick Sacraments. That Bitterness, as well as their Ignorance in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, chiefly appear'd by the Comparifon which they made between the Reformed and the Jews, who were accustom'd, said they, in the Primitive Times, to feign themselves Catholicks, and under that Colour, went to *Communion*s, on purpose to break the Images and profane the sacred Host. They pretended that this Prophanation was contrary to all the Edicts, which never pardon'd such sort of Crimes. Upon these Complaints the Intendants order'd the guilty to be prosecuted. But the Custom was too deeply rooted, and the Mischief was grown too common to be cur'd by such a Remedy; nor do I find that the ordinance wrought any Effect.

Presidial  
Court at  
Nerac.

In the Year 1629. the King had erected a Presidial Court at *Nerac*, a City in the Province of *Albret*, where the Reformed were the most Numerous. The end of which establishment was to strengthen the Catholick Party, by conferring upon 'em the greatest part of the Offices and Employments in that new Court. But neither in the City nor in the Province were there Catholicks enow to be found, who were capable to supply those Offices: So that they were forc'd to send for Graduates, to officiate for the present time, in expectation of able Persons that were fitly qualifi'd for their Places. Nor could they meet with a sufficient Number of Catholick Graduates: But at length the Project was brought to perfection this Year, by sending for men of Ability from other Places, and admitting some of the Reformed into Employments which the rest could not supply.

Sick People  
tormented by  
the Monks.

At this time also, the Sick were continually tormented by the Monks, who made an ill use of their infirmities, to extort from 'em some Declaration that might pass for a profession of the Catholick Religion. I meet with one remarkable

able Example during the sickness of *Anne Violette*, a Maid of three or four and twenty Years, who liv'd at *Poitiers*. This poor Maid falling sick, lost her senses, through the Violence of her Distemper: Which is confessed by the Monks themselves, who wrote the Relation of it, in the true style of a Legend. An *Austin* Friar went to Visit this Maid of his own Head, and caus'd her to pronounce certain Words, from whence he concluded her willing to die a Catholick. In the mean time *Cottuby* Minister of the Place came thither, and his Meeting with the Monk having occasion'd a loud Dispute between 'em, drew together a great Concourse of People, always listning after Novelties, and among the rest came the Maior, pretending to prevent Disorders. But instead of having any Regard to the condition of the sick Person, he put all the People out of the Chamber, and being Master of the Room, caus'd a verbal Answer of the Questions propounded to the poor Creature in a Delirium, to be drawn up as before himself, being a Magistrate, to the end report might afterwards be made of it for a certain Truth. However, the Ravings of that unfortunate Creature ceas'd not. She had till then most dreadful Dreams, and she lay Crying without Intermision, that she was damn'd. And upon that it was, that the Fryar had grounded his Conceit, that she would be willing to quit her Religion to rid her self of her Fears. But after they had made her talk as long, and what the Monk pleas'd, her Visions and Outcries still continu'd, and her Fears of Damnation were still the same. Nevertheless the Catholicks would not lose this fair Opportunity to signalize their Zeal, and cri'd up the Deliriums and Ravings of this poor Creature in a high Feaver for a *Miraculous* Conversion. This happen'd toward the end of *July*.

The last of the next Month, the Duke of *Bouillon* publish'd an Edict in Favour of the Reformed within his Principality of *Sedan*; and tho' it contain'd no more then eighteen Articles, it was as much to their Advantage as could be desired. The Three first imported Assurances to uphold 'em in the free Exercise of their Religion and Discipline in all

An Edict  
of the D.  
of *Bouillon*  
in Favour  
of the Re-  
formed of  
*Sedan*.

1638. the Exercises of their Academy, their Colledge and their Schools; in the Possession of their Churches, Church-yards, Goods, Houses, Rents, Revenues, Foundations, Donations and Legacies, which belong'd or might belong at any time either to their Churches or their Poor; in the Administration of those Estates, and in the Enjoyment of such Funds as the Prince was wont to supply 'em withall, for the whole both ordinary and extraordinary Expence, which might depend upon the Exercise of their Religion, or for the subsistence of their Academy and the Poor: The Direction also of those Contributions was left to a Council which should always consist of Reformed Members. The Fourth promis'd to support that Council in all the Power and Authority deriv'd from the Primitive Institution of it. The two next that follow'd, discharg'd the Persons and Estates of the Reformed from whatever might be burdensome to their Consciences; so far as to enfranchise their Houses from all manner of Vassalages and Subjections that should be contrary to their Religion. The Seventh dispens'd with the Laws observ'd by the Roman Church in reference to degrees of Kindred relating to Marriages. The Eighth gave Liberty to all those who had a desire to embrace the Reformed Religion, to do it freely, and receiv'd 'em under the Princes Protection, provided they took the Oath of Fidelity as other Citizens did. The Ninth confirm'd all the Marriages so solemniz'd or to be solemniz'd by Ecclesiastical Persons, that had quitted the Roman Church, without any Necessity of having recourse to any other Declaration then what was contain'd in this Edict. The Tenth asserted the Right of Parents, and allow'd to Fathers all that Authority which Nature had given 'em over their Children, and ordain'd that Pupils, whether Catholicks or Reformed, should have Tutors and Guardians of their own Religion. Disinheriting of Heirs, upon the Accompt of Religion was forbid, and declar'd null and void by the Eleventh Article. The Twelfth permitted the Printing and Selling of Religious Books, provided they had been viewed and examin'd by the Council of Moderators. The Thirteenth maintain'd the Reformed in  
their



their Right to have a Printer. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth gave the Reformed free Admittance into all Employments, even those of the Civil Government and Shrievalty, and promis'd that regard should be had in the supplying of those which were vacant, to the Number, Affection, Quality and Merit of the Reformed: Which was, in truth, to assure 'em the Possession of all Employments. The Three last concern'd the Execution and Stability of the Edict; that the Prince gave his Faith and Word to see it perform'd: No less desiring that his Successors should make the same Promise upon their coming to the Dignity; that if they were Minors, their Mothers or Guardians should promise in their Names, after they had first receiv'd the Oath of Fidelity from their Subjects; and that the Princes themselves should renew that Engagement when they came to be of Age; that all the chief Officers at the time present should swear to see it fulfill'd; and that all that should come to Preferment afterwards should take the same Oath; and that the Edict should be read and publish'd in all Places where it was necessary. Which Publication was first made upon the 10th. of *September* in a General Assembly of the Officers, Burgeses, and all the Inhabitants in presence of the Duke himself: Upon the 18th. in the Sovereign Council; and in the *Chancery* upon the 29th. of the same Month. This Edict was also styl'd in the Preface *Perpetual* and *Irrevocable*; nor was the Religion of the Reformed call'd the *Pretended Reformed*, but barely *contrary to the Catholick*. However, this Edict as express and clearly couch'd as it was, and tho' set forth before *Sedan* belong'd to *France*, has prov'd no more Inviolable then that of *Nantes*.

For upon the fifth of *September* it was, that *France* beheld the Birth of the King now Reigning, who has cancell'd all these Edicts. Both the King and Queen had made great Vows to the Holy Virgin, that they might obtain Children by her Intercession. For which reason it was that they acknowledged the Succour which she had afforded 'em in answering their Supplications, by sending most magnificent Presents to the *Lady of Lorretto*; and among the rest a Statue of the New-born Prince of Massy Gold, carri'd by an Angel in Silver;

The present King born.

1638. the whole of a very considerable Value. Certainly the Reformed had great reason to fear the Effects of such a Gross Piece of Superstition as this, and that a Prince for whose Birth they were beholding, as they said, to the Intercession of Saints, would be bred up under a great Antipathy against those who lookt upon the Doctrine of Intercession as a dangerous Error. Moreover, the Birth of this Prince occasion'd the Creating of several Guilds or Fraternities; and multiply'd the Nobility, by ennobling Letters, which were so couch'd, that there was not any Clause insert'd to hinder the Reformed from the reaping the Benefit of 'em, to the end the Joy might be general. So that in regard they met with a thousand Obstructions in the Common ways to advancement, there were many Persons that took out these, either that they might have the Liberty to follow their Trades, or to ennoble themselves. But the Favours that were done 'em, did not extend very far; nor was the Year 1639. more propitious to 'em then the Rest. The Cardinal had embroy'd himself with the Court of *Rome*, and he had a mind to make himself fear'd in that Court, as he was dreaded over all the rest of *Europe*. There was nothing talk'd of in *France* but of creating a Patriarch, and by that means of breaking off all Correspondence with the Holy See. Searches were made by the Cardinals order, what Quarrels the Popes had with the Kings of *France*, and Memoirs of every one were drawn up. Therefore, to prevent least these Contests should prove a Scandal to the Catholicks, there was no other way then to let 'em see, that there was nothing of good intended by 'em toward the Reformed.

Therefore the Privy Council, by a Decree of the 18<sup>th</sup>. of *January*, renew'd their former Prohibitions to the Inhabitants of *Villiers le Bell*, forbidding their Assemblies to sing Psalms and say their Prayers; to work upon Holy-days, or to bury their Dead, but at such Hours as were permitted.

But the Parliament of *Grenoble* went farther, and rammals'd together in one long Decree of the 21<sup>th</sup>. of *March*, whatever several other particular Regulations contain'd of most incommodious and offensive to the Reformed. It forbid their Ministers to preach in the Houses of the Lords of the Mannor in their

their absence, or of their Wives and Families, or in the absence, of the ordinary Chaplain. It forbid the Ministers to preach out of the Places where they were settl'd; and all others, as well as Ministers, to obstruct the sending of Children, Pupils and Servants to Catholick Regents and Tutors approv'd by the Ordinaries, under the Forfeiture of two thousand Livres, confiscation of Fiefs, or Court Jurisdiction; and the penalty of Imprisonment or other corporal Punishment to be inflicted upon the Ministers. It forbid the admitting of Notaries or Proctors without Letters Patents, and 'till they had made it out by an exact Examination, that they were qualify'd for the Employment mention'd in their Letters; and such as had not undergone this Tryal, were interdicted. It condemn'd the Reformed to spread Carpets before their Doors upon solemn Procession-days, and more particularly upon *Corpus-Christi* day, and the *Assumption* of the Virgin, a day which the King had made choice of to preserve the Memory of his Vow, by vertue of which he had put himself under the Protection of that Holy Saint; the Efficacy of which, such was the Perswasion of the People, had obtain'd the Birth of the *Dauphin*. And if the Reformed fail'd of doing it upon the first warning of the Officers, the Catholicks were authoriz'd to cause the Carpets to be spread, at the Charges of the Reformed, who were liable to Corporal Constraint, if they refus'd Reimbursement. It order'd Information to be given of such Hospitals as had been erected without leave of the King or Parliament, and forbid the Erecting of new ones, or any other Houses of Retirement, without leave first obtain'd. 'Twas mention'd also in the Decree, that the Chambers had bin consulted, but the Suffrages of the Reformed Counsellors were not numerous enough to carry it against the Catholicks.

The University of *Poitiers* had certain Ancient Statutes which oblig'd their Members to certain Devotions; which Statutes had bin neglected, while the Edict was observ'd with any thing of Sincerity, because they could not bring the Reformed to submit to 'em. But when their Destruction was openly labour'd, they bethought themselves of Reviving their Statutes, that they might have an Opportunity

Statutes of  
the Uni-  
versity of  
*Poitiers*.

1639. nity to put the Reformed by, when they demanded their Degrees. The Pretence was, that these degrees were conferr'd in the Cathedral Church, where it was presuppos'd that the Reformed could not take 'em: And moreover that they could not be present at the Processions which the University, according to the Statutes were bound to solemnize every Month, carrying in Pomp to the Church of the *Jacobins* that which the Catholicks call the Holy Sacrament. These Statutes had bin reviv'd in the years 1619. and 1620. But that they might have a more specious Pretence to refuse the Reformed their Degrees, the Bishop this year set forth a Chapter Ordinance, dated *April 28.* wherein he declar'd, that he would no longer suffer the Reformed to take Degrees in his Church. So that the Ordinance of one single Bishop render'd fruitless the Edict of a Great King.

An Order  
of Judge  
Mage of  
*Montauban.*

The first of the same Month came forth a Decree of Council which summon'd *Constans*, a Councillor in the Presidial Court of *Montauban*, and *Rienperieux*, the Kings Advocate, to be heard upon an Affair which had made a great Noise; and until they had had their Hearing, they were suspended from their Employments. The Business was, that Mage the Judge, and the Judge Criminal of *Montauban*, had upon the 16th. of *January* set forth an Order which Oblig'd all the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction, both within and without, as well Catholicks as Reformed, to observe Holy-days, and forbid 'em to expose to sale either Flesh or Fowl, or Wild-fowl, upon such days as were not allow'd of by the *Roman* Church. In this Order, to make it more authentick, they cited a Decree of the Chamber of *Castres*, set forth in *March* 1634. And an Order of the Intendant of *Guyenne* of the 16th. of the same Month 1638. Now when these two Judges, who pretended that the sole Cognizance of the Civil Government of the City belong'd to them, caus'd the Order to be read in Court, *Rienperieux* oppos'd it; and requir'd the Judge Criminal and four Counsellors that were present to do him Right upon his Opposal. But Mage, the Judge, persisting, and ordaining the Order to be Register'd, *Constans*, who was eldest Councillor, gave an Injunction to the contrary, and forbid the



the Prothonotary to Register it. The Heat of this Contest brake up the Court, and the Judge having fortifi'd himself at the Council, fail'd not according to the Maxim observ'd there, always to lay all the blame upon the Reformed, to the end he might obtain a Confirmation of his Order, and a personal Summons for *Constans* and *Rieuperieux*, 'Tis remarkable that this was a Dispute about Competitorship, or rather sufficiency of Power; a Tryal of Skill to know whether the first Judge could alone of himself make Orders relating to the Civil Government, without advice of the Counsellors, and without imparting it to the Kings Advocates. But because there was something more in the Matter which concern'd the *Franchises* of a Protestant City, the Judges Order was confirm'd before any Cognizance had bin taken of the Reasons for *Rieuperieux's* Opposition.

The Church of *Rochechouard* had bin tormented near ten years by the Lord of the *Feif*, who omitted no Invention to ruin it. The People had always met in the Common Hall of the City, which was a very small Town: But in 1630. the Lord instigated by the Bishop of *Limoges*, took from 'em the use of the House by Vertue of his own Authority, without any prosecution at Law. Nevertheless the Church suffer'd this Attempt without making any Resistance, and provided themselves of another House wherein to continue their Exercises. However, four years after the Lord would needs lay hold of the Opportunity, and destroy the Church by means of the Grand Sessions that us'd to be kept in that Hall; but failing in his design that way, the Business was remov'd to the Chamber of the Edict at *Paris*; where he had not that Success neither which he desir'd. This oblig'd him, because he would not seem to be baffl'd, to remove the Cause before the Council, where all the Mischief he could do, was, that he obtain'd an Order of the 10th. of May this year, for the Reformed to produce their Original Titles, of which they had nothing but compar'd Copies in the suit commenc'd. And the same Order forbid the inserting of any Alterations or Innovations on either side. The Church having done their Duty, the Lord let the thing hang for several years, perceiving he could ground no Right upon

1639.



Particular  
Injustices  
at Roche-  
chouard.

1639.

upon the support of undenyable Proofs : So that at last, he let the Business quite fall ; and the Reformed, who enjoy'd their Liberty, fearing themselves to molest the Quiet of their own Priviledges, by demanding Judgment, never minded the suing for any Decree in their Favour. And the Affair still remains undecided, according to the Custom of the Council, who never did any thing for the Advantage of the Reformed, but when they were so earnestly press'd to it, that they could not avoid it : Which cost that Church very dear, as I shall relate in another Place.

At Vitre  
and Dijon.

Upon the 16<sup>th</sup> of June the Parliament of *Rennes* condemn'd the Reformed in *Vitre*, to spread Carpets before their Doors upon Procession days ; tho' about ten years before they had set forth an Edict quite opposite to it : And upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of December, the Parliament of *Dijon* made another, which was no less singular. For two of the Reformed had had a suit together : The one demanded that his Cause might be sent back, the Other requir'd that the Cause might be continu'd. Accordingly the Parliament judg'd the continuance of it ; and the Pretence was, that it was a case wherein the Cause of the Defendant was to be favour'd. They might have said with much more Justice, that in regard the Dispute was about a Franchise, he who was willing to wave it, could not so well do it, to the Prejudice of him that endeavour'd to make use of it.

Practice of  
Notaries  
forbid.

Taulignan.

The sixteenth of December, the privy Council condemn'd the Reformed, who practis'd as Proctors in some Jurisdiction or other of *Poitou*, to produce their Letters Patents, and to justify that they were qualified for the Employment ; that is to say, that they were *Roman Catholics* : In the mean time they were forbid to practise in them. This was the Language of all the Courts in the Kingdom, who knew the King had by that means a design to exclude the Reformed from all petty Employments. The same day came forth another decree which forbid the Exercise of the Reformed Religion at *Taulignan* in the Province of the *Dauphinat* ; and which would not permit 'em to bury but in the dusk of the Evening, as at *Paris*, and other great Cities, under

under the Forfeiture of three thousand Livres. I meet 1639. with also another Decree the same day, which forbid the Reformed of *Blois* to lock up their Church-yard. For the Archdeacon, who is the chief Clergy-man of that City, had presented a Petition to that Effect, wherein he set forth, that the locking up of the Church-yard would create a Jealousie in the Catholicks: For that the Church-yard being advantagiously seated to command the City, which was built upon the Descent of a Hill, they might meet together and fortify themselves in it, to the great danger of the City. Which was a Precaution that signifi'd very little, at a time when *France* was already subdu'd, and patiently bore the Yoak. So that there were none but the *Croakers*, who made a little Bustle in some of the Provinces: For so were the Peasants call'd, who not being able to bear the Taxes and Imposts with which they were overwhelm'd, nor the Vexations of the Gentry, had taken Arms to defend themselves. Nevertheless the Council granted those Prohibitions to the Archdeacon, not because the Reason of the thing deserv'd it, but because it would be an Inconvenience to the Reformed, who Burying their dead in an open Place, would be expos'd to the Affronts of the Rabble.

The next year they continu'd their Vexations of the Reformed, by a thousand Squabbles and Cavils. The Bishop of *Oleron*, in *Bearn*, and the grey Fryar *Placede* his Proctor, attempted to put down the Exercise at *Oleron*, *St. Marie*, *Luc* and *Saucede*. And the Parliament of *Pau*, whither the Cause was remov'd, retain'd it; and in the mean time forbid the Continuance of Preaching in Places where there were not above ten Families of the Reformed in all: Grounding their Proceedings upon the Answer return'd to the Paper presented by the Ecclesiasticks in 1617. upon which a Decree was made the 23<sup>th</sup>. of *January*. The Parliament of *Paris* also, by a Decree of the 7<sup>th</sup>. of *September* forbid *La Gatelinier* to suffer any Preaching in his House at *Puizeniet*, nor in any place belonging to the Bailliage of *Tours*. The same day likewise the Parliament of *Bordeaux* sent the same Prohibitions to those of *Beaulieu* in *Limosin*, at the same time forbidding

1640. 'em to hold a Synod in the City, or to make use of the Common Bell for tolling to Sermon, under the Forfeiture of 10000 Livres. 'Tis true indeed that this was not ordain'd but for such a Time, and till it should be order'd otherwise.

Schools.

The Schools were the Subject of many Cavils, as well as their Exercises. For the Syndic of the Clergy of *Roven* took his Opportunity when the Council stay'd at *Roven*, in regard the Chancellor had Orders to repair into *Normandy*, and Command the Forces that were sent against the *Piednuds*, or the *People that went Barefoot*; for so were they call'd in that Province, who were nam'd *Crokers* in other Places. This same Syndic set forth in his Petition, that the Catholicks themselves had not the Liberty to keep Schools, without leave of the Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church; whence it follow'd that the Reformed were not to have that Priviledge without Permission. For this reason, the Council, upon the 6th. of *February*, set forth a Decree prohibiting Schools to be kept at *Roven*, or in any other Places where there was not a Right of Exercise. Upon the 10th. of *December* the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, at the Instance of *du Sault*, a Zealous Persecutor, who pleaded in the room of the Advocate General, by a Decree forbid *Ordi* and *Grenier*, Regents of the Reformed Schools at *St. Fri*, to keep 'em open, for that they had intruded into 'em of their own Heads, without leave of the Court. The Fifteenth of the same Month wrote expressly to the Bishop of *Poitiers*, to let him understand that 'twas his Pleasure for Decorums sake, that the Schools where Boys and Girls were taught, should be distinct. Two Months after appear'd a Judicial Sentence, upon a Motion of the Kings Advocate, that all Schoolmasters, as well Catholicks as Reformed, should be bound to take their Licenses from the Bishop; and by Consequence, to observe the same distinction between the Schools of both Sexes. Since that, the Law is very much alter'd; for that by forbidding the Reformed to have any more than one School in a Place, they have provided against their Observance of that Distinction: As if the Profession of Herefie were a reason sufficient to deprive Here-  
ticks



*ticks* of their Right to observe the Decorums of Morality.


1640.

The Advocate General in the Parliament of *Pau*, berhought himself of a rare Artifice, to oblige the Reformed under that Jurisdiction to give their Religion the Title of *Pretended Reformed*. They were wont to qualifie themselves with the Addition of the *Religion of the Edict*; or barely *Of the Religion*: And this they observ'd in all their Publick Acts; even in the Pleadings of Advocates. But the Advocate General undertook to prohibit 'em that Custom, and to render this Severity more Tolerable, he was desirous to usher it in by some Act of Justice. He shew'd how that the Catholicks commonly call'd 'em *Huguenots* and *Hereticks*; which might cause great Disorder; besides that the Reformed were not to be Suffer'd to use such Expressions as frequently came out of their Mouths. In Conformity therefore to this Request, the Parliament set forth a Decree, forbidding the Catholicks to call the Reformed *Huguenots* or *Hereticks*; and prohibiting the Reformed to give their Religion any other Name then that of the *Pretended Reformed*. But the Catholicks never obey'd those Prohibitions, either in *Bearn* or elsewhere; and the Reformed avoided, as much as in 'em lay, the Assuming a Title which they could not own with a safe Conscience.

Singular  
Artifice to  
oblige the  
Reformed  
to call  
themselves  
*pretended*  
*Reformed*.

*Vanier* and *Mangets*, Inhabitants of *Nanterre*, having let slip something in common Conversation, touching the Person of the Holy Virgin, and the Honour due to her, which seem'd very remote from the Sentiments of the *Roman Church*, whose Disciples never mention that blessed Creature, but with that Respect which they pay to God himself, the Discourse of those two Men was lookt upon as Blasphemy, and the Judge of the Places order'd 'em to be prosecuted as Blasphemers. To this they added another Crime as little understood as the former, and accus'd 'em of endeavouring to seduce some *young People* of the Town from the Catholick Religion. And they inserted that Term *young People*, to hedge in the Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, which equally forbid as well the Catholicks as the Reformed, to practise the Trade of Seducers. But in reality, these young Men were Persons ripe in Years, and of an Age which absolutely discharg'd the Ar-

Blasphemies  
pretended.

1640.  ticle of the Edict from taking Cognizance of 'em. The Crime of being Seducers was common to Both, but *Vanier*, was chiefly charg'd with the Blasphemy. For which being convicted, he was Condemn'd to undergo the *Amende Honorable*, and to the Gallies for five Years: The other was onely Sentenc'd to the First Punishment, and banish'd the Town and Parish. But the whole cause being remov'd to the Chamber of the Edict at *Paris*: The Punishment was mitigated; so that *Vanier* was condemn'd to Confess in the Court of *Nanterre*, with his head bare and upon his Knees, that *he had rashly and Impiously* utter'd the Blasphemies that were laid to his Charge, and which he had own'd in his Interrogatory. He was also banish'd out of the Provostship of *Paris*, and fin'd eight Livers. There are two Things in this affair which plainly make it out, that these pretended Blasphemies consisted only in the Liberty which *Vanier* had taken to express in Terms not rightly chosen, the Doctrine of the Reformed touching Religious Adoration. That is, that he freely confess'd before the Judge what he had said, which was more then a Person accus'd of down right Blasphemy, would have doubtless done with so much Confidence. The other is, that the Sentence pronounc'd by the Judge of *Nanterre*, was mitigated by the Chamber of the Edict; which would not have so fallen out, had there been any thing of Solid in the Accusation of Blasphemy. There have and will be seen Examples, by which it is to be observ'd, that the Advocate General became the Appellant for a slighter Punishment, when there was but any pretence for it in the Accusation of the Blasphemer, and that the Chief Judge had not pronounc'd the Utmost Severities of the Law. This Decree was issu'd forth the 15th. of September.

A Pretended Sacrilege.

Such another Accident happen'd at *Poitiers*, upon a pretended Sacrilege. For a certain Cross erected in the Highway, near that City, was found pull'd down and levell'd with the Ground, upon St. *Michael's* day. Upon which there was both Inquisition made and Information given before the Judge of *Poitiers*, and the Testimonies charg'd the Crime

Crime upon a Person of the Religion: And had he been Convicted of the Fact, he had deserv'd no less then Breaking upon the Wheel. For People have been burnt alive for Committing certain Insolencies against the Cross, which after their Death, was found where it stood, to be as sound and as free from any Dammage, as when it was first erected. But this suppos'd Criminal was acquitted at so Cheap a rate, that it serv'd for a strong Presumption of his Innocency. For he was condemn'd only to the Charges of the Tryal, to a slight Fine, and to set up the Cross again. And he rather chose to fulfil the Sentence, then to prosecute the Reversal of it, fearing to enlarge and Swell his Accusation by an Appeal.

Upon the 12th. of September a Decree was publish'd at *Castres*; the Consequences of which were Tedious and Vexatious. The Advocate General set forth four Things. I. That the Reformed never put off their Hatts to the Sacrament, when they mett it in the Streets, nor ever fell upon their Knees. II. That they would not let their Domestick Servants go to Mass. III. That they would not suffer 'em to be Comforted in their Sicknes. IV. That they constrain'd 'em to work upon Holy-days: And of all these Abuses he mov'd for a Regulation. As for the three last Articles, a Regulation was granted him with a *Nemine Contradicente*: And the Reformed were forbid to give their Servants any Trouble in those Particulars. But they were divided upon the first: The Catholicks, most Zealous Members of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, were of Opinion that the Catholicks should be order'd to kneel, when they had not time to get out of the Way. On the other side, it was the Judgment of the Reformed, that those of their Religion were not bound to Kneel; that it was sufficient to Ordain that they should retire into their Houses, or any where else upon the sound of the Bell; that the Reformed in General had never Violated the Edicts; and that particular Persons when they had Committed any Fault, had been always punish'd by the Chamber, without Dissimulation or Connivance. Upon this Division of Opinions being carry'd

Partition  
of Voices  
at *Castres*,  
and the  
Conse-  
quences of  
it.

1640. to the Council, there came forth a Decree of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of *October*, which confirm'd the Opinion of the Catholicks; order'd the Reformed that could not get out of the way, to put themselves into a Condition of *Respect as Others did*: And upon their Refusal, condemn'd em, for the first Fault to a Fine of 500 Livres, for the Second 1500, and for the Third 2000, and Banishment out of the Province. There could be nothing order'd more Expressly against the Articles of the Edict, which exempted the Reformed from every thing that was contrary to their Consciences.

Several Contagious Diseases had been very rise in *France* this Year, and had made a great Havock of the People, principally in the Southern Provinces. And this Contagion having spread it self in several Places where the Reformed had a Right to Assemble, and perform the Exercises of their Religion, chiefly at *Nimes* and the Parts adjoyning, they took the Liberty to meet in the Streets, in the Publick Places, and in the Fields; whether it were, because they would not deprive those Persons of the Comfort of Pious Exercises, for whom it was not safe to have a free Conversation with Others, that they caus'd 'em to sit under the Wind; or because they were willing to prevent the Sound from being Infected, by suffering 'em to sit among persons suspected of Infection in close Places: But most certain it was, that they never pretended thereby to make any Encroachments; and one would have thought, that at a time when such a Terrible Judgment requir'd the Incessant Applications of Prayer and Devotion, the People might have been dispens'd with the delays of a Regular Address to obtain the Princes leave. Nevertheless, this Attempt was lookt upon as Criminal, tho' it had been authoriz'd by a Decree of the Party Chamber. Thereupon there was a Decree made by the Privy Council, which forbid any such sort of Exercise; which reserv'd to the King the Power of appointing some Place, for the Reformed where to meet in Case of Contagion, and which order'd *Machaut*, Intendant of the Province, to prosecute *Du Coss*, and others accus'd of this New Crime: And the Intendant was authoriz'd



riz'd to give a final Sentence, from which there should be no Appeal. Now they who are acquainted with the delays of the Council, and the Commissioners, to whom such things are referr'd, can never question but that the design was to reduce the Reformed, either to forbear their Exercises while those Contagions continu'd; or else to infect one another if they would not deprive those that were upon Recovery and such as were suspected of Infection, of the Consolation of their publick Devotions, who both of 'em stood in the greatest need of it. This Decree came forth the 30th. of *October*, but had not authority enough to serve for a Regulation.

But there was a particular affair, and which made a great noise adjudg'd by the Parliament of *Paris*, the 22th. of *August*. There was a certain Priest in the Diocess of *Nevers*, whose name was *Sebastian Tridon*, who not conforming to the *Roman* Religion, and abhorring the Tyranny of Celibacy, embrac'd the Reformed Religion, and afterwards marri'd. The Bishop of *Nevers*, to prevent the Noise of this Conversion from spreading any further, and to brand the Priest with Infamy, set a-foot an Accusation of Lewdness against him, and omitted nothing of Falshood or False dates, to colour the Calumny. For which reason the Priest appeal'd from the Sentence of the Bishop, as a Secular Person from an Ecclesiastical Court, and undertook to prove the Falshood as well of the Decree, as of the verbal Report of a pretended Lying-in of the Maid, whom he was accus'd to have debauch'd. On the other side, three Brothers which he had, oppos'd his Marriage, and obtain'd of the Judge of *St. Peter le Montier*, Prohibitions to *Montunglard* the Minister, and all others, to proceed any farther towards the Celebration of the Marriage, as also to *Tridon* and *Mary Bruander*, who was betroth'd to him, to think any more of it. 'Tis true, it deeply concern'd the Brothers, as well for that by the Marriage they lost the hopes of succeeding as Heirs to their Brother; as for that *Tridon* quitted several rich Benefices, by forsaking the *Roman* Religion. For it appear'd by the Process, that he was in possession of an Abby, a Canonship, and a considerable Vicaridge.

Well.

1640.

Marriage  
of conver-  
ted  
Priests.

1640. Well — There was an appeal from that Sentence, as also from the Proceedings of the Official ; and the Cause being remov'd into the Chamber, *Tridons* Advocate insisted upon the Liberty granted by the Edict, and upon the long Toler-  
 ation of several Marriages in the same Case. The Bishops Advocate, who was also for the Rest of *Tridons* adversaries, insisted chiefly upon the Vow of Priesthood, which he pretended was inviolable ; and which is worthy observation, he said nothing of the Challenge, but by the by ; only he told the Court that the Methods he had taken were *impertinent and false*. And at the Conclusion of his Plea, he put home to the Reformed a Point of Honour, who if they lov'd the Purity of their Religion, would never admit any to the Profession of it, but such who embrac'd it upon the Principles of Vertue, not such as became their Proselytes for love of Libertinism, and publicly abandon'd their Continency. As if, not to say any thing of the lawfulness of Marriage at present, it could be deny'd, that a man who only sought to marry for no other reason, then to find a Remedy against Incontinency in the state of Wedlock, were not visibly over-  
 rul'd by the Maxims of Vertue. And the Advocate General, *Talon*, likewise, tho' he had laid a great stress upon the Opinion of the *Roman* Church, which believes that the sacerdotal Character, such as that she deems to be imprinted by Baptism, can never be lost, nor repeated, could not forbear to second the Advocates conceit ; but the Advocate pretending that Celibacy was an Apostilick Tradition, deriding as Fabulous the Story of *Paphnutius*, who in a full Council had given the Name of Chastity to Conjugal Society, according to the Relation of *Socrates* ; *Talon* acknowledg'd the contrary, that Marriage and Orders were not incompatible by their Institution ; and that Celibacy was only introduc'd for the sake of greater Purity ; but in the main he asserted, that the Particular Articles were never enregister'd ; tho' eighteen years before, his Father *James Talon* had maintain'd the contrary, and caus'd the Register to be brought into Court : That they contain'd Priviledges and Resignations, *irregular* from the common Law ; which were not capable of any extended Interpretation

terpretation, but were to be expounded according to the Letter: That it was with the Liberty of Sentiments granted by the Edict, as with the Liberty of Exterior Actions, which are reduc'd into Laws of the Kingdom: That Priests might Embrace the Reformed Religion, but not Violate the General Laws of Celibacy, which were the Laws of the State: That there were a thousand Inconveniences to be fear'd if they should be permitted to Marry, more especially, if the same Priest, after he was Marry'd, should happen to return to the *Roman Church*. He cited the Decrees made upon the Marriage of the Cardinal *Chatillon*, and the *Chevalier de la Ferte Imbaut*; and to elude the Force of the long Toleration of Mariages of the same Nature, he would needs have it believ'd, that it proceeded from two Causes: First, for that the Kindred of Marry'd Priests stifl'd the memory of their Crimes, for the Honour of their Families, as not being any way bound to reveal 'em. The Second was, that the Ecclesiasticks were never eager in the Prosecution of such People, which was the cause of their Impurity. These were the Advocate General's Reasons, which it would have been an easie thing to have refuted, had the other side been permitted to Answer. For the two Causes from whence he deduc'd the Toleration of Mariages, of the same Nature with *Tridons*, were notoriously False. The Kindred having had always prevailing Reasons to prevent 'em; and the Ecclesiasticks never omitting any Opportunity of persecuting those Priests who forsook the *Roman Church*. Besides, that outward Sentiments or Actions were so far from being restrain'd within the Bounds of the Laws of the Kingdom, by the Edicts, that quite the contrary, those Edicts were only promulgated, to exempt the Reformed not only in respect of Sentiments, but in regard of outward Actions from the Rigor of the Common Laws as to what concern'd Conscience. Nevertheless, in regard the Time for Interpreting any thing in Favour of the Reformed, was not yet come, *Parquets* Conclusions were followed in part, and the Sentence of the Judge was Confirm'd; but they order'd no General Regulation upon the Matter. However

1640. 'tis true, that a President in adjudg'd Cases, never fails to have the Force of a Regulation, especially when there is an Antipathy against the Parties against whom the Judgment is given.

Preceden- By a Decree of the 30th. of *November*, the Catholick  
cy ad- Officers in the Court of Accompts, Aids and Finances of *Mom-*  
judg'd to pellier, were adjudg'd to precede the Reformed, in all the  
the Catho- same Cases, and with the same Expressions, as Preceden-  
licks. cie had been adjudg'd to the Counsellors of the Chambers  
of *Languedoc* and *Guyenne*, by the Decrees which I have set  
down in another Place. So that in all the Sovereign Ju-  
risdictions, the Reformed were despoyl'd of all the Privi-  
ledges which in pursuance of the Edict, they were equally  
to enjoy with the Catholicks.

1641. But the next Year produc'd 'em those Vexations, of which  
the Consequences were no less afflictive; and the Cham-  
ber of *Castres* was the Principal Object of their Cavils.  
A new de- For the Decree of the 23d. of *October*, touching the Vene-  
cree about ration which was to be pay'd by the Reformed to the Sa-  
meeting crament, and which oblig'd 'em to kneel when they met  
the Sacra- it in the Streets, having been presented to the Chamber  
ment. to be register'd, *Tzarn* the Prothonotary, being backt by  
the Reformed Counsellors, refus'd to enroll it; *Boyer* and  
*Baule's*, Consuls of the same Religion, refus'd the Publica-  
tion of it. The reason of their refusal was evident enough;  
because the Reformed could not give that Exterieur Mark  
of Veneration to the Sacrament, which they did not think  
proper to be ador'd without doing an Injury to their Con-  
sciences. Whereupon the News of this refusal being carry'd  
to Court, it was there deem'd convenient to issue forth  
a new Decree of the second of *January*, to interpret the  
former. There it was Acknowledg'd that the Equivo-  
cal sence of some Expressions was the reason of their re-  
quiring the Reformed to kneel; and therefore to exempt  
'em from this Injurious Compliance, it was ordain'd that  
both Men and Women should get out of the way upon the  
Tingling of the Bell; and if they could not, that they should  
put themselves in a Posture of respect, the Men by put-  
ting



ting off their Hats only. But to the end that this Interpretation should not be thought an act of Kindness, there was another Decree made the same day, that the Prothonotary and the Consuls should be proceeded against, for refusing to Register and publish the first Decree, and enjoining the Chamber to allow 'em Commissioners.

In Pursuance of this Decree there was an Information drawn up against the Parties accus'd : And when the Chamber met to consult upon it, the Three Parties presented two Petitions ; the one in reference to what *Tzarn* had done, and the other relating to the Misdemeanor of the Consuls : And they desir'd they might be read, before they enter'd into Consultation. The Catholicks were for throwing 'em aside without reading 'em, and arguing upon the Matter of Fact, were for committing 'em to Prison ; and ordering 'em to appear at the Chamber, and to be heard at the Bar as Criminals ; that they should be Iron'd ; only that in favour to 'em their Irons should be put on at the Chamber door, and knockt off again when they went out : And that this severity should be part of their Punishment. On the other side, the Reformed were for reading their Petitions which had not bin imparted to the Reporter, because the Dispute was about the Refusal of Commissioners, and Cancelling the Informations : That it was but just to consider whether the Commissioners ought to be Judges : That only contumacious Persons were depriv'd of the Right of Refusal, and had their Mouths stopp'd till they submitted to Justice : That the Petition was according to law ; nor did they insist upon it out of a Spirit of Contradiction, but as forejudg'd by the Commissioners themselves, who had not desir'd the Imprisonment of the Parties ; as little design'd by the Decree it self, which was coucht in the mildest Terms that could be conceiv'd in such a Case. Upon this, the Catholicks not willing to submit, the Court continu'd still divided ; and notice was sent of it to the Council, for them to decide the Matter. The Reformed deputed thither the President *Vignoles* ; but he was not well receiv'd ; and the King wrote to the Reformed Counsellors, to let them understand, that their Deputation

Vexation  
of some  
Officers at  
Castris.

1641. was no way pleasing to him : And to exhort 'em to appear more moderate for the future, when the Dispute was about putting in Execution the Decrees of his Council and his Commands.

But for fear the Catholicks had not gain'd a Victory compleat enough, the 15<sup>th</sup> of April came forth another decree, which determining the Division of the Court, ordain'd that without taking notice of the Opinions of the Reformed, they should proceed to pass sentence upon the Parties accus'd ; and forbid any Division of the Court upon that Instruction, upon Pain of being accounted Encouragers and Abettors of Disobedience. There could be nothing more unjust then this Prohibition, nor of which the Consequence could be more dangerous. For 'tis well known, that in Criminal Affairs, he that is master of the Instruction, is also Master of the Sentence which the Instruction prepares. So that the Reformed not daring to divide upon the Instruction, the Catholicks had the Liberty to expound it how they pleas'd ; and their Associates being no more then Spectators of the Proceeding, had indeed no voice to give, but only in the concern of a definitive Sentence. This and Time together produc'd odd Consequences ; and gave the Parliament of *Thoulouse* a great Occasion to Triumph in this particular, who thereby saw the Downfall of all the Power which the Reformed had in the Party Chamber. There was a Necessity therefore for the Consuls to buckle under the Authority of *Caminade*, the Catholick President, who had commanded 'em to proclaim the Decree, when all the Authority of the President *Vignoles*, who forbid 'em, was not sufficient to excuse 'em. In short, they were confin'd, amerç'd a hundred and fifty Livres, order'd to beg pardon for their Disobedience to *Caminade*, as having done it rashly and erroneously, to pay the Costs and Charges of the Tryal, which the Court was to tax, to give a Declaration in writing to be register'd, and to be suspended from the Consulship for six Months, and they were forbid during that time to be present at the Town-House, or at any publick Assemblies.

This Affair which concern'd the Chamber, was attended by

by another no less vexatious to the Consistory; among whom it was a Custom to create Tithing-men, whose business it was to make up the Rolls of all the Inhabitants of the City. These Rolls serv'd for several ends; either to know whether the Number of the Reformed or Catholicks increas'd or diminish'd; or to see by the Roll who were most proper to serve as Elders and Deacons, which were frequently chang'd in the Provinces; or to judge upon whom it was most proper to assess the Taxes, which were then rais'd by Authority of the Consuls, together with the Royal Money for the Payment of the Ministers, and for other Expences of the Churches. But the Catholicks believ'd, or at least fain'd to believe, that there were greater Mysteries conceal'd under this Custom. This Year therefore the Consistory having given out certain Orders to the Tything-Men, they made up three Rolls, of which two contain'd the Names of the Reformed and Catholicks both together; the Third, the Names of the Reformed only. Upon this, there was some disturbance made by the Catholicks, who refus'd to tell the Tithing-men their Names, and complain'd of some hard usage upon their refusal. This petty Business, having thus made way for complaints, occasion'd a great Hurly-Burly afterwards. There were great Inquisitions upon it, several persons were heard; the Tithing-men, the Informers, the Ministers, the Elders; and Monitories were also publish'd in the Cathedral Church. But all that they could gather from this exact Enquiry was, that an Order had been given by the Informer to the Tithing-men to make up a Roll within their several Precincts, of such Persons as were capable of supplying the Place of Elders, because the Time appointed for a new Election drew near; that it was not usual to give such Commissions to the Tithing-men; that they were also intrusted with Distributing the leaden Tokens to such as were to be at the Communion; that whether they had misunderstood, or whether they had receiv'd any other Orders then what appear'd, they had made use of the Name of the Consuls to oblige such as refus'd to tell their Names; that one of 'em being ask'd by some one of his Tything; whether

1641.

Molesta-  
tion of the  
Consistory  
of Caëres.

1641. whether the Roll were made up in order to any Guard which they were about to appoint, an answer was made, that Perhaps it might be so: That *Sillas*, a *Gascoin* Gentleman, who came to *Castres*, where he stay'd five or six days, under pretence of some Orders from the King and the Prince of *Condè*, had lodg'd at the Beadle's House; that during his stay he had obtain'd a *Capias* against a Servant of his, who as he said, had robb'd him in his Lodging. It might appear by that, that these Rolls conceal'd no dangerous Mysteries, in regard that all the Confessions were Unanimous and Ingenious. Nevertheless there came out a Decree of the last of *August*, which Condemn'd the Beadle and the Tithing-men to several Penalties; forbid the Consistory to make use of Tything men in the Execution of their Discipline, only with allowance to employ such other Persons as they should think fitting; and not to meddle with any thing of Politick Affairs. As for the Nomination of the Tithing-men, it was reserv'd to the Consuls, who were order'd to appoint 'em *Party-per-pale*. And some there were among them who had been in that Employment for above Eighteen Years; which was a Demonstration that the Power of appointing those Officers had been a long time Vested in the Consistory. But the least pretence was sufficient to deprive the Reformed of their best Establish'd Privileges.

Exercises  
& Schools  
prohibited.

The Reformed had Schools at *Coubè*, which were Govern'd by two Regents, *Guillamet*, otherwise call'd *Torsat*, and *Champeraut*. But upon the 28th. of *February*, came forth a Decree of the Council of State, which forbid the keeping of Schools in that Place, and which order'd the two Regents to appear, as if they would have made a Crime of their Profession. Several Places also there were, where the Exercise of Religion was Prohibited. For Example, a Decree of the 15th. of *March*, forbid the Continuance of it at *Bessai*, because it was a Catholick Lordship. And as for the Exercise that was kept at *Marevil*, it was order'd that *Villemontèe*, the Intendant, should inform himself by Deeds and Testimonies of the Time when it first began.

Another



1641.

Another of the 3<sup>d</sup>. of *April*, forbid the Reformed to assemble together at *Mombaisson*, whither they had remov'd their Exercises, after they were thrust out of *Taulignan*; and the same Decree forbid *Vulson de la Colombiere*, to preach in any more then one Place. 'Tis Remarkable also that the Bishop of *Valence* and *Die*, who was a perpetual Goad in the sides of the Reformed within his Diocess, set forth in the Petition upon which he obtain'd that Decree of Council, that within three leagues round *Taulignan*, there were no less then thirty four Places where the Reformed Religion was exercised. A great Honour for a Bishop, to have caus'd the suppression of the greatest Part. There was also a Decree at *Paris*, issu'd out of the Chamber of the Edict, whereby, after the Business had hung nine Years together in suspense, *Bournaizeau*, was forbid to preach: For which the Pretence was, that the Lord was a Catholick, and Party to the Process. However, 'tis true, that the Decree reserv'd to the Reformed the Power to provide themselves of another Place without the Barony. But that was only a delusive clause which was added to their Decrees, to make People believe that they did Justice alike to both Parties: To the Lord, by freeing his Mannor from the Exercise of a Religion which was contrary to his own; and to the Reformed, by allowing 'em the Choice of another Place. But these Prohibitions were equivalent to an absolute Interdiction; for that when the Reformed demanded another Place, either it was impossible to agree upon it; or else they wrangled 'em out of it, upon the score of their Right. And if they took possession of a new Place without asking leave, they were forbid to continue their Meetings, as not having any Power to assemble without permission. The same Chamber also, after several Cavils and Decrees, forbid *Montaigu*, to preach in the absence of the Lord. And this Decree came forth the 7<sup>th</sup>. of *September*.

Burials also afforded a world of Matter for Trouble and Vexation. For the Reformed were wont to bury their Dead in a certain Place of the Diocess of *Noyon*, neer adjoining to *Varennes*. But the Bishop Pretended, that formerly there had

Burials

1641. had flood a Chappel in that Place, and to prevent the Reformed from carrying their Dead thither, he erected a Croſs upon the ſame Ground. But the Reformed being nothing terrifi'd at that, the Biſhop of his own Authority cauſ'd all the Bodies to be digg'd up again which had been interr'd ſince his Erecting the Croſs. After which he be-thought himſelf of getting a Decree upon a Petition to the Privy Council, which forbid any more Buryings in that Place. And to render the pretence of their Prohibitions more Specious, the Biſhop cauſ'd a Proceſſion to be made in that Place upon the day which the Catholicks call *Corpus Chriſti* day, and ſet up a Repository for the Sacrament.

Blasphemies and  
Prophanations.

Blasphemies and Prophanations were ſtill another pretence of ſeveral Vexations. For an Inhabitant of *Nanterre*, one *Mangets*, another of the ſame name beſides the Perſon of whom I have already ſpoken, was accus'd to have uttered ſome Blasphemies. The Judge having underſtood his Duty by the Decree of the Chamber of the Ediſt, which had revers'd his Sentence the Year before, pronounc'd another more moderate, and condemn'd the Criminal to make an atonement for his Fault, by kneeling with his Head bare before the Auditory of *Nanterre*, and three Years baniſhment out of the Jurisdiction. This Buſineſs being remov'd to *Paris*, by an Appeal of the Party condemn'd, the Advocate General was in an ill humour at that time, and mov'd to be admitted an Appellant as from a Punishment that was too ſlight. Upon which the Chamber of the Ediſt, by a Decree of the 11th. of May, enhanſing the Penalty impos'd by the Sentence of the Judge of *Nanterre*, condemn'd *Mangets* to nine Years baniſhment out of the Provostſhip of *Paris*. Moreover, a certain private Perſon of *Coubè*, was condemn'd to a Fine by a Sentence of the Judge of thoſe places, upon the 10th. of April, and the Fine was diſpoſed of toward the maintaining a Light in the Parochial Church: And the pretence was the Profanation of the Church-yard, into which the ſame Perſon was accus'd for having carry'd ſome Dung, and to have ſet up Tenters to ſtretch his Serges. But all the Crime which he had Committed in that particular, without

without doubt was no more, then that being one of the Reformed, he had not obtain'd leave of the Curate by some present or some little Gratuity: In regard there is no Church-yard at this day, wherein the same Liberty is not to be had at the same Rate. 1641.

The Proctors also were persecuted, under pretence that they had not Patents for their practice, or because they were not of the same Religion which was therein express'd. For Example, there liv'd at St. *Maixants*, one of the Reformed whose name was *Gascon*, and who was of the same Profession. This man was envy'd by the Catholicks that liv'd by the same employment: And that was a common thing, in all Places where there were any Reformed Officers; because they had generally more business then the others; whether it were that the old opinion of their Probity, caus'd 'em to be more confided in; or whether it were that to render themselves more considerable, they strove to be more exact then others. Which was the reason that the Reformed were more respected for their own sakes, then for the sake of their Employments. Upon this score *Gascon* receiv'd the Money due to the Corporation, which vex'd the others, who thought there was something to be got by that Employment: So that they began to think of getting him out of his Office, that he might no longer be an Eye sore to 'em. To this purpose, *Hardi*, a Catholick Proctor in the same Court, maintain'd one day, in a Process, wherein he was Proctor for the same side, that he had no right to plead at the Bar, because he was not duly qualified. But this attempt not having the desir'd Effect, the Catholicks combin'd together against the Reformed, and resolv'd to exclude 'em every one from those petty Employments. To which end, they thought it their best way to complain of 'em to the Governour, and to accuse all the Notaries, Serjeants and Proctors of the Religion of Frauds and foul Practice: And by agreement of the same Assembly where that Resolution was taken, they gave warning to *Gascon* not to meddle any more with the receipts of the Common Stock. Which affair, being at length, after several prosecutions remov'd to the

1641. privy Council, there came forth a Decree of the thirteenth of *December* which order'd the Parties accus'd to produce their Patents, and to justify their being duly qualifi'd, and if they fail'd of so doing, to stand interdicted. Which was the shortest way to deprive 'em of their Employments; for a process upon an accusation of foul Practice, would have bin tedious, and where the Informer had at least bin in as much danger as the Party prosecuted: But in regard that all Parents expressly mention'd the Profession of the Catholick Religion, the Binding the Reformed who had no Licences, to to produce 'em, was to strike a sure blow. The same Council also upon the 19<sup>th</sup>. of *November*, had made a decree of the same nature, against *Garaëman*, who was a Proctor in the *Marshalsea of Poitiers*.

Priests and  
Monks  
changing  
their Reli-  
gion.

In like manner the Parliament of *Rennes* signaliz'd their Zeal against such Priests and Monks as chang'd their Religion, by a Decree of the 13<sup>th</sup>. of the same Month. It call'd 'em Apostates, as if they had renounc'd their Christianity; and order'd that they should be sent back to their Bishops or their Superiours, to be punish'd according to the sacred Decretals, and in the mean while, it forbid the Ministers to marry 'em. The Decree of the Parliament of *Paris* was cited in this: a clear demonstration that in such Decrees passion frequently prevail'd above Judgement and Honesty. And in one decree which made the Change of their Religion liable to Punishment in Priests and Monks, the Parliament cited another Decree, against which the Advocate General had maintain'd that it was lawful for 'em to change.

1642.

The Anci-  
ent Church  
of *Vure*  
pull'd  
down.

Nor did the Troubles in the Kingdom during the year 1642. nor the conspiracy of *St. Mars*, nor the lingering sickness of which the Cardinal died the 4<sup>th</sup>. of *December*, prevent it from being very vexatious to the Reformed. For they had geat injustice done 'em in reference to their Priviledges and Places of Exercise. They had a Church at *Vure*, built upon a Piece of Ground which they had purchas'd themselves, and of which the possession was confirm'd to 'em by a perempory Decree, in the Reign of *Henry 4<sup>th</sup>*. who had written to the Inhabitants by way of Exhortation, to live at

Peace



Peace and Unity one among another. But for all this, after the Duke of *Trimouille* had chang'd his Religion, the Catholics reviv'd their Old Grudges, and made new Efforts to pull down the Church, under pretence that it was too near their Mass-house. The Duke 'tis true, who left the sole Authority over his house to the Dutchess his Wife, who was very Zealous for the Reformed Religion, and who had the Courage to bring up her Son according to her own Sentiments, would have no hand in the Process, in regard the Dutchess openly protected the Reformed: But the Catholics to the end they might have the Better success, to the Affair of Religion joyn'd certain Complaints of some Extravagancies which they pretended the Reformed had committed upon *Christmass-day* at Night. This same Misdemeanor was, that they had taken some pieces of the *Breacle*, which the Catholics call *Holy bread*, and given it the Dogs to eat: To which they added other Requests upon several Articles; so that after long and troublesome Contentions the Privy Council made a Decree of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of *January*, which gave the Catholics full content. For they were order'd to allow the Reformed another place in the Suburbs, provided it were no Ecclesiastical Fief, at least three hundred foot from any Catholick Church or Chapel: That the Catholics should assign the Ground; but that the Reformed should build the Church like the other; and that when it was finish'd, and not before, they should resign their own to the Catholics, to be turn'd into a Town-house, or for any other Convenient use. That the Catholics should be reimburs'd their Advance-mony out of the common Stock; and that the perpetual Curate or Vicar should be the first in delivering his Opinion at all meetings of the Coporation, before any of the Laity; only after the Seneschal, the Seneschals Deputy, and the Lord High Justiciaries Proctor. As for the Complaints concerning the extravagancies, they were referr'd to the Parliament of *Rennes*; and the Appeal from the Sentence given by the Seneschals Deputy, who had order'd the Tombstone to be taken away from the Grave where *Mommartin* was buried,

1642. was referr'd to the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*.

Exercifes  
forbid at  
*Gex*.

At *Sancerre*.  
rt.

The 12th. of *February*, came forth a Decree of Council which forbid any more Preaching in the City of *Gex*. Another of the 20th. of *June*, forbid as well Preaching as other Exercife, either publick or private, in the City of *Sancerre*; which City had enjoy'd an uninterrupted Exercife of their Religion ever fince the Reign of *Charles IX*. It was famous for the long Siege and the Dreadful Famine which it had endur'd; and never was any Right or Priveledge more notorious or better deferv'd then Her's. Nevertheless, the Prince of *Condè*, who had purchas'd the *Signorse*, put a higher value upon the refusal of his Consent to the Continuation of their Exercifes: And that was fufficient to juftifie the Violation of a Priveledge confirm'd by fo long a Poffeffion. *Alard* Minister of the place, who was perfonally fummon'd, upon his appearance was fent back with a Bundle of Prohibitions: But this was nothing in Comparifon of what was adjudg'd the 21st. of *November*, at the fame Council, in reference to the Meeting place in *Chauvigny*. Free Exercife had been there Eftablilh'd according to the 19th. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*; nor did there want any thing of Evidence to prove it. Moreover this very Place was nam'd in the Edict it felf; and the Eighteenth Article contain'd thefe exprefs words, *the faid Exercife fhall be alfo continu'd in the faid City of Chauvigny*. Nevertheless the Council forbid any Exercifes there for the Future; and the Preſentence was, that *Chauvigny* was the firſt Barony belonging to the Biſhop of *Poiters*, and that that ſame preheminance of the Place had been conceal'd, when the foremention'd Article was obtain'd: Tho' there be nothing more falſe. For there was a long Negotiation upon this Subject during the Treaty of the Edict; and the Queſtion about particular Places, where the Reformed were deſirous to preſerve their Right of Exercife had given a fair Opportunity to make known at large all the Qualities and Immunities of this.

And at  
*Chauvigny*.

Upon the 30th. of *July* alſo, the Chamber of the Edict of *Paris*, made a very ſingular Decree upon the Subject  
of

of the Right of Exercise. *Baudovin*, an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, was Lord of *Champrose*, a small Mannor in *Brie*. Thither he retir'd a Sundays to refresh himself after his weekly Toyl at the Publick Barr, and had a Sermon preach'd before him. But that Liberty would not be allow'd him, tho' he declar'd that he never intended to settle any fix'd Exercise there. But because the express words of the Edict were, That a Lord abiding in one Place where he suffer'd preaching, might do the same in another of his Houses, while he stay'd there, Advocate General *Talon* found out a Cavil to render that Consideration fruitless to *Baudovin*; for he pretended that that Permission was of no force to those who were House-keepers in a Town, for which there was a place of Exercise appointed: But only to those who living in the Country, where they had free Exercise in one of their Houses, went to live for some time in another; and as every thing was held for good Argument against the Reformed, this Evasion pass'd for such. Therefore because *Baudovin* was a House-keeper at *Paris*, he was forbid to have any Preaching at *Champrose*, tho, at the Time that he was there himself; and this at the Instigation of no body else but his Curate.

The Parliament of *Tholouse*, by several Decrees, among which was one of the 12th. of *September*, forbid preaching at *St. Cerè* in *Quercy*, because it was a Mannor belonging to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was become a Catholick. Upon which we must observe, that many Times the Exercises were perform'd in the Signories of Lords, without any dependance upon the Lords, because the Right thereto was obtain'd by some Article of the Edict. But every thing was put into a General Confusion, that Occasions might not be wanting to molest the Reformed. The same Parliament went yet further at the beginning of the next Year, and not content to Suppress the Exercise, they dispossest the Reformed of a Church-yard deliver'd to 'em by an Ordinance of the Commissioners appointed to see the Edict perform'd. For which, the Pretence was, that having lost their Right

1642.

Exercise  
forbid at  
*Quercy*.Cavil about  
a Church-  
yard.

of

1642. of Exercise, they had no Right of Burial. And yet there were several Places where the Reformed never pretended to any Right of Preaching, where nevertheless they were allow'd Church-yards. The reason of which was, because the Church yards were allow'd 'em, not as Places of Exercise by Vertue of any Possession, or some other Title, but only for Convenience or Necessity, when they liv'd in Places too remote from those where the Exercise was settl'd.

At St. Savin and Antibes.

Distance between Church-yard and Church-yard.

Sepulchre violated.

They were also forbid to preach at St. *Savin*, and *Antibes*, because they were part of the Church Revenues: St. *Savin*, being comprehended in the Decree of *Chauvignay*, and *Antibes*, being the subject of another that came forth the 16th. of December, upon the Petition of *Godeau*, Bishop of *Grasse* and *Valence*. It was there also decreed that the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed should lye at a distance from the Catholicks, because the Bishop had set forth in his Petition the near Neighbourhood of those Places as a great Inconvenience, in regard that the *Bones* of the *Faithful-Christians*, might happen to be intermix'd with the *Bones* of the Hereticks. Which was a kind of nice Precaution at too great a distance from the last Day, at what time the Divine Judgment was to make the distinction. They were also forbid to expose their Corp's in Publick, to use any Funeral Pomp, or bury 'em in the Day-time.

There was one *Ann Trovè*, who had spent the greatest part of her Life in the Catholick Religion, tho' she had Marry'd her Daughter to one of the Reformed, with whom she liv'd. This Woman some-time after she had receiv'd the Communion in the *Roman* Church, fell sick at her Son-in-Law's House, dy'd without sending for the Curate or any other Ecclesiastick, and was buried in the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed at *Chaunay*. But the Catholicks would needs have it thought that she persever'd in their Religion till her Death, and that it was through the Fraud of her Son-in-law, and the rest of her Reformed Kindred, that she was depriv'd of their Prayers, and of a Catholick Burial.



Burial. However, there was no other Proof then Presumption, inferr'd from her Receiving the Communion in her Parish before she fell sick. Nevertheless, the Son-in-Law was condemn'd to dig her up again, and carry her into the Catholick Church-yard at his own Charges : And because the Body did not seem to be putrifi'd, tho' it had lain about two months in the Ground, they would needs make a Miracle of it ; and to hinder the Miracle from being contested, some of the Kindred were brought before the Judge, to confess, that they smelt no ill Smell that came from the Corps. Which was enough for Catholick Credulity : So that for Fear the Memory of this wonder should perish, the Forfeitures adjudg'd against those who had burid the Woman in the Church-yard belonging to the Reformed, was apply'd toward the making a Cross which was erected over her Grave, with an Inscription containing the whole Story. However, 'tis certain they never bethought themselves of informing the world of this Miracle till May, which was a long time after the thing happen'd. But that which is most observable is this, that in the Relation of this Accident, they alledge for a most convincing proof of the wonder, that the two Months, during which time the Body lay in the earth, were the sharpest and most bitter cold Months in all the Winter : As if it were such a wonder that Frost and Cold should prevent Corruption ; not to speak any thing now of certain cold Grounds where Bodies will not begin to putrify till after they have lain twenty years together.

*Tonnaiboutonne* is a place within the Colloquy of St. *John d'Angeli*, where Mass had not bin sung for Fourscore and five years before. But this year the Parliament of *Bordeaux* re-settled it in that Place, by a Decree of the last of *March*. The Lords of that Mannor had built up a Chappel, or as the Parliament call it, in their Decree, a *Sepulcher*, for themselves and their Family, upon the place where formerly had stood the principal Altar of the Catholick Church. That decree therefore commanded the pulling of it down, and took from the Lords whatever had belong'd to the Ecclesiasticks. Nor did it forget to condemn 'em to dig up all the

Mass re-  
stor'd to  
*Tonnebou-  
tonne.*

1642. the Bodies that had bin burid in the Sepulcher ; to the Re-stitution of the Church-yard, the Bells, the Curates house and the Alms-house, and to rebuild the Church ; obliging the Inhabitants to contribute two thirds of the Charge ; and those that had a share in the Tithes, the other Third : For this was the way to involve the Reformed in the Penalty of the Condemnation, in regard that almost all the Inhabitants were of that Number. Besides, that the Edicts had forbid the reviving the Memory of any Acts of this Nature, and discharg'd the Reformed from all the Penalties upon demolishing of Churches before the Edict of *Nantes*. But the Parliament never looking upon that Edict as a Law to bind their Sentences, made it openly the May-game of their Passion and their Cavils.

Offices. The Reformed also who had got into small Employments, were prosecuted this year, as in the Preceding ; so that upon the 29<sup>th</sup>. of *April*, the privy Council set forth a Decree like the rest against Serjeants, Notaries, Proctors and Commissioners of the Registry. In like manner the same Council set forth another decree upon the Eleventh of *March*, which confirm'd all that had bin enjoyn'd by the Bishop of *Poitiers* about the distinction of Schools for Boys and Girls ; and the particular Order of the Judge of the Place, which enforc'd the Reformed to get a Licence from the Bishop, and to shew it the Kings Advocate, before they began to teach.

Schools. Pretended Blasphemies and Irreverences were the Occasion of a world of unjust Acts. Four young Men were accus'd of stealing the *Pix* upon *New years-day*, and of throwing the Consecrated Wafers about the Church yard. For which they were committed to the Custody of the Provost, but they being desirous to decline his Jurisdiction, demanded a Removal of their Enditement to some Chamber of the Edict. *Couchè* was the Place where the accident happen'd, which falling within the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Dijon*, it was there to be determin'd, as being the most proper Judicature. Thereupon the the Parliament sent back the Enditement to the Provosts, who gave Sentence of death upon

Blasphemies and  
Prophanations.

upon all four. But in regard they were only condemn'd to be hang'd, tis much to be question'd whether the Court had any good Proofs of the Crime. Othervise had the same Sacriledge bin committed by the Catholicks themselves, they had bin broken upon the Wheel, or burnt alive. And indeed there is one Relation of the Death of those poor Creatures, which might give us some reason to believe that the Punishment was mitigated, because they chang'd their Religion. But the style of that Relation is so monkish, and it is interwoven with so many Characters of Falshood, that the very reading of it is enough to perswade a man, that the whole business was otherwise carry'd. For the Monk that made it represents those poor Creatures invoking the Virgin *Mary*, before they had embrac'd the *Roman* Faith; and recounts a Miracle wrote in Favour of one of 'em, who seem'd insensible during a very painful Torture of the Rack, which he attributes to some motions of Devotion which the young man had for that Blessed Saint. But there is a contrary Relation which attests that those poor Creatures were Innocent; that the Curate had forg'd the Crime by the foul motives of his impious Malice; that it was sworn how they got into the Church through a hole, which it was impossible for a mans body to pass through; that the Curate made the hole himself, that he might have some ground for his Accusation; that he took away the *Pix* himself, and scatter'd the Wafers, whether consecrated or not, about the Church-yard: Of all which things there would have bin sufficient proofs, would the Provost have admitted 'em; that the Parties accus'd never confess any thing, or else what they did confess was extorted from 'em by the Violence of the Torment. That there was no Proof of the change of their Religion but the Testimony of the Monks, who beset 'em till their Execution: Or if any of 'em were so weak as to promise it, 'twas only out of hope to save his Life; that they were not seen at their death to do any thing that savour'd of Catholick Devotion; nor to take any notice of their Crosses and Beads which they continually held to their Lips. But the Monks are made up of such Ca-

lumnies; and it was their usual Course to brand the Reformed with suspicion of Sacrilege, on purpose to render 'em odious to the People, as will afterward appear by more then one Example.

The Lord of *Chaurai* and his Wife were accus'd of setting their Coach cross the street where the procession was to pass upon *Corpus Christi* day. The Bishop of *Poitiers* turn'd Informer; but the Crime which they had endeavour'd to aggravate by long Proceedings, and severe Informations, produc'd no more then a Decree of the 10th. of *May*, in the Chamber of the Edict, which condemn'd the Parties accus'd to pay the Bishops charges, and summon'd 'em to the Chamber, there to receive an admonition to behave themselves more modestly according to the Edicts. A Proctors Servant-Maid in *Poitiers* was accus'd of having utter'd several Blasphemies in the Abby of *Montierneuf*, against the Images of the Virgin and the Saints: That is to say, that the silly Maid had inconsiderately asserted that they were Idols. She was convicted of Contumacy, because she had avoided Imprisonment by Flight: And upon that, sentenc'd to undergo the *Amende Honorable*, to have her Tongue bor'd, and to perpetual Banishment out of the Province of *Poitou*; which Sentence was excuted upon her in *Effigie*.

The Bishop of *Mompellier* and *Valence* were Conservators of the Privileges of the Universities of both those Cites. The Bishop of *Valence*, after several Decrees, and a long Suit between him and the Members of the University, came to an agreement with 'em, in pursuance of which he drew up Regulations, of which the chiefest was to exclude the Reformed from all Dignities. The Purport of those Statutes was, that high Mass should be said every *Sunday*, at which the Rectors, Doctors, Regents, Scholars, Undergraduates, and Strangers admitted into the Society should be present; that the Bishop, who is also Chancellor of the University, should preside at all the Acts: That the Vice-Chancellor and Rector should be Priests, or at least Clerks; and that they should take their Oaths Bare headed and upon their Knees.



Books also had their share of Catholick Severity. For *du Moulin* had publish'd a small Piece entituled, *The Capuchin*. Wherein he ridicul'd that Institution, which dazl'd the Catholicks with such an outside of Zeal. Thereupon with great Feruency they prosecuted the Condemnation of this Book: And the Chamber of *Castres* being divided upon this Occasion, that Division was determin'd upon the third of *April*, and the Book was condemn'd to be burnt. The Parliament of *Bordeaux* also order'd the same Execution the 3d. of *May*. This very Book was also burnt at *Poitiers* the 12th. of *December*, by order of the Seneschal, together with another Book, entituled *The Capuchins Journal*.

I have already told ye, that the Prince of *Conde* purchas'd *Samorre*, and that he had suppress'd the Exercise in that Place: But his Zeal stop'd not at so small a thing. He caus'd a Decree of Council to be set forth, which forbid Burials in the Day time; all manner of Funeral Pomp; the Exposing of the Bodies before the Doors of their Houses; Nor to misuse the Catholicks in word or deed, nor any of the *New Converts*, nor those who had a desire to change their Profession, under the penalty of corporal Punishment. It was fruther ordain'd, that no Souldiers should be quarter'd in Catholick Houses, till the Reformed had had their full share, and that the charges of such Quarter, and all other Municipal Expences, should be levy'd upon the Reformed. That the Taxes should be rated by three Catholicks and one Reformed; but that they should be collected by three Reformed and one Catholick; that the Reformed Assessor and Collectors should be chosen by the Reformed; and the Catholick, by the Catholicks. So that every thing was so order'd, that the Catholicks, who were not the tenth part of the Inhabitants, were the Masters of the Rest, and might at their Discretion command the Estates and Liberties of others: And 'tis thought that some Personal Resentments transported the Duke to these unjust Revenges.

But the Cardinal's Death, and the crazy Condition of the King caus'd a kind of Cessation of all manner of Business, the whole Government being intent upon the Change that

Death of  
the Cardi-  
nal.

was like to happen so suddenly in the Kingdom. For which reason the Reformed had a little Breathing time: For I find but one Peremptory Decree of the Privy Council of the 3d. of *March*, in Confirmation of another obtain'd by the Bishop of *Lusson* upon a Petition the 20th of the Preceding *May*, which sentenc'd *Gagemont*, according to his own voluntary Offers, to make his Excuses to the *Vicar* of *St. Hilaire de Melle*, to consign fifty Franks into the Bishops Hands, and pay him the Costs and Charges of the Suit for not alighting nor putting off his hat, upon his Meeting the Sacrament.

*Fuzil*, Curate of *St. Berthelemi* at *Paris*, being retir'd to *Geneva* in 1614, was there married. His Children after his death, went into *France*, to sue for the Payment of a Sum of Money due to their Father for the Sale of an Inheritance six years before his Retirement. But their Kindred by the Fathers side refusing to acknowledge 'em for lawful Heirs, tho' born in Wedlock, and in a Country where it was lawful for Priests to marry, the Advocate General undertook the cause of the Kindred, and in the Chamber of the Edict, upon the 25th. of *February*, obtain'd a Sentence, that the Children as Bastards in *France* could not have the Benefit of Succession.

The fifth of *March* a Decree was issu'd out at *Bourdeaux* against the Priviledges of the Party-Chamber. A certain Recollect of the Mission of *Bergerac*, went to Visit, at *Sigoules*, the Lady of *Moulard*, pretending he had bin sent for by her Order, being at that time sick. In the nick of time, in comes *Belloi*, the Minister of the Place, and opposes the Monks Design. Upon which the Monk complain'd, that Violence had bin offer'd him, and obtain'd a *Capias* against the Minister, who apply'd himself to the Party Chamber. Now this was a cause purely within the verge of that Chamber. But the Advocate General interpos'd and caus'd the Parliament to send for the Cause, who gave him leave to pursue the Execution of the Decree.

But the Kings death, which happen'd in *May*, prevented him from any farther improving his powerful Zeal against the

the Reformed. But to shew that he was still the same to his last Gasps, he could not dye till he had exhorted with his own trembling Lips, the Marshals *La Force* and *Chastillon* to turn Catholicks. However, he had the not Pleasure to see extinguish'd the Party which he had brought low : For Providence reserv'd that satisfaction for *Lewis XIVth.* who succeeded him.

*The End of the Second Volume.*

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A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
EDICTS, DECLARATIONS,  
AND  
Other PIECES:

Serving for Proofs of the Second Part of the  
History of the EDICT of *NANTES*.

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*A Declaration of the King upon the Edict of Pacification, given at Paris, May 22. 1610. and verified the third of June the same Year.*

**L***ewis*, by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarre*, to all to whom these Present Letters shall come, Greeting. Since the unfortunate and detestable Assassination of our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father last Deceased, whom God Absolve, the Queen Regent, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, tho' continually with Tears in her Eyes, and Grief in her Heart, nevertheless has not forborn with incessant Labour, and with great Magnanimity and Prudence, to prevent that fatal Accident from doing any Prejudice to our Person and Dignity, or to our Kingdom or Subjects, holding her self bound to this Duty, not only by the natural Affection which she bears us, but also because of her having been declar'd

declar'd Regent, and under that Character being entrusted with the Care and Administration of the Affairs of the Kingdom, by the Votes and Suffrages of the Princes of the Blood, and the rest of the Princes, Prelates, Peers, Principal Officers of the Crown, and Members of our Parliament Assembl'd therein, we keeping there our Throne of Justice, wherein her Pains prov'd so successful, and the Affection of our Subjects who were then about us, as also of the Inhabitants of our good City of *Paris*, was so great and sincere toward us, that we can desire nothing more from their Obedience and Fidelity, nor from the good and prudent Conduct of the Queen Regent, our aforesaid thrice honour'd Lady and Mother. Being also inform'd by Intelligence, that comes to us every day, that in all other Places and Parts of our Kingdom, all our Subjects as well Catholicks, as of the pretended Reformed Religion, of all Qualities, make it their Business out of a laudable Emulation, to outvie each other in readiness to Obedience, in Actions and Behaviour which give some Testimony of their Fidelity and Duty; for which we have great occasion to bless God, and to hope that as he has been pleas'd to preserve this Kingdom from imminent Dangers, so as to make it flourish for so many Ages, so he will take into his Protection our youthful Years, and grant us leisure to grow up in Piety and Vertue, to the end we may one day employ the Grandeur, to which he has rais'd us, to his Honour and

Glory. Which with all our Hearts we implore him to vouchsafe us, and to inspire us always with Councils requisite and necessary for the well governing our Subjects in his Fear, and causing them to live in Peace, Union, and Amity one with another; as being the true Foundation, upon which next after God, depends the Safety and Preservation of the Kingdom. Experience having taught the Kings our Predecessors, that the Fury and Violence of Arms had been always, not only of no effect to reduce their Subjects, who were gone astray, into the Bosom of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church, but rather extremely prejudicial; which was the Reason that being swaid by more happy Councils they had recourse to Mildness, in granting them the Exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion, of which they made Profession. By whose Example led, the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, made the Edict of *Nantes*, for the Reconciling of all his Subjects together. The Observation of which Edict, together with the Regulations made in consequence of it, settled such an assured repose among 'em as has lasted ever since without Interruption. By means of which, although that Edict be perpetual and irrevocable, and consequently has no need of being confirm'd by a New Declaration; nevertheless to the end our Subjects may be assur'd of our good Will, and that our Intention and pleasure is inviolably to observe that Edict, made for the good and repose of our Subjects,

jects, as well Catholicks, as of the pretended Reformed Religion.

Therefore we Declare, That this Affair having been debated in our Presence by the Queen Regent, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, we have by the Advice of Her, the Princes of our Blood, other Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of our Crown, and several eminent Persons of our Council, said and ordain'd, say and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, That the said Edict of *Nantes*, in all the Points and Articles of it, together with the rest of the Articles to them granted, and the Regulations made, and Decrees set forth upon the Interpretation, or Execution of the said Edict, and in consequence of it, shall be inviolably upheld and observ'd, and the infringers shall be severely punish'd as Disturbers of the Publick Tranquillity. To which Effect, we enjoyn all our Officers to be sedulously assisting, under the Penalty of being responsible, and being punish'd for their Negligence with the same Rigour, as the Disobedience of those that shall offer to Violate it.

In like manner, we command our Beloved and Trusty People holding our Court of Parliament in *Paris*, that these Presents may be Read, Publish'd and Register'd, and the Contents thereof to keep, maintain, and observe Point by Point, according to their Form and

Tenour, without suffering or permitting any Breach thereof in any manner whatever: In Testimony whereof, we have caused our Seals to be affix'd to these Presents.

Given at *Paris*, May 22. in the Year of Grace, 1610. and of our Reign the First,

*Louis.*

And upon the Folding of the Paper.

By the King, the Queen Regent being Present,

*De Lominie.*

Seal'd with the great Seal of the said Lord, upon a double Label.

Also written upon the side of the said Folding.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, heard by, and Consenting and Requesting the Kings Advocate General. And Order'd that compar'd Copies shall be sent to the Bayliwicks and Seneschalships, to be there also Read, Publish'd and Register'd, with all speed by the Advocate General's Substitutes, who are enjoyn'd to Certifie the Court of their doing it this Month. At *Paris* in Parliament, *June* 3. 1610.

Signed, *Tiller.*

*A General Regulation, drawn up in the Assembly General of the Reformed Churches of France, held at Saumur, by the Kings Permission in the Year, 1611.*

**I**N every Province there shall be a Council established, to Consult about the Affairs of the Church within the Province.

Which Councils shall be continu'd and chang'd every two Years, either all or in part, at the Discretion of the Provincial Assembly: Which Assembly shall choose out of the Gentlemen, Pastors and third Estate, Persons well known to all the Province for their Piety, Probity, Capacity and Experience; the number of those that are to be employ'd, out of every one of the said Ranks or Degrees, being to remain at the Discretion of the Provinces.

The Council shall Name the Place, and the Persons to whom Advices shall be directed, whether General Deputies, or of the Province.

When a General Assembly is to be call'd, the Council shall give notice to all the Churches, either one by one, or by way of Colloquies, according to the Method observ'd in every one of the Provinces, to Assemble at a certain day, and send thither their Deputies, either by the Appointment of Churches or Colloquies.

To which purpose the Elders of each Consistory, shall be careful to give notice to all the Principal Members of their Churches to meet

upon a certain Sunday at Sermon; at the Conclusion of which the Ministers shall give notice to the House-keepers to stay in Order to Consult about Affairs of the Church which concern 'em.

By the Advice of which House-keepers, such a number of Persons shall be deputed from every Church to meet in the Assembly of the Colloquy, according to the Method observ'd as above mention'd, as shall be chosen by Plurality of Voices, provided there be a mixture of Gentlemen, Ministers, and Men of the third Estate, as far as is possible to be done.

The said Provincial Assemblies, shall Debate and Argue by Heads, unless any Church requires that they shall argue by Churches; or that in Places, where the Assembly meets by Deputation of Colloquies, some Colloquy requires that Judgment should be given by Colloquies.

No Man shall be admitted into the said Provincial Assemblies, unless he have a Call, or be employ'd in Messiges.

The Kings Officers and other Magistrates may be present in the said Provincial Assemblies, when they shall be call'd by the Method above prescrib'd, and shall sit with the Nobility, or with the third Estate, according to their Quality,



ty, unless they shall be admitted to make an Order apart.

The Presidents that are to preside in the said Provincial Assemblies, shall be chosen out of the Nobility by Plurality of Voices.

There shall not be above five Deputies at most, sent by the Provincial to the General Assembly, and three shall be the least; which shall be chosen, such as are the most able Persons in that Assembly, out of the Gentlemen, Ministers and third Estate, as far as may be done.

The Councils compos'd as above, in every Province shall be entrusted with the following Functions, and oversight of Affairs.

To disperse the Intelligence which they receive from the General Deputies at Court, or from the Provinces adjoining, or other Places, to all the Churches and Places of the Province, or to such a Governour, Captain, or other Person as need requires.

Also if the Intelligence reach farther then the Province, whether it be the general concern of all, or the particular Business of some other neighbouring Province, to give notice by an express and without delay.

And to the end, this Communication of Intelligence may not prove ineffectual for want of Diligence, the Contiguous Provinces shall take care respectively for the distributing the Intelligence from one to another, to the end they may be sent by the shortest way, from what part soever they come. To which purpose there shall be a

Fund deposited in the Hands of one of the Council of every Province, amounting to about a hundred and fifty Livres, to defray the Expences of the said Dispatches, and to reimburse those that shall have laid out any Money; and the Deputies of the said Contiguous Provinces shall confer together, to resolve what to do upon this Order before they depart.

If the Intelligence received by the Council be such, that they can look after it alone, they shall do it speedily and without delay: If not, 'tis left to their Prudence and their Judgment to Consult the Advice of such Persons, as they shall think convenient, as the Case requires, to call to their Assistance.

For Example, in Case of any, notable Breach of the Edict, Sedition, Tumult, attempt upon any Place, or such other Intelligence of Importance, the satisfaction for which was neglected, or requir'd a more vigorous Prosecution, they may require such of the Neighbouring Counties, which they think most proper to assist 'em with three of their Counsellors at the least, who upon the first Summons shall be bound to Meet, in such a Place as the injur'd Province shall Assign, one or more of their Council to Consult together and find out all the good and lawful means to get Reparation for the said Breaches in the Province endammag'd; and to make it their own Cause and Business, as much as the injur'd Province did. Which if they shall not be sufficient to go through withall, it shall be left to the Prudence

of those Provinces, jointly with the Deputies of their Councils, to advise, whether it be needful to give notice to all the rest of the Provinces, and to Assign a place where to Meet the Deputies, in Order to the unanimous Prosecution of that Affair.

All which is most conformable to the General Union of the Churches of the Kingdom, which obliges 'em to a mutual Resentment of their Grievances: So that one Province grievously injur'd may not have recourse of it self to violent Remedies, as it were by way of Reprisal, or to some other sort of Revenge, whereby they may be hurried, and consequently all the rest of the Churches, to extremities, but may partly be restrain'd by the Prudence of their Councils within the bounds of Moderation, and partly fortifi'd by their support, for the obtaining of Justice, and Reparation of their wrongs.

The same Method shall be observ'd, in Case that any one professing the Religion, shall attempt any thing rashly, and with a Call, to the prejudice of the publick Tranquillity.

The said Deputies of the Council of the Provinces shall have a regard to the Kings Service and the Preservation of the Churches, that the Places committed to the Custody of those of the Religion may be kept in a good Condition, and that the Governours and Captains, with whom they are entrusted, do their Duty.

And to that purpose the said Go-

vernours and Captains are admonish'd, not to take it ill, if the said Councils from time to time depute Personages capacitated among 'em, or else out of the Province to visit the said Places and Garrisons, to the end they may give an accompt to the Province. In which Visitation they shall take care that all their Souldiers, for Assurance of that Fidelity, which is principally required from 'em, shall be well known to be of the Religion, and that they may not be list'd out of the Original Inhabitants of those Cities or Suburbs, till there be a Necessity of new Reinforcements. Which the aforesaid Governours and Captains are requir'd to observe.

And because great abuses have formerly been committed, by Reason of the great number of Souldiers, which might or ought to have been entertain'd in the said Places, which considering the incertainty of these times, might have brought upon us inconveniences past repair, the said Governours and Captains are requir'd, for the Service of the King, the Peace of his Subjects of the Religion, the discharge of their Honour and Consciences, and the freeing themselves from that blame, which otherwise they may incur, to conform to that which follows.

That is to say, that of the summ as well charg'd upon the Publick Accompt as payable in ready Money, they take a third part clear, and disingag'd from all charges, and that for the two other third parts, they consent to give the Acquittances

quittances into the hands of such Person as shall be appointed by the Council of the Province, who shall receive the Money and pay the Souldiers by Bill of Exchange, and satisfie all other charges; as well of the Garrison as of the Place.

By the way, 'tis to be understood that out of the two thirds, there are to be paid the Governors Lieutenant, if he have any, the Captains and Souldiers according to the Agreements order'd by the Governours and Captains, the Sergeant Major, the Drummers, the Canoneers, and other necessary Officers; also for, Wood and Candles for the Corps du Guard, where the Inhabitants of the Cities find none; Matts, Bedding, Ruggs, new Arms, repair of the Watch-Towers, Bridges, Barriers, Pallisado's, and new Carriages for the great Guns, when the Council of the Province think it convenient, and are able to do it without too much prejudice to the ordinary Garrison.

And because it shall be the care of the said Council, or of those whom they shall appoint for that purpose, to make an estimate, as neer the Truth as may be, of what the Annual Charges may amount to, to the end there may be a Fund still ready, and n t to put upon the Governours and Captains more Men then they are able to bear: and of all that Administration there shall be an account given to the said Council, as also of the Charge that shall be laid upon the said two thirds in the presence of the Go-

vernour; nor shall the said extraordinary charges above mentioned exceed a third or fourth of the said two third parts for every Year.

If any Fund be given by their Majesties for the Reparations and Fortifications of the said Places, the said Governour shall Order, how the Money shall be laid out, as having more interest in what it ought to be most properly employ'd, and best Judges of what is most necessary. Nevertheless the Commissioners of the Council shall have an Inspection into it, to the end the Disposals, Proclamations, Adjudications, and Abatements may be duly made, and without Monopolizing, and that the Business may be done as they desire. Or if the Fund be otherwise rais'd for the said Reparations, it shall be manag'd by him whom the Council shall appoint, who in the Presence of the Governour shall give an Accompt to the Council.

Where there shall be publick Magazines they shall take care, that the Corn, Wine and other Provisions, without any prejudice to the Kings Officers, be supply'd in Time and Season, to the end they may not be empty. Also that the Powder, Match, and other perishable Ammunition may be dry'd, refresh'd, and reground, with as much good Husbandry as may be. And in a Word, the Governours are exhorted not to take in ill part the care which the Deputies of the Council shall take, as to what concerns the Preservation of the said Places,

Places, and to give all Assistance and Encouragement to those that shall be sent by 'em.

The said Deputies of the Council shall labour, in pursuance of the strict Union which ought to be between those of the Religion, by all amicable means, as far as in 'em lies, either by their own Pains, or the Mediation of proper Persons to prevent and reconcile all Suits, Quarrels, Animosities, that may arise upon any occasion whatever.

If any of the Captains, or Governors of Places happen to dye, they shall endeavour that the Regulation, which their Majesties have been pleas'd to grant their Subjects, may be exactly observ'd in all the Circumstances of it.

The Provinces and their Councils shall hold a strict Correspondence with their Neighbours, and to the end they may be the better able to keep it up, they shall be careful to cause their Deputies to Meet at the Provincial Assemblies.

And for the General Correspondence between the whole Body, they shall take and receive it from the General Assembly, so long as

it shall sit by the Kings Permission: but that, breaking up, they shall have recourse to the General Deputies, residing near their Majesties, in Order to the Church Affairs.

And for the upholding a Necessary Union between all the Churches, they shall meet every Year at a certain Time and Place, and appoint one of the Council of every Province to be there exactly: To which purpose the Assembly, at their breaking up, shall appoint the Council that ought to nominate the Day and Place for the first Year: which shall take care to appoint the most commodious Time for the Meeting, with the least Noise and Bustle, and to render it the most Beneficial that may be to the Conjunction of Affairs. Those few Days of Conference will soder their Union, revive the common Resentment of their Interests, and inform one another of their present Condition.

Done, and Decreed at the General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of *France*, held at *Sau-mur* by the Kings Permission, *August 29. 1611.*

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Answer to the Writing of the Assembly of *Sau-mur*, upon the 52. and 53. Article.

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*Writing of the Assembly of Sau-mur. 1611.*

**T**He Deceased King Henry having formerly declared his Will and

**I.** The Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France* Assem-



and Pleasure upon a demand of the same Nature in his Answer to the Writing, March 23. 1602. viz. That what had been alter'd in the said Edict, and the Private Articles, which was but a very small matter, had been done for the general good, and to facilitate the Execution of it, and also with the Consent of the Principal of the said pretended Reformed Religion, who were call'd to the Consultations about it: which was likewise accepted and executed at their Instances and Sollicitation: Therefore the King at present Reigning, desiring to conform himself to the good and Pious Resolutions of the Deceased King his Father, is pleas'd, and his meaning is, that they should be content with the Edict in the form, as it is verified in his Sovereign Courts, and as it has since been executed.

Assembl'd at Saumur by the Kings Permission, continuing their most humble Remonstrances, Petitions and Supplications presented from Time to Time upon several occasions by the said Churches, since the Year 98. most humbly supplicate his Majesty, that they may fully enjoy the whole Contents of the Edict, which it pleas'd the Deceased King Henry the Great of blessed Memory, to Grant and Sign after a long and solemn Treaty, by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood, the rest of the Princes, and Officers of the Crown, and other great and eminent Persons in his Council of State; and in the same form as it was drawn up at *Nantes*, and accepted by their Deputies in the said Year 98. and Presented to the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and not according to the Form, as it was verified by the said Court, as having been alter'd and par'd in several Articles of great Importance, without the Consent of the said Churches; who several times since, but more especially by their Deputies sent to his Majesty at the City of *Blois*, in the Year 99. and by the Writings drawn up by the Assembly at *Sainte Foï* in 1601. and answer'd in *March* and *August* 1602. have declar'd that they cannot rest satisfi'd with the said verified Edict, and humbly therefore supplicate his Majesty to restore and establish that which was granted 'em before.

II. They likewise supplicate his Majesty, that they may enjoy the full Contents of the Particular Articles, granted together with their Edict.

Edict of *Nantes*, as they were drawn up and dispatched in the Year 98. restoring the Retrenchments that were made at the Verification.

III. To cause the said Edict and Private Articles, to be verifi'd and register'd according to the Form above mention'd in all the Parliaments, Courts of Aid, Chambers of Accompts, and other Sovereign Courts of the Kingdom, to the end they may be afterwards register'd in all Bailiwicks and Seneschallships.

*As to what shall be found not to have been executed, tho' set down in the Edict of Nantes, verifi'd in the Sovereign Courts, Commissioners shall be Named by his Majesty to see that the said Execution be better perform'd: the one a Catholick, the other of the said Religion; and in Case the said Execution be left to the Bailiffs and Seneschals, or their Lieutenants, they shall take an Associate of the same Religion, according to the Answer given to the Writing answer'd in August 1602.*

IV. That for the Execution thereof, when it shall be necessary, and requir'd by the said Religion, that two Commissioners be appointed by his Majesty out of every Province, the one a Catholick, the other to be nominated by those of the Province: if those of the Religion think it not more Convenient to leave the Execution of it to the Bailiffs and Seneschals or their Deputies. Who according to the Answer return'd to the second Article of the Writing answer'd in August 1602. shall be bound to take an Associate of the same Religion, who shall be nominated by those of the said Religion within the said Bailiwicks and Seneschallships.

*Nothing may be alter'd in the VIIth. Article of the Edict of Nantes, which it is his Majesties Meaning and Pleasure shall be observ'd.*

V. That according to the VIIth. Article of the Edict, which permits all Lords of High Jurisdiction to settle the Exercise of the said Religion, within the extent of their High Jurisdctions, it shall be lawful for the Communities of the said Churches to establish the said exercise within the Fiefs and High Juris-

*The IX. and X. Article of the Edict shall be upheld and observ'd.*

Jurisdications that belong to 'em, or which they may hereafter purchase.

VI. That the said Exercise may be continu'd according to the IX. and X. Articles of the Edict, in all Places where it was in the Years 77. and 97. in such Manner as it was then observ'd, even by the Authority inherent in the Jurisdiction; tho' the Lord of the Manor may have afterwards chang'd his Religion; or that the Lordship may be fallen into the Possession of a Catholick, tho' an Ecclesiastick, and that it may be restor'd, where it has been taken away for those Reasons.

*The Commissioners, who shall be sent into the Provinces shall have Instructions to inform themselves, whether the Exercises of the said Religion, had been sett'd in the said Places for so many Years, and why they were not restor'd, that such course may be taken as shall be according to Reason.*

VII. And for as much as by Vertue of the X. Article the said Service ought to be restor'd in Reols, Port Sainte Marie Lauserte, Sainte Basville, and others of the same Nature, where it was sett'd in September 1577. and for that because of the long Discontinuance, and other Inconveniences, it would be a difficult thing to restore it without some danger of a Sedition, therefore that his Majesty would be pleas'd instead of those Places to grant 'em others, to be appointed by the Synods and Colloquies of the Province, for the removal of their exercise thither.

*The King cannot allow the Petitioners to take any other Title upon 'em, then that which was giv'n 'em by the Edicts: Therefore his Majesty Orders that in all Publick Acts, they shall use the Terms express'd in the Edict of Nantes, as is set down in the Answer given to the II. Article*

VIII. That they of the said Religion may not be constrain'd in any Acts either Publick or Private, by Writing or otherwise, to stile themselves of the pretended Reformed Religion.

Article of the Writing answer'd April 8.  
1609.

The Deceased King having declar'd by his Letters Patents, dated July 5. 1604. that the said Ministers should not be comprehended in Taxes or other Impositions upon their moveable Goods, their Pensions and Salaries, but only for their proper Estates: 'Tis his Majesties Pleasure, that they enjoy the Contents of the said Letters, Patents: and strictly forbids all Assessors of Parishes to rate 'em upon those Accoutts; and in respect of their proper Goods not to surcharge 'em, as they will answer for it in their own proper Persons: of which the Elms shall take Care under the same Penalties.

The XVI. Article shall be observ'd, and Orders are given to that Purpose to the Commissioners deputed to see that they of the said Religion enjoy the Benefit of it, by certifying the Loss of the Deeds and Possessions, which they held in those Places.

The XVII. Article of the said Edict shall be exactly observ'd, and in pursuance of it, all Preachers, Readers, and others who speak in publick, are injoy'd not to use any Words or Discourses tending to excite the People to Sedition and Animosities one against the other, but to Curb and Behave themselves modestly, and to say nothing but what tends

IX. That the Ministers of the said Religion may enjoy, as to the Imposition of Taxes, Loans, Aids, Duties upon Salt, and all other Subsidies, as well ordinary as extraordinary, the same Exemption which the Ecclesiasticks of the Kingdom enjoy.

X. That by the XV. Article of the Edict, all the Towns and Places, belonging to the Communities of those of the said Religion, as also those for the Interrment of their Dead, may be restor'd 'em. And where they cannot by Authentick Titles, justify their Propriety to 'em, that the only Proof of having formerly enjoy'd 'em may suffice for their being restor'd to the Possession of 'em, in regard the said Deeds were lost during and by Reason of the Troubles.

XI. That his Majesty would be pleased according to the XVII. Article of the Edict to inflict exemplary Punishment upon Preachers, Confessors and other Ecclesiasticks, who move the People to Sedition; Blaming and Forbidding all Society, Acquaintance and Communication with those of the said Religion, forbidding people



tends to the Instruction and Edification of their Hearers, and to preserve the publick Repose and Tranquility under the Penalties mentioned in the Edict.

*The XX. Article of the Edict shall be observ'd: And Enquiry shall be made after those that shall disobey, but by the Officers of Justice, wherein the Curates shall not presume to be Parties.*

*The XVII Article of the Edict shall be observed.*

people to employ, assist, serve 'em, or nurse their little Children, by teaching that all who frequent their Company are damn'd: And where such Preachers and Confessors shall absent themselves before they can be impleaded, that the Bishops, Curates and others their Superiours, by whom they were introduc'd may be responsible for 'em: Enjoyning the Advocates General and their Substitutes to be assisting, upon pain of being answerable for it in their own Names and Persons, and upon Penalty of being depriv'd of their Offices.

XII. And for as much as the Multiplicity of Holy days, and the Observation of New ones occasion several disorders, therefore that in such places where those of the Religion shall require it, that there may be a certain Regulation made as to the Number of the said Holy-days, by the Commissioners executing the said Edict, and that the Curates may not be permitted to be accusers for the non-observance of 'em, nor the Provost Marshals, their Lieutenants, Archers or other Officers of the Watch, nor the Serjeants without express warrant and command of the Judges of the Place.

XIII. That according to the XVII. Article of the Edict, none of those of the said Religion may be depriv'd of the Dignities and Employment of which they are in possession, whether they made profession of it before or after they were preferr'd: and where any of 'em

were depriv'd without observing the Usual Forms, that they may be restor'd; more especially such as were provided of Governments, and Captains Places.

The Church-Yards order'd 'em by the Commissioners, who have formerly executed the Edict shall remain in the Petitioners Possession; and if upon any Occasion they be taken from 'em, they shall be allow'd others by the Commissioners ordain'd by his Majesty.

The Answer given to the XXII. Article of the Writing answer'd the last of August, 1602. shall be observ'd: And to that purpose his Majesty ordains, that convenient Burying-Places shall be allow'd those of the Religion, by the Commissioners and Officers of those Quarters, in publick Places belonging to his Majesty, or else to the Bodies of Cities, Burroughs and Villages or Communities; or for defect of such Places, the said Bodies and Communities shall be bound to purchase other, toward which those of the Religion shall contribute their Proportion like the Rest.

Those Burials were order'd in the Night time to avoid Commotions and Tumults, and for the greater Security of those of the Religion who attended the Corps. But if there be any Places where they can bury by Day-light, without disturbing the Peace of the Inhabitants, Orders shall be given to the Commissioners about it.

The King cannot allow that the Gentlemen of the said Religion, and others

XIV. That all Church-Yards, that have been enjoy'd since the Verification of the last Edict, and the Execution of it, may remain in their Possession, and that they may not be taken from 'em upon any Occasion whatever.

XV. That in pursuance of the Regulations formerly made; more especially by the Answer to the XXII. Article of the Writing answer'd in August, 1602. all the Royal and Inferiour Judges may be enjoyn'd to allow a Convenient Place, for the Burial of their dead, to those of the Religion, in some publick Place belonging to the King, or to the Communities of the said Cities, Burroughs and Villages: and where there are no such places, that they may be purchas'd at the Common Expences of all the Inhabitants of the Parish, those of the Religion contributing proportionably to the Rest.

XVI. That such Places where by particular Regulation they have been constrain'd to bury their dead at an inconvenient Hour, they may be Permitted to bury by day-light, if they think it fitting.

XVII. And for as much as in some Places the said Funerals cannot

others who have Right of burying in Churches, shall be there interr'd; because the Canonical Constitutions forbid it; and for that it would be a thing contrary and prejudicial to the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion, which his Majesty professes; nor can it be done without giving great occasion of Scandal and Discontent to the Catholicks. But his Majesty grants, that the Commissioners being upon the Place may advise with them, about the means of preserving the Temporal Right and Authority which they have as Lords and Patrons of the said Churches, so that no prejudice may be done either to them or their Successors.

The King grants the said petty Schools in Cities, within the Suburbs of which the Service of their Religion is permitted; and that, for one Master in each; and onely for teaching to Write and Read: With Prohibitions to the said Masters to dogmatize, or to admit above ten or twelve Scholars in each School, of the Neighbourhood only, and no Foreigners.

The Edict permits 'em to erect Colledges in such Cities and Places where they have the Exercise of their Religion; to which his Majesty allows the same Priviledges as to other Colledges, receiv'd and approv'd in this Kingdom.

The Choice of the said Presidents de-

not be solemniz'd without danger of Commotion and Sedition, and other Inconveniencies, especially in Places where the Lords, Gentlemen and others of the said Religion, have right of Burying in the Churches and Chappels of their Predecessors, and that Orders may be given to the Commissioners proceeding to the Execution of the Edict, to make so good a Regulation in reference to the said Enterments, so that no Inconvenience may happen: And in so doing to have a regard to the Satisfaction of the said Lords, Gentlemen and others, who have a Right and Property in the said Burying Places.

XVIII. That in pursuance of the Supplication address'd to his Majesty by the Writing answer'd in August, 1602. and according to the Hopes given by the Answer made to the sixth Article of the said Writing, it would please him by an Interpretation of the XXXVIII. of the particular Articles, to permit 'em petty Schools in all the Villages and Burroughs of the Kingdom, to teach their Children to read and write, and to instruct 'em in the first Rudiments of Grammar.

XIX. That in Conformity to the Answer return'd to the Writing answer'd in March 1602. it would please him to vouchsafe the Academies of Saumur and Montauban, the same Immunities Priviledges and Prerogatives, which other Academies of the Kingdom enjoy.

XX. That the Presidents and ten Ca-

depends upon the King onely; and such Care and Discretion has been used, and shall be for the Future, that those of the said Religion shall have no cause to Complain.

Catholick Counsellors who are to serve in the Chamber of the Edict of the Parliament of Paris, with the ten Counsellors of the said Religion, be chosen out of the most equitable, peaceable and moderate Men, according to the XLVII. of the particular Articles; and to that purpose that it may be agreed upon with the Deputies of the said Churches; as also for that by the XLVII. Article of the said Edict, it is expressly said, that the said Presidents and Counsellors shall be continued as long as possible may be.

*The Number of the said Officers is already so great over all the Kingdom that there is no need of increasing it. But to the end there may be no want of Judges in the said Chamber because of the said Refusals, 'tis granted that they may judge to the Number of eight as in other Parlements, whereas formerly they were restrain'd to ten. To which end all Patents requisite shall be dispatch'd.*

XXI. That at the request of the Chamber of Castres, which is compos'd of a President and Eight Catholick Counsellors, and as many of the Religion, it would please his Majesty to create *de novo* two Offices of Counsellors, to serve in the Chamber of Nerac, where there are but six Counsellors of the same Religion. Which is the Cause that by reason of present Refusals, there is not a sufficient Number of Judges in the said Chamber: And for the said two Offices to provide two Persons gratis, at the Nomination of the Churches.

*The XXXI. Article of the Edict shall be observ'd: But nothing can be changed in the last Establishment of the said Chambers: And as to the Election and Nomination of those that are to serve, his Majesty will provide with such Consideration that they shall have no occasion to complain.*

XXII. And considering the great Animosities of the Parliament of Toulouse and Bourdeaux, which have chiefly appear'd since the fatal Accident of the Death of the King deceas'd, by the great Number of Divisions of Voices that happen in the Chambers of Castres and Nerac, which proceeds from hence, that the said Courts send to his Majesty the Nomination of the Catholick Counsellors which



*Satisfaction has been given to the Contents of this Article by the Answer to the IV. of the Articles presented by those of the Religion in the Dauphinate, in August last: and because the Parliament of Grenoble has refus'd to obey it, Letters of command shall be sent to cause 'em to verifie it.*

*The Deceas'd King being engag'd by Promise, not to make any new Creation, even in the said Province there is no Reason for granting the present Article.*

*Such course shall be taken that there*

which are to serve in the said Chambers, and Employ the most passionate in the said Courts, 'tis desired that each of the said Chambers may supply the Number of the Counsellors of the Grand Council, and the Surplusage of the said Courts of Parlements of *Tholouse* and *Bourdeaux*, who may be chosen by your Majesty, upon the Register of the said Courts, as was practis'd upon the first establishment of the Chamber of Justice in *Languedoc* in 1579. and not upon the Nomination which is made by the said Parlements.

XXIII. That in Conformity to what has been granted to the Chambers of the Edict in the Parlements of *Paris*, *Tholouse* and *Bourdeaux*, it would please his Majesty to create *de novo* an Office of Substitute to the Advocate General of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, to serve in the Chamber, and take his Conclusions as well at the Hearing as in Procefs by writing; and to provide one of the Religion *Gratis* at the Nomination of the Churches under the Jurisdiction of the said Chamber.

XXIV. And that all the Officers of the said Miparty Chamber, may be according to the Intention of the Edict, and practice of the other Chambers, may it please his Majesty to create *de novo* two Offices of Secretaries, and an Usher in the said Parliament of *Grenoble*, to serve in the said Chamber, and to provide Persons of the said Religion *Gratis*, at the Nomination of the said Churches.

XXV. For the same Reason in re-

there shall be no occasion for Complaint.

*The XLVI. Article of the Edict shall be observ'd, and the Ushers and Serjeants shall be enjoyn'd to execute all Decrees, Commissions and Orders issu'd out of the said Chambers of the Edict, and of Grenoble, in all places where need shall require, upon Pain of being suspended from their Employments, and forc'd to pay the Expences, Dammages and Interest of the Plaintiffs in the Suits.*

*The Catholics, and those of the Religion shall be indifferently receiv'd into the said Offices; and as to those places where there are none at present, command shall be sent to those that Officiate, to receive all Contratts, Wills and other Acts, which they shall be requir'd to do, by those of the said Religion.*

*The Regulation made at Blois in 1599. shall be observ'd.*

regard the two Commissioners of the Registry of the Chamber of *Cassres* are Catholics, that upon the Death or Resignation of one of the said Officers, one of the said Religion may supply his Room.

XXVI. And for as much as to the prejudice of the LXVII. Article of Particulars, and the Provision made in consequence of it, by Answers to several Writings, the Courts of Parliament in *Provence, Burgundy and Britany*, make daily Decrees against the Ushers, who within their Jurisdictions execute the Decrees of the Chambers of the Edict of *Paris* and *Grenoble*; so that for that Reason the Royal Serjeants settled in the said Provinces, refuse to put the said Decrees in Execution, therefore may his Majesty be pleas'd, to create *de novo* two Offices of Serjeants Royal in every Bailliwick, and Seneschalship within the Jurisdiction of the said Provinces, to be suppli'd by Persons of the said Religion.

XXVII. And for Remedy of the Inconvenience, which they of the Religion daily suffer both at *Paris* and other Places, where there are no Royal Notaries to receive Contratts, Wills, and other Voluntary Acts, may it please his Majesty to create *de novo* in every City two Offices of Royal Notaries, and to supply the Places with those of the said Religion.

XXVIII. That Attestations sent by the Ministers and Elders, to justify themselves in the Chambers of the Edict, shall not be oppos'd nor rejected, unless it be upon a challenge or exception against the

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*'Tis for the King in his Council to appoint Judges. Nevertheless his Majesty Grants that in Case of Division of Voices, the Chamber where the Process was divided shall Order the Parties to repair to the next Chamber, without Addressing to his Majesty. But his Pleasure is, that in other Things the Orders be observ'd.*

*Granted for the time to come, and necessary Declarations shall be expedited for that Purpose.*

*The Regulation as to Six Months cannot be alter'd, nevertheless the Ecclesiasticks, who have chang'd their Religion, presenting their Petition to his Majesty, care shall be taken as Reason requires.*

Signing, tho' the said Attestations are not made before a Publick Notary and Judges Royal.

XXIX. And to obviate long and troublesome Suits, which the Parties are constrain'd to undergo through the Regulations of the Judges of his Majesties Council in the Business of Parentage, Recusations, and things of the like Nature; that the Chambers of the Edict might send to the next Court, or where both Parties shall agree, the Processes, wherein the Presidents or Counsellours in the Causes, or their Kindred, within the Degree and Number of the Ordinance, are either Principal Parties or Garanties; as also the Division of Voices, happening in the said Chambers, which ought to be referr'd to the next Chamber, according to the XLVII. of the Particular Articles.

XXX. That in the Explanation of the LIX. Article of the Edict, the Chamber of the Edict of Normandy be enjoyn'd to set forth by way of long Prescription, the Time elaps'd from July 1585. till the Month of February 1599. as is practis'd in other Chambers of the Kingdom.

XXXI. And because that instead of making a New Regulation between the Courts of Parliament and the Chambers, according to the LXIII. Article of the Edict, the said Chambers for the most part have observ'd several Regulations made in the Years 78. and 79. which allow not the Priviledge of Appealing to the Chambers, but to those who six Months before made Pro-

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'Tis a Favour to grant it to the Heirs, after the Cause has been contested with the Deceased, to whom they have succeeded. But 'tis his Majesty's Pleasure and Command, that such an Alteration of the Judges may not be made fraudulently: and in respect of such as make over their Estates in Trust, who have no Right but by a particular Title, their Renouncers having voluntarily Contested the Point elsewhere, they shall not be admitted any more, to avoid Abuses and Frauds which may be committed by those who have a Mind to trouble and vex their Plaintiffs unjustly.

Forreigners, who desire to enjoy this Privilege, shall be bound to Address themselves to the King, who will take Care as well of the Interest of his Subjects, as for the Gratification of Forreigners.

This Article is granted as to the Instruction, but not to allow a Definitive Voice to the Associates, what they are to Judge.

fession of the Religion, that the said Limitation may be taken off from those Chambers where it is observ'd: and in causing all the Suits of those of the said Religion to be indifferently heard in the said Chambers, when they shall require it, more especially which shall embrace the said Religion *de novo*.

XXXII. In like manner, that they of the said Religion who are Heirs, or having a right or cause of Suit with others, who would willingly have had it Contested in Parliament, may if they think it convenient, referr their Controverted Points and differences to the said Chambers of the Edict, notwithstanding the said Contest made by their Authors; as has been adjudg'd in several particular Cases by his Majesties Council.

XXXIII. That Forreigners Trading and Trafficking within the Kingdom, and Professing the said Religion, may enjoy the same Priviledges, and cause their differences to be remov'd to the said Chambers, every one within their proper Jurisdiction.

XXXIV. That in all Informations and Instructions for criminal Processes and Inditements brought against those of the Religion, the Judge as well Royal as Inferiour, if he be a Catholick, may be bound to take an Associate of the said Religion who has taken his Degrees, or at least a Pleader, to be present at all the Proceedings, and who shall have a Definitive Voice in the  
Judg-



Nothing can be alter'd from the Method establish'd by the Edict of Nantes, to avoid great delays, trouble and expences, to which the Parties would be constrain'd were they to have recourse to the Chambers, which are often very remote one from another : Besides that the same Equality ought to be shew'd to the Catholicks, as to those of the Religion in that particular : Unless in respect of those Provinces where the contrary has been allow'd by special Privilege.

When Fathers and Mothers have provided, their Will and Judgment shall be observ'd : Otherwise the Law and general Custom of the Kingdom : Nevertheless without acting any thing prejudicial or contrary to the Edict made in Favour of those of the Religion.

His Majesty will not refuse this Favour to those of the said Religion for Offices, in Cases wherein he permits the same to his Catholick Officers, reserving always to himself only, the Choice and Nomination of the Persons.

'Tis for the King alone to grant Letters of Reprisal, nor is it lawful for any of his Officers to give 'em. The Judges and Officers may draw up Verbal Reports to shew the Justice of the Cause, for his Majesty afterwards to do as he shall think reasonable.

The

Judgment of the Process upon Pain of Nullity : and this throughout all Bailiwicks and Seneschallships in the Kingdom ; and not particularly in those that are specif'd in the 66. Article of the Edict.

XXXV. That what is granted by the LXVII. Article of the Edict to the Provinces of *Guienne, Langue-doc, Provence, and Dauphinate*, upon the Judgment of Competitions in the Chambers of the Edict, may for the same Reason be extended to all those of the other Provinces of the Kingdom.

XXXVI. That Children, whose Fathers and Mothers dy'd in the said Religion, without having provided Tutors and Guardians, according to the LVIII. Article of Particulars, may be put into the Hands of Tutors to be bred up and instructed in the said Religion.

XXXVII. That it may please his Majesty not to admit the Relinquishments of Presidents and Counsellours, upon whom Employments have been conferr'd *Gratis* at the Nomination of the Churches, to serve in the said Chambers, but in Favour of those who shall be nam'd to 'em by the said Churches.

XXXVIII. That the Agreements made between those of the Religion, and the Catholicks of the County of *Venisse*, may be fulfill'd according to their Form and Tenour ; and that according to those, after the requisite Solemnities,

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*The Brevets of which the Confirmation is requir'd shall be presented, and being seen his Majesty will do what is reasonable.*

*Vacancy happening by Death shall be provided for according, and in Conformity to the said Brever.*

*His Majesty is not bound to encrease the said Summ. Nevertheless he will consider, which way to gratifie 'em, as far as the conveniency of his Affairs will permie.*

the Officers of the Places may be permitted to give Right of Repriſal to thoſe of the Religion, to whom Juſtice has been deny'd; more eſpecially to the Lady of *Drelandre*, notwithstanding the *De rogatorie* affix'd to the *Ll. Article* of Particulars, which they beſeech his Maſteſty may be taken away and Cancell'd.

XXXIX. And for as much as there are ſeveral Brevets granted to the Churches, as well in the Year 98. as afterwards, which his Maſteſty confirm'd at his coming to the Crown, they humbly beſeech him, that they may enjoy the Contents of the ſaid Brevets by putting in Execution, what has not yet been done, and cauſing amends to be made for what has been done prejudicial to the ſaid Brevets.

XL. To theſe ends may it pleaſe his Maſteſty, according to the Brever of the laſt of *April* 1598. to conſerr *Gratis* upon two Perſons of the ſaid Religion, two Offices of Maſters of Requeſts of his Houſhold, upon the Nomination of the Churches; and to this purpoſe to erect two Offices of a new Creation, upon the two firſt Vacancies happening by Death.

XLI. And for as much as the Summ of ſeventyſcore and five thouſand Livres, which the Deceaſed King granted for the payment of the Miniſters, is nothing near ſufficient for the payment of all the Miniſters that are ſettl'd in the Churches of this Kingdom, may it pleaſe his Maſteſty to provide for the eaſing of the Churches, by Ordering a ſufficient Fund

But

for

But as to the Arrears for defect of value, there is no Reason for demanding 'em, seeing that all the Assigns, in those Years, for what cause soever it were, have suffer'd the same Inconvenience, without having since receiv'd any Reimbursement upon that occasion.

The Places, which have been put into their Hands for their Security are Nam'd and Comprehended in a Catalogue, dated May 14. 1598. Sign'd by the Deceased King, and underneath Neufville, with which his Majesty is Contented. And as a Testimony of his good Will toward 'em, has granted 'em the keeping of 'em for five Years longer to Commence from the day of the Date of the Brevet, which shall be given 'em. And as for those that are comprehended under the Name of Marriage, the Deceased King having never left 'em to be held under the Title and Quality of places of Security, His Majesty will not, neither is it his meaning, what they should be comprehended among the Places of Security; but grants, after the Example of his Deceased Majesty, that the same Grace and Favour shall be shew'd 'em, as formerly has been, without any Innovation: and all those other Places, which they demand, the King cannot grant 'em.

What was promis'd by the Deceased King shall be effectually made good, nor shall

for the Salaries of the said Ministers.

XLII. And for as much as the said seven score and five thousand Livres were promis'd without any defect of value, which has been so ill observ'd, that there have been great abatements in the Assignations of every Year, may it please his Majesty that the said Churches may be reassign'd the sums which those defects amount to, according to the allowances of the accompts receiv'd by the Receivers, and before the Commissioners deputed by his Majesty.

XLIII. They also beseech his Majesty to leave all those Places which they hold at present in the custody of those of the Religion; and this, for the time and space of ten Years, to commence from the day that the five Years formerly granted shall expire, and to cause a new Brief to be given 'em, ordaining that all the said Places may remain in their hands, as well those that are specifi'd in the Roll of the Year 98. and those that were comprehended in others by form of Marriage, as those which belong to the Particulars, wherein Garrisons were kept, by the Particular Rolls drawn up by his Majesty.

XLIV. That it may be express'd in the said Writ, that in all other Places

shall any thing be innovated or alter'd: Or if it were done, Order shall be taken by the Commissioners upon the Places, according to the Instructions which shall be given 'em for that purpose.

*The Deceased King declar'd his Will several times to those of the said Religion, in reference to Caumont and Montandré, from which his Majesty cannot depart: and as for Tartas, and Mont de Marsan, they shall be provided with Persons of the said Religion, according to the Deceased Kings Brevet.*

*The Summ contain'd in the Roll of the Deceased King, for the payment of the said Garrisons, with which those of the Religion have been hitherto contented, shall be paid for the Future, and assign'd upon the clearest Mony in the Receipts, to the end they may receive it without Abatements: But his Majesty cannot augment it: the Summ of 54000. Livers having been abated, ever since the Deceased King lessen'd the Garrisons, which were in the Places held by the Catholicks. His Majesty thinking it necessary so to do, to stop the just complaints that might have been made, when all the Garrisons in the Catholicks Cities were lessen'd, by Reason of the Peace which the Kingdom happily enjoy'd, there should have been left in the Cities held by those of the Religion, as numerous as they were in the time of War, and that the Subjects liv'd in distrust one of another: nor there being no Reason to demand the Arrears for what was past,*  
see-

Places which they hold, and where there have been no Garrisons settl'd by the said Rolls, there shall be nothing innovated or alter'd, to the Prejudice of those of the said Religion; and that where any Innovation or Alteration has been made since the Year 1568. that there may be full satisfaction given for it.

XLV. That the Towns of Caumont, Tartas, Mont de Marsan, Montandré, and others, which have been taken from 'em since 98. and which they shall specify more particularly, may be restor'd to 'em.

XLVI. That from hence forward, they may have their Assignations every Year, upon the first and least incumber'd Money of the Receipts of every Province, where the said Garrisons are settl'd, or from neighbouring Town to neighbouring Town, according to the Brevet of the last of April 98. for the entire sum of 540. thousand Livers, which was promis'd 'em by the said Brevet; and to this purpose, that the Money subtracted from the said sum, to be laid out in Pensions, may be remitted in the entire sum, and distribution made of it, according to the Rolls Decreed by his Majesty, as they shall be presented to him by the Churches; and this without any abatement, or being employ'd to any other use.



seeing that the Cities and Places for the Preservation of which that Money was given have been so well guarded, that nothing has fallen out amiss: add to this, that the Deceased King, for the same Reason had always rejected that Demand. And as to the Pensions, his Majesty will Order it, as already has been done, to gratifie those of the said Religion, who shall deserve it by their Services and Fidelity; intending also to augment 'em, to shew his Affection and good Will, as he shall give 'em to understand.

The Answer to the two preceding Articles may suffice for this.

The City and Castle of Orange have been restor'd to the Prince of Orange, to whom they belong, by Vertue of the Peace of Vervins. True it is, that his Majesty oblig'd him, upon the surrendering back of those Places, to declare in Favour of those of the said Religion, as he has done, with which they of the said Religion in the said City were well content.

Provision was made for this by the Brevet of April 1598. and what is specifi'd in the Edict and Secret Articles, has been always observ'd, and shall be.

XLVII. And for as much as there have not been any entire Assignments of the said sum of 540. thousand Livres a Year, and for that at the same time that they were assign'd, they still fell very short to the prejudice of the said Brevet, may it please his Majesty to cause the abatements, and what fell short of the entire sum, from the Year 98. till this day be assign'd in full.

XLVIII. In like manner, to cause an Assignment for the Garri- sons of the *Dauphinare*, of the entire sum, which was assign'd by the Roll drawn up in the said Year, 1589. in pursuance of the said Brevet; and to cause a Reassignment of the Retrenchments and of what fell short since the Year 1589.

XLIX. That according to the Assurances, which were given by his Majesty at the Assembly of *Chavellerand* in the Year 1605. that the Castle of *Orange* should remain in the hands of a Governour of the said Religion, his Majesty would be pleas'd to interpose his Authority with the Prince of *Orange*, that the said Castle may be put in the hands of a Governour of the said Religion.

L. That it may please his Majesty to grant that the Governours of the Cities left in their Custody, may not surrender 'em up, but by the Consent of the Churches of the Province. And that when there is a Vacancy by Death, it may be suppli'd by his Majesty at the Nomination of the General

Deputies residing with his Majesty.

*The King will take care as he shall find most convenient for the good of his Service.*

*'Tis the Kings Pleasure, that the Edict of Nantes, and what has been done and ordain'd in pursuance of it, may be observ'd and executed, throughout the Kingdom; and if any breach happen, the Commissioners shall take care to see it amended.*

*No Colledge of Jesuites can be erected within this Kingdom, but by his Majesties Permission, who will take such care in that Matter, that there shall be no cause of complaint.*

*Care shall be taken about this by the Commissioners, after they have advis'd with the Governours, and Lieutenant Generals of the Provinces.*

L.I. That he would be pleas'd not to dispose of the Commands of Lieutenants to Governours, or Captains, of Companies without the Consent of the Governour of the Place.

L.II. That in all the said Places the exercise of the said Religion, may be permitted with all Freedom, without any Interruption; and that it may be restor'd in such Places, where it has been molested or expell'd.

L.III. That the Jesuites may not be permitted to erect any Colledge, Seminary, or House of Habitation; nor to Preach, Teach, or Confess, in any of the said Places held by those of the said Religion; and that his Majesty would please to confine the said Jesuites to those Places to which they were confin'd by their re-establishment in 1603.

L.IV. That there may be Provision made against the Inconveniences that may happen by Processions, which are accompanied with great Trains of People to the Churches and Chappels enclos'd within the Castles, left in the hands of the Religion, and Guarded with very slender Garrisons: And that the Governours of the said Castles may not be oblig'd to let those Processions enter, unless they will restrain themselves to such a number as may be no prejudice to the Security of those Castles: or else that the exercise of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which is perform'd in some of the said Castles

*The Gates and Walls of the Cities and Places left in their Hands for Security shall be repair'd at the charges of their respective Inhabitants, as is usually done in other Cities of the Kingdom; and for the Levies and Impositions necessary for that purpose, they shall Address themselves to the Council for the obtaining Letters of Permission. And if there be urgent Necessity for any of the said Places, upon a Petition to his Majesty, care shall be tak'n to do what is fitting.*

*The Inventories of the Guns and Ammunition, &c. which were in the said Places, in 1598. and which are there at present, shall be view'd and reported, for Orders to be made upon 'em; it being his Majesties Intention, nevertheless to leave 'em as many as they stand in need of, for the Defence and Preservation of the said Places.*

*His Will is to allow those of the said Religion to hold the said Assemblies, when he shall think it proper for his Service; or that they stand in need of 'em; and they shall be bound to appoint six Deputies, as was ordain'd by the Deceas'd King.*

*As to the LVIII. and the following Articles concerning the Churches of Bearn:*

*His*

files may be remov'd into the Cities.

LV. That his Majesty would be pleas'd according to the XLIX. Article of the Writing of Gergeau to allow necessary Provisions, for the repair and keeping in repair and securing the Gates, Walls, Fortifications and other out-works of the said Places left in their hands, which by time and other Accidents are fallen to decay.

LVI. That the Artillery, Arms and other Warlike Ammunition, which are in the said Places held by those of the said Religion, either garrison'd or otherwise, shall not be drawn out and remov'd to another place; that what has been taken away may be restor'd, and when the Yearly Distribution of the said Arms and Ammunition is made, they may have their Proportion as well as other Cities of the Kingdom.

LVII. And for as much as the Necessity of having General Deputies near his Majesty is notoriously known, as well to acquaint the Churches with his Majesties command, as to present him their Petitions, and prosecute their necessary Affairs, and for that the said Deputies cannot be made, but by a General Assembly of the said Churches; may it please his Majesty to permit 'em to hold the said General Assembly every two Years, in such Cities which are in their hands, as they shall think most Commodious; to the end that the Assembly being

LIII

*His Majesty not having allow'd, or approv'd the Union of the pretended Reformed Churches of Bearn with those of France, neither can the King allow it now: but upon presenting their Petitions by their General Deputies separately to the King, he will take care as Reason shall require.*

*Done and Decreed by the King, being in Council, the Queen Regent being present, and assisted by the Princes of the Blood, other Princes, Dukes, Peers and Officers of the Crown, and Principal Members, of his said Council, at Paris, July 23. 1611.*

*Sign'd Phelipeaux.*

being by that means become common, may be the less liable to give occasion of Jealousie and Suspicion: That the Employment and Commission of the said General Deputies may hold for two years and no longer; and that the two which shall be appointed by the said Assemblies for general Deputies, may be accepted and admitted by his Majesty, to reside near his Person, as formerly has been practis'd, upon their first Institution in the Assembly of *St<sup>e</sup>. Foi*, and after that, in the Synod of *Gap*, without being constrain'd to nominate six, as since has been done.

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*A Declaration of the King touching the Assemblies of any of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Edict of Nantes, and Particular Articles. At Paris, April 24. 1612. Register'd in Parliament, May 25. of the same Year.*

**L**ewis by the Grace of God King of France and Navarr, to our Beloved and Faithful Counsellours holding our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, Greeting. So soon as it pleas'd God to call us to this Crown, we resolv'd to follow the Method and Form of Government, as we found it settl'd by the Deceased King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve; judging well, that we could not more safely preserve the Kingdom, which he had left us, then by imitating his Example, who had rais'd it from extream Defo-

lation to the Highest Pitch of Splendour. Wherein we have so happily succeeded, that no occasion of complaint has presented it self to us, for which we have not provided, as well to the Content of our Subjects, as it was possible for us to do, and particularly those of the pretended Reformed Religion, as well by the Answers which we have order'd to be given to their Remonstrances which they have presented to us, as by sending Persons of Quality into all the Provinces of this Kingdom, with Commission and Power to see executed the  
Edict



Edict of *Nantes*, the Private Articles, Regulations, and other Concessions granted during the Reign of our Deceased Lord and Father, as to whatever yet remain'd farther to be executed. And by this means to remove all Apprehensions, under pretence of which any of our said Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, were Licenc'd to hold extraordinary Assemblies without our Permission, which would have rais'd Fears and Jealousies in others: against which we are willing to provide, for the maintaining of Peace, Union, and a right Understanding, happily settl'd among 'em, and preserv'd by the said Edict and the exact Observation thereof, with the Advice, and in the Presence of the Queen Regent, our thrice honoured Lady and Mother, the Princes of the Blood, other Princes and Officers of the Crown, being fully inform'd and assur'd of the good in general of our said Subjects, their Zeal and Fidelity in their Obedience towards us; and desiring also that they should be favourably us'd, have of our special Grace and Favour, full Power and Royal Authority remitted and abolish'd, and by these Presents do remit and abolish the Offence by them committed, who call'd and were present at the same Assemblies, held without our Permission in any of the Provinces of this our Kingdom; as also whatever pass before and since: We will that they be wholly and fully discharg'd of the same, and we expressly forbid our Advocate General or his Substitutes, to make

any Inquisition or Prosecution after the same. Nevertheless, to the end we may take care that no Assemblies for the Future be licentious call'd, as being expressly prohibited by our Edicts, and the Regulations upon these Matters by the Deceased King our thrice Honoured Lord and Father, to which it is our Pleasure, that all our said Subjects should conform themselves, according to the 82d. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, and the ordinary Article of the 16. of *March* 1606. together with the Answer made the 19. of *August* ensuing, to the Paper presented by the General Deputies of those of the said Religion, the extracts of which are hereunto annex'd under the Seal of our Chancery, have made and do make Inhibitions and Prohibitions to all our Subjects of the said Religion for the Future, to summon any Congregations or Assemblies, to Consult or Treat therein of any Politick Affairs without express leave first from us obtain'd, upon Pain of being punish'd as breakers of the Edicts, and disturbers of the Publick Peace: Granting 'em nevertheless full Liberty to call and hold Provincial and National Colloquies and Synods, according to what has been formerly granted 'em: yet so as not to admit into 'em any other Persons then the Ministers and Elders, there to Treat of their Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline only, upon Pain of Forfeiting the Priviledges of holding those Assemblies, and answering for it by their Moderators in their proper Persons

sons and Names. So we send to you that you cause these Presents to be Read and Register'd, and that all our said Subjects may enjoy the Benefit of what is contain'd therein; and farther that you cause these our said Present Letters, to be exactly perform'd and observ'd through the full extent of your Jurisdiction; without permitting or suffering any Breach or Infringement thereof. Farther we command and enjoyn the Governours, and our Lieutenant Generals, particular Governours and Lieutenants in the Government of the Provinces and Cities within the extent of your Jurisdiction, their Mayors, Jurats, Sheriffs and Consuls, to take special care of the same. And to the first of our faithful and beloved Counsellours, the Master of the ordinary Requests of our Household, Counsellours of our said Court of Parliament, residing upon the Places, and others our Justices and Officers with the soonest to inform and give us notice of all the said Breaches, and in the

mean time to proceed against the Offenders, by the usual Ways, and according to the Tenour of the Edicts and Ordinances. For such is our Will and Pleasure. Given at *Paris*, April 24. 1612. and in the second Year of our Reigns.

LOUIS.

And lower, by the King being in Council.

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax, upon a single Label.

Register'd, Heard, and the Kings Advocate moving for it: without the Approbation of the Cognisance attributed to the Masters of the Requests of the Household, that are not within the Terms of the Ordinances. At *Paris* in Parliament, May 25. 1612.

Sign'd *Voisin.*

*A Declaration of the King in Favour of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Preceding Declaration of April 24. Given at Paris, July 11. 1612. and verifi'd August 8.*

**L**EWIS by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all our Beloved and Faithful Counsellours, holding our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, Greeting.

Thou we have sufficiently made known by our Letters Patents of

the 13<sup>th</sup>. of *April* last past, what our Intention was toward the generality of our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, of whose Affection and Fidelity we have always had an entire Assurance: And thou the Pardon and Amne-

Amnesty contain'd in our said Letters, Patents, were not sent, but at the Instance and Supplication of some particular Persons of the said Religion, who fear'd to be prosecuted, for that contrary to the Edicts and Ordinances, they met in Assemblies held contrary to our Permission, and other Acts since committed, and among others, the Listing of Souldiers without our Authority; to free 'em from Suspicion and the Trouble they were in upon that occasion, there being some amongst 'em against whom Informations have been exhibited in some Chambers of the Edict; nevertheless we are given to understand, that this Favour has been taken by some of the Religion, for a desire to lay some blemish upon the Generality of 'em, and not for a Gracious Remedy ordain'd for particular Persons, who prudently judg'd how much they stood in need of it.

For these Reasons, with the Advice of the Queen Regent, our thrice Honoured Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, other Peers and Officers of the Crown, and Principal Members of our Council, being desirous to take away all pretence from all Persons whatever, who may have any evil Intention, and to satisfie our good Subjects of the Reformed Religion, who adding to their Zeal for their Religion, that Obedience which is due to us, have no other aim or design then to enjoy in Peace and Quiet, the Benefit of the Edicts made in their behalf. In which number, far the greater,

are comprehended those who have more Power and Authority to be assisting in upholding the Publick Tranquillity.

We have said and declar'd, and once more do say and declare by these Presents, by way of Explanation of what is contain'd in our said Letters Patents of *April* last, that we are very well satisfi'd and contented with our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion in General: And upon that Consideration, we have altogether buried in Oblivion the Offences which the said particular Persons might have committed contrary and to the prejudice of our Edicts: Nor will we that any thing be imputed to 'em, nor that upon this occasion any Blame or Blemish be fasten'd upon 'em for the Future, provided they continue hence forward within the Bounds of their Duty, Obedience and Fidelity toward us; and prove as exact observers of the Laws, Edicts and Ordinances made to the end that all our Subjects may live in Peace, Repose and Amity one with another. So we Will and Command, that you cause these Presents to be Read, Publish'd and Register'd in your Registers, that our said Subjects of the said Religion may fully, peaceably and without any Molestation or Impeachment enjoy the Benefit of the Contents. For such is our Will and Pleasure.

Given at *Paris*, *July* 11. 1612.  
and the third of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

By

By the King, the Queen Regent  
his Mother being present.

upon a single Label.

*De Loménie.*

And Seal'd with Yellow Wax

Register'd, after being heard, and  
upon the Motion of the Kings  
Advocate General. At *Paris* in  
Parliament, *August 8. 1612.*

*A Declaration of the King, and Confirmation of the Edict of  
Nantes, given at Paris, December 15. 1612. and verifi'd  
January 2. 1613.*

**L**ewis by the Grace of God King  
of *France and Navarr.* To  
all, &c. The extream desire we  
have had ever since our coming to  
the Crown, for which we continually  
implore the Blessing of God,  
and for which the Queen Regent  
our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mo-  
ther, has always most sedulously la-  
bour'd, has been to take care to  
maintain and preserve all our Sub-  
jects in Peace, Tranquillity and Re-  
pose, and in good Friendship, Uni-  
on and Concord one with another,  
as being the Principal Foundation  
of the welfare of this Kingdom.  
To this purpose from the Time  
that it pleas'd God to visit us with  
the fatal Accident that befel us,  
through the Death of the Decea-  
sed King, our thrice Honour'd  
Lord and Father, of glorious Me-  
mory, we resolv'd to imitate and  
follow the same Methods which he  
took, to attain the same ends: and  
having observ'd, that after he had  
by his Valour restor'd this King-  
dom to its Ancient Splendour, he  
with a great deal of care, Labour  
and Prudence, and for a Foundati-  
on of an assur'd Repose, and an en-

tire Reconciliation between all his  
Subjects; as also to remove from  
those who profess'd the pretended  
Reformed Religion, all occasion  
of Fear and Distrust for the Liber-  
ty of their Persons, Consciences,  
Honour and Families, made and  
ordain'd what is compriz'd in his  
Edict giv'n at *Nantes* in *April*  
1598. by the Observation of  
which, and of the Secret Articles  
he had happily rul'd and govern'd  
his People in Peace till his Decease,  
therefore one of our first Actions,  
which we were willing to do in  
this Kingdom, has been to set forth  
our Letters of Declaration of the  
22. of *May, 1610.* containing a  
Confirmation of the said Edict,  
and of the Secret Articles, Regu-  
lations and Decrees set forth by  
way of Explanation, and for the  
putting the same in Execution,  
which we sent at the same instant  
to all our Parlements to be there  
verifi'd: and sometime after we  
resolv'd to send into all the Pro-  
vinces of our Kingdom, some of  
the Principal Members of our  
Council, and other Persons well  
qualifi'd, chosen by our selves as  
well



well Catholicks as of the pretended Reformed Religion, to cement and corroborate the Establishment and Execution of the said Edict, and favours granted in pursuance of it, having ever since continu'd to give that Assistance toward it that could be expected from our Care and Authority. But it has so fallen out, that our good Intentions have not had that successful Effect, that we could have desir'd among all our Subjects: Some of whom, and of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, through Suspicions too lightly conceiv'd of adverse Occurrences, are enter'd into Jealousies and Mistrusts one of another. Whence it has follow'd, that they have begun to double their Guards, make Provision of Arms, Levy Souldiers, hold Assemblies and Councils, and to do other things quite contrary to the Tenour and Observation of the said Edict. To which, however we are willing to believe 'em to have been induc'd by some fears, which they have conceiv'd of themselves, and upon false Suspicions and Pretences, tho' not out of any ill Will or bad Intentions: Having always found the Generality of those of the Reformed Religion, extremely well affected to the good of our Service, and firm and constant in that reverence, Fidelity and Respect which they owe to us. But in regard this Mischief may draw after it dangerous Consequences, we thought it necessary to provide against it, to re-establish the good Friendship, Correspondence and Society, which ought to be alike among all our said

Subjects; for the maintaining of their common Repose, which cannot be done more assuredly then by an exact Observation of the said Edict, Secret Articles, Briefs, and other Acts made in pursuance of it: As also by giving new Assurances to all our said Subjects of the said pretended Reformed Religion, of our good Intentions in their behalf, and of our Intentions to preserve, maintain, protect 'em, and cause 'em to enjoy all the Favours and Concessions, which have been decreed 'em, as well by the Edict, as since that time, as they did in the Life-time of the Deceased King till his Death.

For these Reasons, and others Us moving, after we had caus'd this Matter to be debated in Council, where was the Queen Regent, with the Princes of our Blood, and other Princes, several Officers of the Crown, and Principal Counsellours of our Council, with the Advice of them, we have said and declar'd, and we say and declare, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the abovesaid Edict of *Names*, together with our Declaration of the 22. of *May* 1610. with the Private Articles, Regulations, Decrees, and other Letters set forth in pursuance of them, either by way of Explanation, or for the better Execution of the same, may be read *de novo*, and publish'd in all our Courts of Parliament, and Seats of Judicature under their Jurisdiction, having to that end, and as much as need requires confirm'd 'em, as we do again confirm 'em by these presents Sign'd with our hand. We Will and Ordain,

Ordain, that the whole may be fulfill'd, and inviolably observ'd, without any Breach or Infringement whatsoever, in any manner whatever. And for as much as the Breaches which have been made by some of our Subjects, have proceeded rather from Suspitions and Distrusts too slightly listen'd to, then from any want of Affection, Fidelity or Allegiance, which they have all along made apparent upon all occasions that have offer'd themselves. Hoping also that for the Time to come, they will keep themselves within the bounds of Duty, under the Observation of the Edicts and Ordinances, therefore we Will, and it is our Meaning, and our Pleasure, that all Decrees, Procedures, Acts, and other Letters that have been granted and set forth against 'em, as well in general as particular, upon any occasion whatever, shall be null and void, as if they had never been extant; so that upon occasion, and in pursuance thereof they shall not either in general or particular, incur any Blame, danger or damage, nor be disturb'd or prosecuted for the Future. And to this purpose, we impose Silence upon all our Advocates General, their Substitutes and all others; as we also expressly forbid all our said Subjects, in Conformity to the 77. and 82. Articles of the Edict, to hold any Communications of Assemblies, to settle or hold Provincial Councils, or to make any Levies, Provisions of Arms, or Masters of Souldiers, or to commit any other Acts directly or indirectly con-

trary to our Edicts and Declarations, upon pain of Disobedience, and of being punish'd as disturbers of the Publick Peace.

To this purpose, we command our Beloved and Faithful Counsellours, holding our Court of Parliament and Chambers of the Edict, settl'd within the Kingdom, that the abovemention'd Edict, the Edict of Pacification, Secret Articles, Brevets, Declarations, and other Letters Patents to them sent in pursuance of the same, be forthwith read and publish'd in the usual Places, and that the Contents thereof be inviolably fulfill'd and observ'd; ceasing and causing to surcease all Troubles and Impeachments to the contrary.

We further enjoyn our said Atturney Generals to be aiding and assisting thereto; and if any Infringements happen after this, to prosecute the Authors with Severity; to the end, that Examples of Punishment may deter others. For such is our Will and Pleasure. In Witness whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be affixed to these Presents.

Given at *Paris*, December 15. 1612. and the thirteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

And upon the Folding of the Paper, By the King, being in Council, the Queen Regent his Mother present.

*De Lomenie*.

Extract out of the Registers of Parliament. This

This day, the Court, the Grand-Chambers, the Parlamental Court of Criminal Causes, having seen the Letters Patents in form of Charters of the 15th of December last, concerning the Observation of the Edict of Nantes, and other Letters and Articles in pursuance of it, the Conclusions of the Advocate Ge-

neral, and the Matter brought into debate, have Decreed that the said Letters be Read, and Publish'd, upon the Hearing and Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Copies sent to the Bailiwicks and Seneschalships to be there Read and Publish'd. Done in Parliament January 2. 1613.

Sign'd Guyer.

*A Declaration of the Kings Majority, containing a Confirmation of the Edicts of Pacification, and Prohibitions of Duels. Dated at Paris, October 1. 1614. Verifi'd the second of the said Month and Year.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarr. To all, &c. It having pleas'd God to bless our Reign with so many Favours and Successes, and to bring the course of our Years to the Age of Majority, to which we have now attain'd, as we have at all times all the Reason in the World to commend and be thankful for the happy Administration of our Kingdom, during our Minority under the Regency and Prudent Conduct of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, we are willing to seek all ways, possible and agreeable to the Duty of a most Christian Prince, jealous of Gods Glory, and who desires to maintain the Publick Peace and Tranquility, for the welfare, repose and ease of his Subjects, whether in causing an exact Observation of the Good and Holy Laws made by the Kings our Predecessors of most

praise worthy Memory, or by new Laws, which we shall deem proper to make as occasion offers, and upon such Advice as may be given in the next Assembly of the States General of our Kingdom, which we shall cause to be summon'd; for the attaining of which, and to the end that all our Subjects may live in Peace, Union, and Right Understanding in the fear of God, Obedience of his Commands, and Observation of our Ordinances; so that the publick repose and tranquility, which we desire to preserve among 'em, may not be interrupted or violated,

We have with the Advice and Counsel of our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, other Princes and Lords, principal Officers of our Crown, and most remarkable Persons of our Council, said, declar'd and ordain'd, and we say, declare and

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ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, in Conformity to what we have already formerly ordain'd, That the Edict of the Deceased King our thrice Honoured Lord and Father, given at *Nantes* in *April* 1598. in favour of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, in all the Heads and Articles of it, together with all the other Articles to them granted, and Regulations made, Decrees given either by way of Explanation, or for the Execution of the said Edict, or in pursuance of it, may be fulfill'd and inviolably kept and observ'd, as has been ordain'd and perform'd by our said Deceased Lord and Father, and that the Infringers may be severely punish'd as disturbers of the Publick Repose.

And the more to secure the Publick Peace and Tranquility under our Authority and Obedience, we prohibit all our said Subjects from holding any particular and private Intelligences, Leagues or Associations, as well within as without our Kingdom; nor without our Permission to send to any Forreign Princes, whether Friends or Enemies upon any occasion whatever: And we enjoin all our Officers to look carefully after it, and to be assisting as need shall require, upon pain of being responsible, and of being punish'd for their Negligence, with the same Severity as the Disobedience of the Offenders.

We also forbid all our said Subjects, of what Estate, Condition or Quality soever, who receive Estates, Pay or Pensions from us,

not to take, accept or receive any Estate, Pay or Pension from any Prince or Lord whatever; nor to follow, be present with or accompany any other then our selves, upon pain of being depriv'd of the said Salaries, Estates and Pensions.

And for as much as for want of due Execution of the Edict made by the Deceased King our Lord and Father, concerning Duels, Combats and Encounters, and afterwards by our selves, and for that they have not been obey'd by several of our Subjects, in Contempt of our Authority, great Disorders and Confusions have from thence arose, which greatly offend God, and may provoke him to send the Scourges of his Wrath among us, and upon our Kingdom, if we should not provide against so great a Mischief; it is our Pleasure, and we ordain, that all the said Edicts, Ordinances and Declarations made by the Deceased King, and by our selves, upon occasion of the said Duels, Combats and Encounters, shall be inviolably observ'd for the Future, and fulfill'd and observ'd according to their Form and Tenour, nor shall they who shall presume to infringe our Commands hereafter, so much as hope or expect from us any Favour or Pardon, upon any excuse, pretence, occasion or consideration whatever. And we enjoin all our Officers to proceed against the Offenders with the utmost Rigour of our Laws, without any Exception of Persons: And our Advocate Generals, and their Substitutes,



stitutes, to make all necessary Pro-  
secutions against such Malefa-  
ctors.

Considering also, that the Di-  
vine Majesty is greatly offended  
with Caths and execrable Blasphemies,  
which are utter'd daily by  
several Persons, against the Edicts  
and Ordinances made by the Kings  
our Predecessours, We have or-  
dain'd and do ordain, that the said  
Edicts and Ordinances shall be  
Publish'd *de novo*, that no Body  
may pretend Ignorance. And we  
enjoin all our Judges and Officers,  
within their several Jurisdictions,  
upon pain of losing their Offices,  
to proceed against the Offenders  
with the utmost Rigour contain'd  
in the same; with which thy shall  
not dispense upon any Cause what-  
ever, upon Pain of being respon-  
sible to us in their own Names and  
Persons. Farther we Command  
our Advocates General, and their  
Substitutes, to use all requisite Di-

ligence in the Execution of these  
Presents.

Given at *Paris*, *October 1. 1614.*  
and the Fifth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

By the King in Council.

*De Lomenie.*

The King with all his Court,  
repairing to his Palace, sitting in  
his Throne of Justice, all the  
Court of Parliament assembl'd in  
their Scarlet Robes, the Speeches  
made, the Chancellor pronounc'd  
the Decree of Verification, which  
was transcrib'd afterwards upon the  
folding of the Letters.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd,  
upon the Hearing and Motion  
of the Kings Advocate General.  
At *Paris* in Parliament, the  
King there sitting, *October 2.*  
*1614.*

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*A Declaration of the King, purporting the renewing all the E-  
dicts of Pacification, Articles granted, Regulations and De-  
crees depending upon 'em. Publish'd in Parliament, the last  
of April 1615.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God  
King of *France* and *Navarr*,  
To all, &c. Immediately after  
our coming to the Crown, the  
Queen, our Thrice Honour'd La-  
dy and Mother, then Regent of  
the Kingdom during our Minority,  
prudently judg'd that there was no-  
thing which ought to be more dear  
to her, then the Preservation of

the Publick Peace, and that for the  
Enjoyment of this Happinefs, and  
to cause our Subjects to live in A-  
mity one with another, it was neces-  
sary to confirm the Edicts, Decla-  
rations, and all other Writings  
and Dispatches granted by the  
King Deceas'd, our thrice Honour'd  
Lord and Father, whom God Ab-  
solve, to our Subjects of the Pre-

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tended Reformed Religion, on purpose to let 'em know, that she was desirous to follow the Example and Conduct of a Prince, who had so happily rul'd and govern'd his Kingdom, and advanc'd so high the Grandeur and Reputation of it, by his Wisdom and Matchless Valour, that she knew not how to take a better course or more wholesome Counsel, then that which he made use of. Which she did by a Declaration Publish'd in all the Parliaments, and in other Places where it was necessary, taking the same care also to see it Publish'd. And when she receiv'd any complaint of Breaches, that were pretended to be made to the Prejudice of the same, did all that lay within the Verge of her Power and Authority to cause amends to be made. This Conduct which she us'd in all her Actions, and Deportment in the Government of the Kingdom, having been the true Cause, next to Gods Assistance, to keep all our Subjects united in Affection, Fidelity and Obedience toward us and in Friendship one among another. Which has also mov'd us, after the Declaration of our Majority, to beseech her, that she would be pleas'd to continue with the same Affection and Vigilance, to assist us with Her good Counsels, in the same manner and with the same Authority, as if the Administration of the Government were still in Her hands. In pursuance whereof, by Her Advice, as soon as we enter'd into our Majority, we set forth a Declaration, in favour of our Subjects of the Religion, the

same in Substance with the former, to let 'em always see, that our Intention and Desire, was to promote Friendship and Peace among our Subjects, and inviolably to observe our Edicts. And being very sorry for the Contention and Dispute that happen'd between the Catholick Deputies of the Chamber of the Nobility, and some others of the said Religion, assembl'd in the General States held in our good City of *Paris*, upon this occasion, that the said Catholick Deputies had put the Question, and came to a Resolution, that we should be Petition'd to preserve the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Religion, according to the Oath, which we took at our Coronation; a needless Proposal, or rather altogether unprofitable, considering that we our selves profess it with an unshaken Constancy and Resolution to live and dye in it. So that we must believe, that the Proposal was not made by them, but only to testifie their Zeal and Affection for the Catholick Religion, and not to give offence to any Body, as first they separately declar'd to us, and afterwards all together, protesting that they desir'd the Observation of the Peace, as Establish'd by the Edicts: And that we would be pleas'd to await, and expect from Divine Goodness, the Reunion of all our Subjects to the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion, by the means most usual and customary in the Church. Being fully perswaded by experience of what is past, that violent Remedies have

have only serv'd to encrease the number of those that are departed from the Church, instead of teaching 'em the way to return to it: Therefore to take away all evil Impressions out of the Minds of our good Subjects, of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who profess it with a Zeal no less Pure and Innocent, then remote from all Faction and Evil Design: As also all Pretences from whosoever seeks 'em to disturb the Repose of the Kingdom, we thought it our Duty upon this, to declare what is our Will and Pleasure. For these Reasons, we make known, that having consider'd of this matter in our Council, where were present the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes of our Blood, &c. We have with their Advice said, declar'd and ordain'd, say, declare and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, by these Presents, that all the Edicts, Declarations, and Private Articles, ordain'd in Favour of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as well by our Deceased Lord and Father, as by our selves, together with the Regulations and other Letters or Decrees, given in their Favour by way of Explanation, and for the Execution of the Edict of *Nantes*, and in pursuance of it, shall be inviolably kept and observ'd, and the Offenders punish'd with the utmost Rigour of the Laws; as Disturbers of the

Publick Peace. To this purpose, we enjoin all our Officers to be carefully assisting, upon Pain of being answerable, and punish'd for their Negligence or Connivance, with the same Severity as the Offenders. The same Injunctions and Commands we lay upon our Beloved and Faithful Counsellors, &c. to see that these presents be Read, and Publish'd, &c. For such is our Will and Pleasure. In Testimony whereof, we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd. Given at *Paris*, March 5. 1615. and fifth of our Reign.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

By the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Order'd to be sent to the Bayliwicks and Seneschal ships, to be there Publish'd and Register'd, and carefully observ'd by the Advocate Generals Substitutes, who shall certify the Court of their Sedulity within a Month, upon Pain of answering in their own Names. At *Paris* in the Parliament, *April* the last, 1615.

Sign'd *Voisin.*

*A Declaration of the King, upon Arms being taken by some of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, containing a new Confirmation of the Edicts and Declarations formerly made in Favour of those of the Religion. Given at Bourdeaux, November 10. 1615. and Publish'd at Paris in Parliament, December 7. the same Year.*

**L** *Emis*, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, &c. The Declarations set forth and reiterated by us since our coming to the Crown, in Confirmation of the Edicts, Declarations, Brevets, Decrees and Regulations made in favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, during the Reign of the Deceased King *Henry the Great*, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve, have been sufficient to make it known, that it has been always our Intention and Desire to cause them to be inviolably observ'd, as being Laws requisite to preserve our Subjects in Peace and Friendship one with another, and in their Obedience and Duty toward ourselves. Which being well and prudently consider'd by the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, she, during her Regency, took great care to see 'em observ'd, and that the Breaches and Infringements thereof should be repair'd so soon as she receiv'd the Complaints. We have also since our Majority follow'd the same Counsels, and in Imitation of Her have accumulated New Gratifications and Favours; many times also convinc'd at Extravagancies and Violences committed by some of 'em, tho' they deserv'd very great and severe Punishment, out of an Intention always to assure 'em of our good Will and favour, and by that means, to render 'em more inclinable, and more studious to keep themselves within the bounds of their Duty. To which, would they but have added the remembrance of the kind and favourable Usage, which they receiv'd at the hands of the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, to whose Memory they owe the Confirmation of their Liberty and the Exercise of their Religion, which they enjoy with all Security, they would out of a praise-worthy Gratitude, and the Duty of an entire Obedience and Fidelity, have acknowledg'd to our selves all those Obligations, at a time especially when the Innocence and weakness of our Infant Years ought to have excited the Vertue, Courage and Fidelity of all our good Subjects to defend and preserve the Authority which God has put into our Hands, upon which alone depends the Publick Security, and the particular Safety of every Private Person. Nevertheless, this Conduct, tho' full of Goodness and Mildness, has prov'd no way beneficial to us,



us, several having betaken themselves to Arms against us, to favour the Commotion began by our Cousin the Prince of *Condé*. Among whom there are some who make use of Religion, as a specious Pretence to cover and Cloak their Ambition, and furious desire of advancing themselves upon the Disorders and Ruins of the Kingdom; others have been misled and deceiv'd by false Impressions and vain Fears, which the former have infus'd into 'em, that they were in danger of Persecution, if they did not speedily join Arms with 'em for their own Preservation; making them believe, the better to surprize their simplicity, that upon the Marriages with *Spain*, secret Articles were made, and a Conspiracy enter'd into, to expell 'em out of the Kingdom. To which they too easily giving Credit, have precipitated themselves into this enterprize, believing themselves to be constrain'd thereto for their just and necessary defence; which renders their fault the more excusable, and rather meriting Compassion than Punishment. But they had not run themselves into this inconvenience, had they better consider'd, that this same Impudent and Malicious Lye, was without any appearance of Truth; there being no Body so void of Sense and Judgment, that believe, since the Alliances were sought by honourable ways on both sides, as has been accusom'd among great Princes, that Conditions should have been requested or desir'd by us, which could not be

fulfill'd without plunging the Kingdom into Fire and Sword, and laying it waste with Depopulation: As questionless it would have fallen out by breaking the Edicts of Pacification, and so severe and unjust a usage of our Subjects of the Religion, as they give out by a lye Artificially invented, and with a very wicked design: For nothing has been done privately in the pursuit, and resolving upon those Alliances, but every thing has been Publick, seen, imparted, concluded and decreed with our Deceased Cousin, the Count of *Soissons*, a wise Prince and of solid Years, and great Experience, with our Cousin the Prince of *Condé*, and other Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and most eminent Persons of our Council then about us. Among whom our Cousin the Marshal de *Bonillon* was always present, having altogether unanimously approv'd these Alliances, without the least Opposition of any one, every one being free to think and speak what he thought in his Conscience most profitable for the good of the Kingdom, without fear of offending us, or incurring our displeasure; so far as neither the Queen, then Regent, nor we our selves had the least prejudice in our Minds, but only a desire to be satisfi'd, what was most expedient to be done in a debate of that Importance. All Sovereigns, who think it their Interest to preserve the Ancient Reputation and Grandeur of this Kingdom, having likewise acknowledged these Alliances never  
to

to have been made with any evil design, have had no suspicion or distrust of 'em, after they were inform'd that our Intention was, to make 'em serviceable as much as in us lay, toward the securing of the peace of Christendom, not for any enterprize or Invasion of the Countreys or Kingdoms of any Princes or Sovereigns whatever, much less to interrupt the Peace and Repose which all our Subjects happily enjoy'd before this Commotion began. Nevertheless they of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who have taken Arms, forbear not to report and publish, that there is a private Correspondence between *France* and *Spain*, to attempt their Ruin; being desirous to make all our Subjects believe, that we have so little Consideration in us, as to approve and consent that *France* should be the Theater wherein to play this Bloody Tragedy, in which the differences in Religion are to be decided by Arms; tho' we are far remote from any such Counsel, and rather to believe that the Decision of that Contest ought to be left to God alone, who knows in his own time, for his own Glory and our Security, to make use of the most proper, and convenient means to be ador'd and worshipt by all Christians, according to the Purity of his Doctrine, and by the True Church, which we believe to be the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman*, of which we make Profession, and in which by his Grace we intend to Live and Dye. But these Artifices invented, to disguise and

cover their Rebellion, have no way deceiv'd or misled the wiser sort, who being People of worth, profess the same Religion, only by the Dictates of Conscience, as believing to find their Salvation therein, and not out of any proneness to Faction; who being very numerous, as well Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities, and other Private Persons of all Qualities, both blame and detest the Malice and Rashness of their Attempt, and have publicly declar'd as well by word of Mouth as by writing, that it ought to be lookt upon as real and flat Rebellion, and not for any Quarrel about Religion: They having also upon this occasion offer'd us, like good, true and loyal Subjects, all Assistance of their Lives and Fortunes, if they refuse to return to their Duty. To which purpose they admonish 'em every day, and threaten 'em to joyn with us, in the Prosecution of their Ruin, provided we would be pleas'd to let 'em enjoy the Benefit of the Edicts, and only deprive them of that Favour who have render'd themselves incapable of it. But these Remonstrances and Menaces have wrought no more upon 'em, then those of the Inhabitants of the greatest part of the Cities and Places, which have been left in their hands, who have done as much, and publicly protested also, that they would not adhere to 'em in their Rebellion. For instead of quitting their wicked Design, they have insolently given out, that those of their Religion, who have not hitherto follow'd 'em,

'em, shall at length be constrain'd to do it ; for fear that in suffering them to be ruin'd and destroy'd, they do not weaken and endanger themselves. A Condition and Servitude too hard for Men of worth, to be constrain'd to do evil against their Wills, their Conscience and their Duty, in compliance with those who are only govern'd by their Ambition, and Private Interest. However we hope better things from their Virtue and Fidelity, and that they will remain so firm and constant in their Affection to our Service, that their Resistance, and the continuance of their Loyalty will have force sufficient to constrain others to desist from their attempt, tho' to justify and corroborate it, they suppose Resolutions and Decrees of General Assemblies that never were ; but only certain Conventicles, and unlawful Meetings of particular Persons chosen and suborn'd by 'em, who without any Employment or Authority, and many times against the express Will and Declarations, contain'd in the Procurations and Injunctions of those by whom they were deputed, adhere to the Proposals of the Factious, who desire to make use of 'em to the great damage and prejudice of honest Men of their Religion. Therefore, it not being any Intention of ours to impute to all the faults of some particular Persons, We, with the Advice of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, &c. and of our full Power and Royal Authority, have said, declar'd and or-

dain'd, and do say, declare and ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, in Conformity to what we have already formerly and several times ordain'd, that the Edict of *Nantes*, verifi'd in all our Parliaments, made in favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion by the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, together with the rest of the Articles, Declarations and Regulations made, and Decrees set forth either by way of Explanation, or for the better Execution, and in pursuance of the said Edict, by him, and during his Reign, or by Us since his Decease, be inviolably fulfill'd, kept and observ'd, as has been done and ordain'd to this present Time. And that it in any parts of the Kingdom, there have been Infringements, they may be absolutely repair'd, and satisfaction given for 'em ; so that nothing more may be desir'd on our Part. Moreover it is our Pleasure, in Consideration of the Fidelity, which an infinite number of our good Subjects of the same Religion have made known and observ'd toward us, among whom are the most Principal, and Men of greatest Quality, who Merit a singular Testimony of our good Will, that in despite of the wrongs, which have been done us by those of the said Religion, who have taken Arms against us, or have assisted and favour'd 'em in any manner whatever, they may in like manner enjoy the Benefit of our Edicts, and be partakers of that Favour, as well as those who have persisted in

their Duty, provided that within one Month after Publication of these Presents in every one of our Parlements, they declare to the Register of the Bailiwick or Seneschalship, under whose Jurisdiction they live, that they have desisted and quitted the said enterprize to do us Service, according to their Duty, without any longer adhering to, assisting or favouring in any manner of way, those who persist in their Rebellion; and that they surrender back those places which they possess, in the same Condition as they were before the Insurrection. Which being done, without any new breach of their Duty, we have taken and put 'em, and do take and put 'em under our Protection. And we prohibit and forbid all our Subjects of what quality soever to revile and offend 'em, either in Word or Deed for any thing Past, as also our Advocates General, to issue forth any Prosecutions against 'em; desiring that what is past may be buried in Oblivion and Cancell'd, and we forget and cancel the same by these Presents. But if after the space of the said Month elaps'd, they continue in their Rebellion, either by bearing Arms, or assisting in any manner those that are in Arms, it is our Pleasure that they be prosecuted and punish'd as Criminals and Guilty of High Treason, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace; and that the Cities and Communities which adhere to 'em, be declar'd to have forfeited all Favours, Privileges and Immunities which they enjoy'd, by vertue of any Charters grant-

ed 'em by the Kings our Predecessours, or by our selves, as having render'd themselves unworthy of 'em. And we command our Advocate Generals to prosecute 'em with all Diligence, and our Parlements to proceed against 'em with their utmost Care and Affection; and our Governours and Lieutenant Generals to be strenuously assisting in the Execution of such Decrees and Judgments, as shall be pronounc'd against 'em: not suffering 'em to enjoy any Favour or Privilege, granted 'em by the Edicts, made in Favour of our Subjects of the said Religion; of which they have render'd themselves unworthy by this Pernicious Rebellion.

So we command our well Beloved and Faithful Counsellours, holding Courts of Parliament, Chambers of the Edict, Bailiffs, Seneschals, &c. that theie our present Letters of Declaration, be Published and Register'd, and the Contents of 'em punctually observ'd, according to their Form and Tenour, &c. Commanding also our Advocates General, and their substitutes to be assisting, &c. For such is our Will and Pleasure. In Witness whereof, &c.

Given at *Bordeaux*, November 10. 1615. and sixth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

And below, by the King.

*De Lomenie*.

Seal'd



Seal'd with the great Seal in Yellow Wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, upon the Motion of the Atturney General; and order'd that

Copies be sent to the Bailiwicks and Seneschalships, &c. to be there Publish'd and Register'd with all speed by the Substitutes, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, December 7. 1615.

Sign'd *De Tiller*.

*Extract of the Kings Edict, for the Pacifying of the Troubles of his Kingdom; given at Blois, May 1616. and verifi'd, June 13. the same Year.*

#### Article XLV.

Our Pleasure and Meaning is, that the Edicts of Pacification, Declarations, and secret Articles, verifi'd in our Courts of Parliament, as also the Brevets, and Answers to the Papers, made by the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, in Favour of the Pretended Reformed Religion be observ'd and executed, and that they may enjoy 'em according to their Form and Tenour.

XV. And whereas M. *Peter Berger*, Counsellour in our Court of Parliament in *Paris*, who had one of the six Offices, which by XXX. Article of the said Edict were appointed for those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, has made Profession since of the Catholick, we have created and erected, and do create and erect, *de novo*, an Office and Counsellour in our said Court of Parliament at *Paris*, with the same Salary, Rights, Privileges, Authority and Functions equal to any of the Rest. Which Office now by Us created, we appropriate to those of the said Pre-

tended Reformed Religion, instead of that which *Berger* held, and for which we will provide a Person of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of ability and sufficiency, according to the Form express'd in the L. of the Private Articles granted at *Nantes* to those of the said Religion.

XVI. It is our Pleasure and Meaning, that the Exercise of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, shall be restor'd and settl'd in Places, where it has been discontinued or interrupted, since the said first of *July*, by Reason of the Present Commotions, in the same Manner and Form as before.

XVII. And to the end there may be no Question of the sincere Intention of our Dear Cousin the Prince of *Condè*, and those who are joyn'd with him, we declare that we repnte and hold our said Cousin the Prince of *Condè*, for our good Kinsman, and faithful Subject and Servant, as also the rest of the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, Communities and others,

as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition soever they be, who assisted him, or joyn'd or united with him, as well before as after the suspension of Arms, comprehending also the Deputies of the said Pretended Reformed Religion; tho' assembled at *Nîmes*, and present at *Rochel*, for our good Subjects and Servants. And after we read the Declaration set forth to us, by our said Cousin the Prince of *Condé*, we believe and deem, that

what was done by him and the abovenamed, was done out of a good end and Intention, and for our Service.

LIII. The Secret Articles which have been granted by us, and which will be found inserted in the present Edict shall be punctually and inviolably fulfill'd and observ'd, and upon an Extract of the said Articles, Sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, all necessary Letters shall be forthwith given out.

*Private Articles granted in the Kings Name by his Deputies, sent to the Conference at Loudun to the Prince of Condé, and others joyn'd with him, to obtain the Pacification of the Troubles; after that, seen, approv'd and ratify'd by his Majesty.*

I. **T**Is the Kings Pleasure and meaning after the Example of the Kings his Predecessors, that the *Gallican* Church be preserv'd in her Rights, Franchises, Liberties, and Prerogatives.

II. What has been done by the Clergy upon the Publication of the Council *Trent*, has not been approv'd by his Majesty; and consequently nothing has come of it: Nor will he permit that any thing be done hereafter without or contrary to his Authority.

III. Altho that in the Edict it be express'd, that all places which have been taken on either side during these Troubles, shall be

restor'd, to the same Hands, and resettl'd in the same Condition as they were before; Nevertheless, it is agreed, that the Castle of *Leitoure*, shall be put into the Hands of an Exempt of the Guards of the Kings Body, or some other of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall be made Choice of by his Majesty to keep it till the Contest between the *Sieurs de Fontailles* and *Angelin*, about the Captainship of the said Castle, be adjust'd by his Majesty.

IV. That the XXVII. Article of the Edict of *Nantes* about the Pacification of the Troubles, concerning the admitting promiscuously those who do or shall profess the Pretended

tended Reformed Religion, to all Estates, Dignities, Publick Offices or Employments, Royal, Signioral, or City Magistrates, shall be follow'd and observ'd; and by vertue of this the *Sieurs Villemezeau*, Counsellour in the Court of Parliament, and *Le Maître*, Master in the Chamber of Accompts, shall be admitted to the Exercise of their Employments as they were before they profess'd the said Pretended Reformed Religion.

V. The Ministers of the Pretended Retormed Religion, shall enjoy the favour and Exemptions to them Vowsaf'd by the Kings Letters Patents of *December 15. 1612.*

VI. The *Sieurs Durant*, *Louis* and *Gausin*, shall be resettled in the City of *Metz*, as formerly they were.

VII. The Inhabitants of the City of *Millan*, and of the Cities, Boroughs and Communities of the County of *Foix*, who were at the Taking of the Castle of *Camerade*, as also some particular Persons of the City of *Nimes*, shall enjoy the Benefit of the *Amnesties*, which were formerly granted 'em, for some Crimes and Extravagancies therein mention'd, without needing any other Verification then the Registring of these present Articles, nor shall the said Registring be any Prejudice to the Civil Interests of the Parties, for which there shall be provision made according to reason. And as for the City of *Millan*, the Catholicks, as well

Ecclesiasticks as others, may make their abodes there, and securely continue Divine Worship, the King protecting 'em from those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall be responsible.

VIII. The Lady *Dandoux*, and the *Sieur de St. Foy*, together with those who assisted 'em, shall be wholly discharg'd from all that may be lay'd to their charge by reason of what was done at *Belestat*, in 1615. Which shall be extinguish'd, cancell'd and abolish'd; nor shall they be bound to put themselves into a Condition, for the allowance of the Favour or discharge which has been or shall be expedited for 'em; from which they shall be totally acquitted and Exonerated at the Charge also of the civil Interest, if it so fall out: And that the Inhabitants who profess the Pretended Reformed Religion, may abide there with all safety and freedom, and enjoy the Exercise of their Religion as is permitted 'em by the Edicts, which shall remain in the Custody of the Catholicks.

IX. The *Sieur d' Ardon*, shall be restor'd to the Government of the City of *Vannes*, which Reestablishment shall be made good by the Governour and Lieutenant General of the Province.

X. The Declaration which has been set forth in favour of the *Sieur de Borne*, to the prejudice of the Employment of the Grand Master of the Artillery, shall be revok'd, and the said Employment restor'd.

restor'd back, with the same Authority and Functions as the Grand Masters enjoy'd who Exercis'd it formerly.

XI. The Sieurs Marquiss of *Bonivier* and *Fraisse*, shall be releas'd and set at Liberty, and all Informations and Proceedings against 'em, by reason of the present Troubles, shall be made Null and of no Effect.

XII. M. *Nicolas Cugnois*, Provincial Receiver of the Tithes of *Burgundy*, in *Burgundy*, shall be discharg'd, together with his Bail, and his Ensurers, of the Summ of 21000 Livres, which he was constrain'd to pay to the Duke of *Mayenne*, being as well the Mony of the said Receipt of Tithes, as of the Confignation which he was forc'd to pay to the *Chatelet* of *Paris*, for the purchase of the said Office, or the Remainder of the Years during which it was to be enjoy'd. Nor shall the said *Cugnois* be bound to report any Verbal Process of the said Constraint with which he is dispens'd, according to the Declaration which the Duke of *Maine* set forth, acknowledging the Receipt of the said 21000 Livres from the said *Cugnois*, and its being laid out in the Affairs of the War; and of which the said *Cugnois* shall be absolutely acquitted and clear'd as to the Receiver General of the Clergy of *France*; as also of the Confignations of the said *Chatelet*, and all other Summs, by vertue of the said Duke of *Mayennes* Acquittance for the Summ of 21000 Livres, which

shall serve for a Discharge to the said Receivers.

XIII. The Commission for the razing the Castle of *Tigny*, in *Anjou*, shall be revok'd, if it be not done already.

XIV. The Duke of *Vendosme*, with all his Domestick Servants, those of his Troop of Genfdarms, and of the Troop of light Horse, call'd the Duke of *Mercoeur* his Sons Troop, commanded by the Sieur de la *Vacre Chivray*; together with the Sieurs *Duiffion*, d' *Arabon*, Baron de *Quernewan*, Baron de *Vieux Chasteau*, and the Widows and Children of the Sieurs d' *Oervaux*, and the Sieur de *Cannemores*, shall have an Appeal for all Processes and suits as well Criminal as Civil, which they may have as defendants in the Court of Parliament of *Rennes*, and the said Processes shall be remov'd to the Grand Council, and that for a Year; to which purpose requisite Letters of Appeal shall be expedited: Under the Counter Seal of which shall be affix'd the Cases both of the said Domesticks and Companies.

XV. The King grants to M. the Prince of *Condé*, as well for himself, as for all other Princes and Lords, as well Catholick as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who joyn'd and united with him, the summ of 1500 Thousand Livres as well for the Payment of the Levies, keeping afoot and disbanded the Souldiers, as for the Charges and Expences of the said War.

Done and Decreed by the King  
in



in his Council, the Queen Mother  
Present, *May 16. 1616.*

And lower under the Counter-  
Seal of the Edict,

Sign'd *LEWIS.*

*Pothier.*

*A Declaration of the King upon the Edicts of Pacification ; given  
at Paris, July 20. 1616. and verify'd August 4. the same  
Year*

**L** *Emis*, by the Grace of God,  
King of *France* and *Navarr*,  
To all, &c. Tho' that since our  
coming to this Crown we have  
clearly enough made known our  
continual care to preserve all our  
Subjects in Amity, Union and  
Concord one with another, as al-  
so those who profess the Pretend-  
ed Reformed Religion, with all  
the safety and freedom that they  
can desire, as well for their Con-  
sciences as for their Persons, Es-  
tates, Offices and Dignities, un-  
der the Observance of the Edicts  
of Pacification, secret Articles,  
Declarations, Brevets, and other  
Favours and Concessions granted  
'em by the Deceas'd King, our  
thrice Honour'd Lord and Fa-  
ther, whom God absolve, and  
since by our selves confirm'd: To  
which purpose we caus'd to be  
expedit in their favour several  
Declarations in expresse terms, as  
well at our coming to the Crown,  
and our entrance into our Ma-  
jority, as upon several other Oc-  
cassions; upon which we judg'd  
that they might desire to be sat-  
isf'd of our good and sincere In-  
tentions in that particular: Ne-  
vertheless, considering what has

been represented to us, that some  
among em remain under some sus-  
pition and jealousy, for that since  
the General Estates of our King-  
dom were last convok'd, and as-  
sembl'd in our good City of *Pa-  
ris*, it was set afoot and resolv'd,  
that we should be petition'd to,  
that we would be pleas'd to pre-  
serve, the Catholick, Apostolick  
and *Roman* Religion, according to  
the Oath which we took at our  
Coronation, tho' they that were  
there as Deputies, have since suf-  
ficiently given us to understand,  
that what was done proceded ra-  
ther out of the abundance of their  
Affection for the said Catholick  
Religion, then out of any ill  
Will which they bear to those of  
the Pretended Reformed Religi-  
on, We acknowledge at the same  
time, how necessary a thing it is  
to observe the Edicts of Pacifica-  
tion made in their Favour, and  
how requisite it is for the Welfare  
and Tranquillity of the Kingdom;  
desiring therefore a fresh, to sati-  
sfie our said Subjects of the Pre-  
tended Reformed Religion, of our  
good will in that Particular, and  
to the end we may not leave any  
Scrupel unremov'd upon the said  
Proposals

propofals in the Affembly of States General; For thefe Reafons, and other Confiderations, us thereunto moving, with the advice of the Queen Mother, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and principal Members of our Council, about our perfon, we have faid and declar'd, fay and declare, That we never had any thoughts, by the Oath which we took at our Coronation, to comprehend therein our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, living in our Kingdom under the benefits of our faid Edicts, Articles and Declarations made in their favour, which it is our pleasure fhall be always inviolably follow'd and observ'd, without the leaft infringment, and which association requires we have all along confirm'd and by thefe Presents confirm. Enjoyning all our Officers to profecute and punifh the Infringers thereof, as refractory Perfons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace. Thus we command all our beloved and faithful Counfellors, holding our Courts of Parliament, Bailiffs,

Senefchals, &c. that they caufe thefe our prefent Letters Declaratory to be read, publish'd and register'd, &c. and that the Contents thereof be inviolably kept and preserv'd. In Teftimony whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be affix'd. Given at *Paris*, July 20. 1616. in the 7th. Year of our Reign.

Sign'd LEWIS.

By the King in Council.

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd with the Great Seal, in Yellow wax, upon a double Label.

Read, publish'd and register'd upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and Copies order'd to be sent to all the Bayliwicks, and Senefchalships, to be there publish'd and register'd, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, August 4. 1616.

Sign'd Voifin.

*A Declaration of the King, containing a Confirmation of the Edict of Loudun, and the Private Articles of it. Given at Paris the laft of September, 1616. and verify'd October 25. the fame Year.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navarr*, to all &c. As it has been an extraordinary Grief to us, when we were constrain'd upon juft caufe

and confideration, concerning our own and the fecurity of our Kingdom, to order our Cousin the Prince of *Condè* to be feiz'd, and on the other fide were extremely overjoy'd

overjoy'd and contented when we understood that the Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown and others who withdrew from our Court upon that Accident, all desir'd the Peace and Tranquillity of our Kingdom, and to satisfie us with their Actions; of which having duly inform'd us, and of the Occasion of their absence, and being convinc'd of the reasons that might lessen the confidence which we had in 'em, We remain'd so well satisfi'd, that there was not the least ill Opinion left in our minds of their deportment: Nevertheless' forasmuch as by our Letters Patents Declaratory upon the Decree for the seizing our said Cousin, by reason of the General and particular Expressions, and Circumstances therein mention'd, it might be otherwise judg'd of their Intentions, as also that their Absence and withdrawing from our Person, might have render'd 'em suspected of things not consisting with their Duty and the Quality of that allegiance which they owe us; for these Reasons, being desirous to preserve their Honour and their Reputation entire, we make known of our own proper motion, full Power and Royal Authority, and with the Advice of the Queen, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, Princes of our blood, other Princes, &c. and We have declared, and do declare, that neither by our said Declaration, nor by any terms, or general or special Word therein contain'd, we ei-

ther meant or do mean to comprehend the said Princes, Dukes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Officers of our Sovereign Courts, or others of what Quality or Condition soever they be, suspected, and departing from *Paris*, upon the day of the Seizure and Detention of our said Cousin, and since the abovemention'd Accident, who have made us sensible of the sincerity of their Intentions, and their Resolutions still to continue in their Obedience to us, whom we hold and look upon as our Good, Faithfull, and Affectionate Subjects and Servants, no way consenting nor partakers of the Facts contain'd in the said Declaration; and it is our Pleasure that they enjoy our Graces, Favours, Benefits, Honours and Governments, and that they exercise their Employments and Offices as they did before, and as belongs to their abovemention'd Preferences, notwithstanding all the Interdictions and Letters which might have been set forth to the contrary. Moreover, it is our Pleasure, that the Edict not long since made at *Loudun*, be maintain'd, with all the Articles as well General, as particular and private, granted in pursuance of the said Edict, and that our Subjects may enjoy the benefit of 'em. To that end we command our faithful and beloved Councillours, &c. That they cause these presents to be verifi'd and register'd, fulfill'd and observ'd according to their form and Tenour, for such is our Plea-

sure. Given at *Paris*, September, the last, 1616. and 7th. of our Reign

Siign'd LEWIS.

And below, by the King.

*Mangot.*

Seal'd with the Great Seal of Yellow wax upon a double Label.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General; and Copies order'd to be sent to the Bailly-wicks and Seneschallships &c. To be there also publish'd and register'd &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, October 25. 1616.

Sign'd Du Tillet.

*A Declaration of the King against the Unlawful Assemblies of any of the Pretended Reformed Religion at Castle Jaloux and Bearn. Given at Paris, May 21. 1618. Verify'd May 25.*

**L** Ewis, by the grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Upon Information given us the last Month of *April*, that some of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion took upon 'em contrary and in contempt of the Edicts of Pacification, and several Declarations by us set forth, to summon and hold unlawful Assemblies, and such as were by us prohibited, and also that they had appointed one of several Provinces to be held in the City of *Chatel-Jaloux* in our Country of *Guyenne*, we took an Occasion to expedite our Letters Patents dated *April 20th.* by which we declar'd all Assemblies that should be summon'd by our said Subjects of the said pretended Reformed Religion, other then such as were permitted by our Edicts, and for which they had express leave from us, to be unlawful, and contrary to our Authority and Service, and as

such we forbid 'em, upon pain of Disobedience; ordering Prosecution against the Authors of the same, and all those that should go thither and be present there, as Infringers of our Edicts, and disturbers of the publick Peace. Which our said Letters having bin publish'd and register'd in our Court of Parliament at *Bordeaux*, and Chamber of Edict at *Nerac*, our Officers of the said Societies had taken such care for the observance of 'em, that the Governour and Consuls of the said City of *Chatel-Jaloux* and they who were entrusted with the command of several other Cities of the said Province held by those of the pretended Reformed Religion, had obstructed and refus'd the holding of the said Assembly, and for that reason would have enforced those that were deputed thither to have departed. But we have bin inform'd within these few



few days, that the more factious among 'em, finding that by reason of our said Declaration, they could not with freedom and safety hold the said Assembly, which they had contriv'd to be such as they desir'd to have it, resolv'd to call it without the Jurisdiction of the Parliament, in our Country of *Bearn*, or some other Part, whither they had invited several of our Subjects from divers Provinces to meet. Which being directly prejudicial to our authority, and the good of our Service, the Peace and Tranquility of our Subjects, and contrary to our Edicts of Pacification, and several Declarations set forth upon that Subject, desirous of an Occasion to provide against it, and to punish those who carry themselves with so much disobedience and unbridl'd License, we have said and declar'd, and do say and declare, that it is our Pleasure and Intention, that at the Prosecution and Solicitation of our Advocates General and their Substitutes, our Judges and Officers of the Places, shall proceed against all those who have bin the Authors, and shall be found present at the said Assembly by them newly summon'd in our said Province of *Bearn*, or in any other unlawful Assemblies, and such as are forbid by our Edicts and Declarations, as Violators of our Edicts, and disturbers of the publick Peace: And to this Effect we will and require

that they be apprehended and taken into Custody where e're they shall be found hereafter, to the end their Prosecutions may be brought to a Conclusion. And where they cannot be taken, that they may be proceeded against for Contumacy, Seizure and Inventories made of their Goods, according to the Forms in such Cases customary. So we command our beloved and faithful Counsellors, holding our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, that they give Order that these presents be read, publish'd and register'd, &c. For such is our pleasure. In Testimony, &c.

Given at *Paris* May 21<sup>st</sup>. 1618.  
And Ninth of our Reign.

Sign'd LEWIS.

By the King,

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd, &c.

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, at the Motion of the Kings Advocate General, and authentick Copies order'd to be sent, &c. To the end they may be read, publish'd, Register'd and Executed within their several Jurisdictions, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament May 25<sup>th</sup>. 1618.

Sign'd Du Tiller.

*A Declaration of the King, confirming the Edicts of Pacification, and the Assemblies of Castle-Jaloux, and others approv'd. Given at Amboise, May 24. and verif'd July 5.*

**L**ewis, by the Grace of God, King of *France and Navarr*, to all, &c. It has bin always our Intention carefully to maintain and cause to be observ'd toward our Subjects professing the pretended Reformed Religion, the Favours, Concessions and Advantages which the Deceased King our thrice honour'd Lord and Father granted 'em by the Edict of *Nantes*, and by the Brevets and Declarations which ensu'd upon it, and which have since by us bin confirm'd. On the other side, we have desir'd that on their part they would confine themselves to the Observance of the same Edict, and live under the Protection of it, with the same Fidelity as the Rest of our Subjects. And when they have given themselves the Liberty to do any thing contrary to their duty, we have been oblig'd to let 'em understand our Resentment, and for that reason to set forth Declarations and other Letters Patents, such as we our selves thought necessary, upon the Occasion which presented themselves. As we did in *April* the last year, being inform'd that some among 'em took upon 'em, contrary and in contempt of our said Edicts and Declarations, to summon and hold unlawful Assemblies, and such as were by us prohibited, as also that they had appointed one at *Castle-Ja-*

*loux* in *Guyenne*. We therefore expedited our Letters Patents of the 20th. of the said Month, by which we declar'd the said Assembly and all others that were held by 'em, other then those that were permitted by us, to be unlawful, and contrary to our Authority and Service, and as such we forbid 'em under the Penalty of disobedience. Since that, we have bin inform'd, that they themselves who had contriv'd to hold the said Assembly at *Castle-Jaloux*, finding that they were obstructed by reason of our said Declaration, were resolv'd to call another without the Jurisdiction of our Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and to appoint it at *Orthes* in *Bearn*, to the end they might hold it there with more freedom. Upon that we set forth a Declaration dated the 21st. of *May* ensuing: By which we declar'd it to be our pleasure, that upon the Prosecution and Solicitation of our Advocate Generals and their Substitutes, the Judges and other Officers of the places should rigorously proceed against such as should be the Authors, or should be found present in the said Assembly which was said to be call'd in *Bearn*, or in any other unlawful Assemblies forbid by our Edicts, as Violators of our Edicts, and Disturbers of the publick Peace. Which nevertheless did not prevent the holding of the said

said Assembly, nor the Removal of it afterwards to our City of *Roddy*; at which we have just Reason to be offended, were it not but that upon this last Motion, they who met at the said Assembly, acknowledging that some of our Subjects, desirous to make use of the Name of the Queen, our thrice honour'd Lady and Mother, to trouble the Peace of our Kingdom, sought their Advantages, to the Prejudice of our Authority and the good of our Service, and that if they had done amiss in meeting to the prejudice of our Prohibitions, they had no Intention however to disserve us; having sent their Deputies to us upon this Occasion, to protest and assure us of their Fidelity, Obedience and Duty to our Service, and to beseech us to honour 'em with our commands. Which being well understood and consider'd, we resolv'd to hear their Deputies mildly and favourably, and to forget the Offence which they had committed by reason of that Assembly. Which being desirous effectually to do, for these causes, after the Affair was set afoot and debated in our Council, where were present several Princes, &c. With their Advice, and of our own certain knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, we say and declare, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that our said Subjects who met in the said Assemblies, held in the said Cities of *Orthes* and *Roddy*, together with those that were deputed thither, shall not be disturb'd, molested or prosecuted up-

on that Occasion; but that they be absolutely discharg'd, and that they may return home with freedom and safety to their own Houses and Places of abode; notwithstanding the Declarations above mention'd, and all Decrees and Judgments that might be issu'd forth against 'em. It is our pleasure also that if any of 'em have bin taken and imprison'd, or have had their Goods seiz'd upon the said Occasion, their Persons shall be acquitted, and their Goods restor'd; as having upon the said Considerations, extinguish'd and buried in Oblivion the Miscarriage which was committed upon that Occasion. And we impose perpetual silence upon our Advocates General, their Substitutes and others, whom we charge and command however to be assisting in the Execution and Observance of our Edicts and Declarations aforesaid. So we command our faithful and beloved Counsellors, &c. That these presents may be read publish'd and register'd, &c. And that our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, may enjoy the Benefit of the Contents fully and peaceably, without suffering the least Injury, Trouble or Impediment to be offer'd 'em. For such is our Pleasure. In Witness, &c. Given at *Amboise*, May 24<sup>th</sup>. 1619. and 10<sup>th</sup>. of our Reign.

Sign'd *LFWIS.*

And below, By the King,

*De Lomenie,*  
Seal'd

Seal'd &amp;c.

Paris in Parliament, July 15th. 1619.

Register'd upon the Motion of  
the Kings Attorney General. At

Sign'd, Callart

*A Declaration of the King against those of the Assembly at London, together with a Confirmation of the Preceding Edicts of Pacification. Given at Paris, February 26. 1620. and Publish'd in Parliament, February 27. the said Year.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, Teul, &c. As we have always held it for an assured Foundation of the publick Tranquility of this Kingdom, to maintain and preserve our Subjects, as well the Catholics as those of the pretended Reformed Religion, in good Peace, Union and Concord one with another, under the Benefit of the Edicts and Declarations made and set forth to that purpose by the Deceased King our thrice honour'd Lord and Father, whom God absolve: So we have had a particular care, in causing 'em to be exactly observ'd; and that they of the said Religion may enjoy the Favours and Concessions which were granted 'em by the same. Which also we have not only maintain'd and preserv'd, but also out of our special Grace and Favour have much augmented and enlarg'd. And to be the more particularly satisfi'd of any Faileurs in the Observance of the said Edicts and Declarations, which might be committed, and to give our said Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion the means to inform

us of 'em, in imitation of the Deceased King our thrice honoured Lord and Father, we have agreed that they shall have near our Person, and in our Train, certain Deputies who may inform us of 'em, and exhibit their Remonstrances to us and our Council, as they shall judge requisite to be provided against and remedi'd at their Instance and Solicitation, and to the end those Deputies may be made choice of and appointed, when they have a design to change 'em, we have for that reason given 'em leave to hold Provincial and General Assemblies, when they shall give us to understand that they have occasion for 'em. And altho' the Principal cause for which we have given 'em leave to hold those Assemblies, has bin for the Choice and Nomination of the said Deputies; we have nevertheless thought good, that the Complaints which our Subjects of the said Religion of every Province may make of the said Breaches and Violations, shall be exhibited to the said Assemblies, for them to send their Deputies to present their Papers and Remonstrances to us. For this reason it is, and upon this only



ly Consideration, that we permitted our Subjects of the said pretended Reformed Religion, by our Brever, May 23<sup>rd</sup>. to hold a General Assembly the 26<sup>th</sup>. of September ensuing, in our City of *Loudun*, in which we were in hopes that according to what is express'd by the said Brever, they would have begun to have proceeded to the Choice and Nomination of Deputies, which they would have had to succeed to those that resided in our Train, in whose hands they would have entrusted the Papers of Complaints and Remonstrances which they had to present to us, to the end they might solicit our Answer, and take care of putting in Execution what should be by us ordain'd. But instead of so doing, they would needs send to us, certain of their Number with a first Paper, containing some principal Heads, to which they besought our answer, and to cause to be executed what we thought convenient, till they had compil'd their other Papers, which as they said they were preparing to exhibit to us. Upon which we gave 'em to understand, that when all their demands should be reduc'd into one Paper, and that they should present 'em to us all at once, and according to the usual Method and Forms, we would receive 'em, and give a favourable Answer, and in such sort, that they should find by the Effects, our good will towards 'em, And tho' they were also oblig'd to cause the said Paper to be presented to us by such as should be made choice of among them to reside near our Person, and

then to break up, as it was the Practice, while the deceased King liv'd, of the Assemblies of *Chateaufort* and *Gergeau*, and that it is still observ'd by all the Assemblies of what Quality soever they be, that are held in this Kingdom: Nevertheless, we were willing to doe 'em that favour for once, not to draw it into President, as to receive the said Papers from the hands of those who did present 'em to us on their behalf. Which being reported to the said Assembly, after several Conteſts and Delays, at length they sent us other Deputies, with the General Papers of their Complaints and Remonstrances, whom we kindly receiv'd, giving 'em assurance that we wou'd labour to return 'em a speedy answer, and by which they should not only receive the Justice which they demanded, but also as much as they could expect from our Grace and Favour. Which we gave 'em in charge to report back to their said Assembly, being also farther commanded to tell them in our Name, that since they had presented all their Papers, and that their longer sitting together was to no purpose, but was prejudicial to our authority, and gave scandal to our Subjects, our Pleasure was, that they should proceed with the soonest, to the Nomination of their Deputies, that were to reside near our Person, and then break up. Which done, we promis'd to deliver into the hands of the said Deputies, the Answers which we should make to the said Papers, and within a Month after to proceed to the Executi-

on of those things that should be agreed upon. But instead of receiving this with that respect and reverence which is due to us, they reply'd that the said Assembly was resolv'd to sit still, and not to stir, till they had the Answer that was to be made to their Papers, and that they saw the performance of it. For which tho' we had just occasion to be offended, as being an Answer far remote from the Duty which Subjects owe their King: Nevertheless we contented our selves with laying before 'em the Fault which they committed, and exhorting them to demean themselves with that Obedience which became 'em. And however, to the end the said Assembly might be expressly inform'd of our Intentions, we resolv'd to send to 'em, the Sieurs *Le Maine*, Counsellour in our Council of State, and Gentleman of our Chamber, and *Marescor*, one of our Secretaries, to the end that after they had confirm'd to 'em the Assurances of our good will toward 'em in that particular, they might lay upon 'em the same Command which we had enjoin'd their said Envoys to carry to 'em in our Names; which was, to proceed forthwith to the Nomination of the Deputies that were to reside near our Person, and then to break up in fifteen Days after, and return home into their Provinces: Which was pronounc'd the 10th. of *January* last. To which they made no other Answer, only that they would depute Commissioners to

us, to reiterate their humble Supplications to us, as they did, in sending to us afterwards some others of their Society, who repeated the same Instances which others before had done. That is to say, that we would be pleas'd to agree to the Sitting of the Assembly, till their Papers were answer'd, and that they saw the performance of those things that should be promis'd 'em; upon which not having any thing else to Answer, but what already we had given 'em to understand; and considering of what Importance it was, that they should rely upon the Assurances which we had given 'em of our good Intentions to do what should be to their Content, and that the usual methods in such Cases should be follow'd and observ'd: Considering also that they had sat near five Months, which might breed both Suspicion and Jealousie in our other Subjects, We order'd 'em once more to obey what we had given 'em to understand to be our Will and Pleasure. To which we order'd 'em, after that, to be particularly exhorted, by several Persons well qualify'd, and well inform'd of our Sentiments of these Affairs, who assur'd 'em of our good Intentions, to give 'em content. Having also sent 'em word in our Name, that tho' they had exceeded above a Month of the Time wherein we prefix'd 'em to separate, yet we granted 'em eight Days more for their Return to *Loudun*, and eight Days after to Name their Deputies, and then retire:

retire: In which if they fail'd to give us Satisfaction, we should take care so to provide as should be most for the good of our Service. But finding that instead of obeying our commands, they still continu'd together, covering their Disobedience with the Pretences of new Envoys which they sent to us, to reiterate their Importunities and Supplications: Yet being well inform'd that there are several persons in the said Assembly ill affected to the Good of our Service, and the Peace of this Kingdom, who labour to inveigle others into their wicked Designs, Therefore being no longer able to suffer this contempt of our Authority, without testifying our Resentment toward those that are Guilty, and letting every one know what our Will and Pleasure is upon this Subject: We declare, that we have had this Matter debated in Council, where were present some Princes of the Blood, other Princes, &c. With whose advice, and of our certain knowledge, full Power, and Royal Authority, we have said, declar'd and ordain'd as follows, that is to say, That to testify our good Inclinations in their behalf to our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, we have again order'd our said Deputies assembl'd at *Londum*, a Respite of three weeks after notice shall be given 'em by these presents, to break up the said Assembly, and to go home to their Houses, During which time they may also Nominate their Deputies, accor-

ding to the Number and Method accustom'd, for two to be made Choice of by us, to reside near our Person, and upon their neglect to break up and Retire after that time expir'd, We have from hence forward, as then, declar'd the said Assembly unlawful and opposite to our Service and Authority: And all those who shall stay to continue it, either in the City of *Londum*, or in any other Place, guilty of High Treason, and as such excluded from the Benefit of our Edicts, and other Favours by us granted to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as also of the Appeals which they may pretend to, to our Chambers of the Edict. We likewise will, and it is our Pleasure, that they be proceeded against with the utmost Rigor of our Laws and Ordinances, as well by our Ordinary Judges, as our Parlements, as disobedient Subjects, Rebels and disturbers of the Publick Peace; as also all such as shall side with 'em in their Practices, Negotiations and Correspondencies. And as for those among 'em who shall obey our present command, and withdraw from the said Assembly within the time above mention'd, as also all others of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall continue in their Obedience and Duty toward us, our Will and Pleasure is, that they live with all freedom under our Protection, and enjoy the Benefit of our Edicts, Declarations and other Favours by us granted in their behalf. And if they of the Assembly who

shall obey our present Commands, whatever their Number be, before they quit it, nominate the Deputies that are to reside in our Train, our Intention is to admit their said Nomination, and to permit those whom we shall make choice of, to do the Duty of their Functions near our persons as is usual. So we command our beloved and Faithful Counsellours, holding our Courts of Parliament and Chambers of the Edict, our Bayliffs, &c. We also enjoyn all our Advocate Generals and their Substitutes, &c. And to the end the said Assembly may have sufficient Notice of our present Command, and may have no cause to pretend Ignorance, our Pleasure is, that our Advocate General, or his Substitutes, give speedy notice thereof to the said City of *London*, or other Places where such Assemblies shall be held by the chief of our Ushers, or Serjeants. We

also command our Governours and Lieutenant Generals in our Provinces, to be aiding and assisting in the Execution of such Decrees and Judgments as shall be given against the Violators of these Presents. For this is our Will and Pleasure. In Testimony whereof, &c. Given at *Paris*, Feb. 26. 1620. in the Tenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*,

And below, By the King,

*Phelippeaux*.

Register'd upon the Motion of the Kings Atturney General; and sent to all Bayliwicks and Seneschalships to be there Register'd, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, February 27. 1620.

Sign'd *De Tiller*.

*A Declaration of the King in Favour of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall remain in their Duty and Obedience. Dated at Fontain-bleau, April 24. 1621. Register'd the 27th.*

**L** Eris by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Since we took in hand to govern the Affairs of our Kingdom, We have found that one of the most necessary Things to keep our Subjects in Peace and Tranquility, is carefully to observe the Edicts of Pacification, and Declarations made in favour

of our Subjects, who profess the Pretended Reformed Religion, for which Reason we have all along labour'd it as much as it was possible; and also, to the end they might have so much the more Reason to contain themselves in their Duty, and to rejoice in our goodness, We have often dissembled, and laid asleep their Disobedience and



and Oppositions that many among 'em have been guilty of. Or else we have endeavour'd to turn 'em aside from the Miscarriages to which they were inclinable, by Admonitions and Declarations, which we have set forth and sent, where they were convenient, to let 'em understand their Duty. Which was that which more particularly we were desirous to put in Practice in *October* last, upon Advice that was given us, that our said Subjects were preparing to call and hold an Assembly, without our Permission, in the City of *Rochel*. Upon which we put forth a Declaration to forbid the said Assembly, and to prohibit all that should be deputed to travel thither, and those of the said City of *Rochel* to admit 'em, upon Penalties therein contain'd. But as it frequently happens, that they who have the best Intentions, have not always the greatest Faith among 'em, our Declaration was so far from working any good effect, that in contempt of it, several among 'em forbore not to hold the said Assembly, and after that to call and hold others in several parts of the Kingdom, under various Names and Pretences; some of which made Decrees and Orders, as if they had had Sovereign Authority, publish'd Ordinances for keeping the Field in Arms, committing Acts of Hostility, and taking our Subjects by way of Reprisals, elected and appointed Chieftains, as well for the Field as for the Cities, and took other Resolutions so pernicious, that very great Licenci-

ousness, Excesses and Disorders ensu'd in a good number of the Places which they held; having caus'd extraordinary Fortifications to be rais'd about 'em, rais'd Money and Men, Listed Souldiers, cast great Guns, purchas'd Arms, held unlawful Assemblies, and committed other Acts altogether Opposite and Prejudicial to our Authority, and the Obedience which is due to us. For which we had all just Reason to be offended, nevertheless we were willing to be patient for several Months, and to consider whether of themselves they would return to the acknowledgment of their faults, and seek to us for that Favour which they stood in need of: Nor were we weary all the while of providing Remedies upon several Articles, for which the Deputies that reside near our Person, on the behalf of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion made Supplication to us. But considering now that the farther things go, the more Licentiousness and Disobedience augment among the greatest part of 'em, and that their Audaciousness may encrease by our being at a distance, We have taken a Resolution to make a Progress into *Tourain* and *Poitou*, and farther onward, to visit the other Provinces of our Kingdom, to the end that being so much nearer the Mischief, we may be the better able to provide against it, with that Intention which we always preserve, to maintain the Publick Peace, and carefully to observe, in respect of those of the said Religion, who

shall keep themselves within the Bounds of their Obedience, the Edicts and Declarations that have been made in their Favour, and to promote their Enjoyment of those Favours and Concessions which have been granted in their behalf: As also to punish the Refractory and Disobedient. And to the end that our Intentions may be known to every one, and that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who abide in the observance of the Edicts, may have no other cause then to rely upon 'em, We with the Advice of some Princes of the Blood, &c. Have said and declar'd, and do say and declare by these Presents, and it is our Will, Meaning and Pleasure, that the Edicts and Declarations made by the Deceased King, our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve, and by our selves, as well for Security and Liberty of Conscience, and exercise of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, as for the Enjoyment of the Favours and Concessions, which have been allow'd 'em by Vertue of the same, may be inviolably and punctually observ'd and kept, according to their Form and Tenour, toward those of our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who remain and shall abide in their Duty and Obedience; whom together with their Families and Estates, we have taken and put, and do take and put under our Protection and special safeguard. Therefore we command our Governours

and Lieutenant Generals of our Provinces, and expressly command all Captains and Governours in our Cities, and strong Holds, Judges, Bailiffs, &c. to see that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, may enjoy the Benefit of our said Edicts, and of our Present Declaration, and to take care of their Safety and Preservation. As we also give command to those who have Authority and command in the Cities, which are in the Custody of those of the said Religion, to take the same Care of our Catholick Subjects, who are settl'd therein, under Pain, both the one and the other, of being answerable for their neglect in their proper Names and Persons. It being our Will and Pleasure, that all Transgressours shall be prosecuted, and punish'd, as Disturbers of the Publick Peace, according to the utmost Severity of our Ordinances; enjoining all our Advocates General and their Substitutes, to issue forth all Requisite Writs to the same purpose. So we command our Beloved and Faithful Counsellours, holding our Courts of Parliament and Chambers of the Edict, &c. Given at *Fountain-Bleau*, April 24. 1621. and of our Reign the eleventh.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd, &c.

Read,

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd  
upon the Motion of the Kings  
Advocate General, &c. At Pa-

ris in Parliament, April 27.  
1621.

Sign'd Du Tiller.

*A Declaration of the King, by which all the Inhabitants at present in the Cities of Rochel and St. John d' Angeli, and all their Adherents, are declar'd Guilty of High Treason. With an Injunction to all his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to enter into a Protestation not to adhere to any Assembly at Rochel, nor any others that are held without his Majesties express leave. Publish'd in Parliament, June 7. 1621.*

**L**ewis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarr. To all, &c. Our continual Desire to preserve the Publick Peace and Tranquility among our Subjects, so to prevent the Mischiefs and Desolations that usually attend the raising of Armies, and the Oppressions and Calamities which the People thereby groan under, has caus'd us to suffer and endure for several Months last past, the Miscarriages, Disobedience and Rebellious Acts committed in several Cities of our Kingdom, by some of our Subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion; even in those of Rochel, Montauban, and others, where unlawful Assemblies are still held, who rather make it their Business to form Popular States and Republicks, then to Confine themselves to that Obedience which they mutually owe to us: Having also engrav'd a Seal, under which and the Signatures of the Principal Heads of the

said Assemblies, they have set forth several Ordinances, Decrees, Commands and Commissions, giving Power to particular Persons to command in Provinces and Cities, seize upon the Money of our Chequer and Receipts, Levy Men, raise Money, buy Arms, cast great Guns, send to Forreign Provinces and Kingdoms, with other high Misdemeanours of the same Nature, the evident Marks of an absolute Rebellion, and open Insurrection against our Authority; of which having had some Knowledge in April last, and knowing that they took for the Pretence that hurri'd 'em to these disorders, the little Security they had for their Persons, and the Liberty of their Consciences, We were willing by our Declaration of the twenty fourth of the said Month of April, to give them all Assurance of our good Intentions in respect of those that continu'd in their Duty, and by taking them into our particu-

lar

lar Safeguard and Protection, to let 'em know, that our March into those Parts for which we were preparing, was rather by our approach near those Places, where those Disorders were committed, to shew and strengthen our Authority, to the Confusion of those that were guilty, then to make use of any other more violent Rigour, or of the Power which God has put into our Hands for the Punishment of such Insolencies. But so far was this from opening their Eyes, in Order to the bringing of 'em back to their Duty, that the greatest part of 'em continuing in their Duty, are openly broke out into Rebellion, and commit all manner of Hostilities against those that will not take their part; giving out that they acknowledge no other Chief aim, then the Assembly at *Rochel*, which has now sent for several Souldiers, to *St. John de Angeli*, rais'd under their Commissions, who make as if they intended to oppose our Passage into the said City, and hinder our Entrance by force of Arms; which obliges us, seeing the same Disorders are crept into several other Cities of our Kingdom, to put our selves into a Condition, to chastize the Authors according to their Demerits; and to make use of for that purpose, together with the Ordinary ways of Justice, the means which God has put into our Hands for the Maintenance of our Authority. And to the end that all our Subjects, especially those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, may not be deceiv'd by the false preten-

ces of that Assembly, to draw off from their Duty, and that both the One and the Other may be inform'd of our Pleasure and Intentions upon this occasion, We with the Advice, &c. have said and declar'd, and do say and declare, That in Confirmation of our said Letters Patents of the 24<sup>th</sup>. of *April* last, we have taken and put, and do take and put under our special Protection and Safeguard, all our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition soever, that shall abide and contain themselves in our Obedience, and under the observance of our Edicts. But seeing the Manifest Acts of Rebellion, committed in our said City of *Rochel*, as well by the Assembly, which is still sitting contrary to our express Prohibitions, as by the Body of the City, both Burgeses and Inhabitants; as also what is done in our City of *St. John d' Angeli*, and the Acts of Hostility which they daily commit against our proper Person, We have declar'd, and declare all the Inhabitants and other Persons of what Quality soever, who are now Residing within it, Refugees, or withdrawn into *Rochel* and *St. John d' Angeli*, and all others who directly or indirectly adhere to 'em, or hold Intelligence, Association, or Correspondence with 'em, or who in any manner whatever, own the said Assembly of *Rochel*, or any other Assemblies, Circles or Councils of Provinces, or other Congregations, which hold Correspondence with that of *Rochel*, and which are held with-

out



out our Permission, Relaps'd, Refractory, and guilty of High Treason in the highest Degree, and as such, their Estates to be Forfeited and Confiscate to us. It is our Pleasure also, that they be proceeded against with the utmost Rigour of the Law, by seizure of their Persons, taking Inventories of their Goods, and by other accustomed and usual ways in such Cases. Declaring also our said Cities of *St. John d' Angeli, Rochel*, and all others that adhere to 'em, depriv'd of, and to have forfeited, their Rights, Priviledges, Franchises, and other Favours, graunted 'em by the Kings our Predecessours, or by our selves. And to the end we may discern and distinguish the Good from the Bad, It is our Pleasure, that our said Subjects professing the said Pretended Reformed Religion, as well Gentlemen as others, as also the Cities and Corporations of the said Religion, shall openly make a Declaration in the Presidial Courts, Bailiwicks and Seneschalships within their Jurisdiction, of their good Intentions to our Service; and renounce, disavow and protest against any Adherence to the said Assembly of *Rochel*, or any other Councils of Provinces, Circles or other Places, which are held and sit without our Permission; and that they will oppose themselves in our behalf and jointly with Us against all the Resolutions that shall be there taken, for which they shall have Acts neces-

sary for their Discharge. We also expressly forbid all Gentlemen and others to permit their Children, Servants, or any others depending upon 'em, to go to the said Cities, or to give 'em any Aid or Assistance whatever, nor to afford Lodging or Shelter in their Houses to those that shall go and converse there in any manner whatever, under pain of being held guilty of the same Crime. Expressly commanding all Bailiffs, &c. to proceed exactly and carefully against the Persons and Estates of those who shall have incurr'd the said Penalties: As also all our Advocate Generals, &c. to do their Duties without any regard to Passports, which might be obtain'd from Us, by false Misinformation, unless under the Great Seal.

So we give Command to our well Beloved and faithful Counsellours, &c. Given at *Noyon*, May 27. 1621. and of our Reign the twelfth.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

By the King,

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd, &c.

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, upon the Motion of the Kings Advocate General; and compar'd Copies, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, June 7. 1621.

*A Declaration of the King, containing Prohibitions to all his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, remaining in Obedience, to stir from their Houses, either in City or Countrey, under the Penalties express'd. Given at Beziers, July 25. 1622.*

**L**ewis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Upon Advice that those of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who persist in their Rebellion against the Commands of God, and their natural Duty toward Us, have so far forgot themselves, as to solicit and treat with Forreigners to invade our Kingdom. With whom they are not only desirous to join themselves, but also by threats and menaces, to force other our good Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who have all along preserved themselves in their Duty under our Obedience, and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, to take up Arms, and join with them and the said Forreigners, the more to strengthen themselves in their Designs and Enterprises, and to subdue and dispose of our Kingdom in pursuance of their Resolutions taken in their Assembly of *Rochel*, We deem'd it most necessary to apply a Remedy to it, and to make use of all means that God has pleas'd to put into our Hand. For these Reasons, with the Advice of our Council, and of our full Power and Royal Authority, We have prohibited and forbid, and do prohibit and forbid expressly by these

Presents, sign'd with our own Hand, all our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Quality or Condition soever they be, who remain in their Duty under our Obedience and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, to depart from, quit, forsake or abandon their Houses, whether in our Cities or in the Countrey where their Habitations are; to join with those who are in Arms, or with the said Forreigners, or to afford any Shelter, Favour, Succour, or Assistance whatever, upon Pain of Forfeiting our Favours, of being declar'd Guilty of High Treason, Deserters of the Kingdom, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace; and as such to be Proceeded against with the utmost Rigour of the Laws and Ordinances of our Kingdom. Promising also, that while they continue in their Duty under our Obedience, and the Benefit of our Edicts and Declarations, we will maintain and preserve 'em as our Good and Faithful Subjects, and preserve 'em from all Violence and Oppression. So we Command and Ordain, &c.

Given at *Beziers*, July 25. 1622. and thirteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis*.

By

By the King,

*De Lomenie.*

Seal'd, &amp;c.

Read, Publish'd and register'd,  
&c. At the Parliament in *Paris*,  
August 5. 1622.

*A Declaration of the King upon the Peace which he gave his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, confirming the Preceding Edicts of Pacification. Given at the Camp before Mompellier October 19. 1622. and Publish'd in Parliament November 21.*

**L** *LWIS* King of France and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Asevery Christian Prince that fears God, ought to have in abhorrence the Effusion of the blood of Mankind, created after the Image of the Almighty, so also is he bound and oblig'd not only to avoyd the Occasions of Civil and Domestick Warrs, but also to seek and embrace all honourable and lawfull means to reunite and cause his Subjects to live under the Laws of the Kingdom in good Concord and Obedience. And the same Divine Goodness that has known our heart ever since it has pleas'd him to call us to the Government of the *French* Monarchy, is the Judge of our inward Thoughts, and every body knows that our Arms have bin no less just then constrain'd and necessary for the support and defence of our Authority: Whether against those, who from the Beginning, under divers borrow'd Pretences, have rais'd up Troubles during our Minority; or after that, against our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, abus'd and surpriz'd by the Artifices of some

among 'em, who thought to make their advantages as well of their Simplicity, as of the publick Division of our Kingdom; whereas our Intentions never have bin other, after the laudable Example of our Predecessors of happy Memory, then to keep 'em all in good Peace and Union, in that Duty and Obedience which is due to us, under the benefit of our Edicts; and to use 'em as our good and faithful Subjects, when they contain themselves within the Bounds of Respect and Submission which are due to a Sovereign: Not having spar'd any duty of Remonstrance and Diligence to prevent the Mischief which it was easie to foresee, before we came to force and violence, to our great Sorrow, for the preservation of our Royal Dignity, and the Power which God has put into our hands; to remove all Jealousies and mistrusts of our Sincerity which have been insas'd into 'em with artifice and design, tho' we were never worse then our words to any person, to prevent the Misfortunes and Accidents that have ensu'd; and to let 'em understand together

with the Principal Authors and Fomenters of this publick Disorder, the real ground of our upright and Sincere Intentions to Cherish and preserve all in peace, and in the free and quiet Enjoyment of what is granted and ordain'd by our said Edicts. And seeing it is so, that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, have been since inspir'd with better thoughts, and acknowledging their Errors and this Truth, have had recourse to our Clemency and Goodness by most humble Supplications, which they have sent us by their Deputies on purpose, beseeching us that we would vouchsafe'em our Pardon, and abolish the Memory of what is past; we always inclining rather to mildness and mercy, then to push forward the Rigor and Justice of our Arms, tho' they have gain'd us signal advantages, sufficient for us to ground the hopes of a prosperous Conclusion, and being desirous out of respect to their Submissions and duties, to restore Peace to the Kingdom, and to reunite our Subjects in amity and concord one among another, and in a general and Unanimous Obedience toward our selves; and for other important Reasons and Considerations, us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Princes, Dukes, &c. We have said, ordain'd and declar'd, and do say, ordain and declare, by these Presents, Sign'd with our Hand, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the Edict of *Nantes*, the Declarations and secret Articles register'd in our Courts of Parliament, shall be faithfully fulfill'd to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, in all their Parts and Clauses, and as they were well and duly enjoy'd in the Reign of the Deceased King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, and since our coming to the Crown, before the last Commotions: That the Exercise of the Religion, Catholick, Apostolick and Roman, shall be restor'd and resettl'd in all parts of the Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience where it has bin interrupted, to be there freely and Peaceably continu'd without any Molestation; forbidding expressly all Persons of what Quality or Condition soever, upon pain of being punish'd as disturbers of the Publick Peace, to molest or disturb the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, enjoyment or collecting the Tithes, Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Duties to them appertaining. In like manner the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, shall be establish'd in such Places, as we shall think good and proper, after we have heard the Remonstrances of the Deputies of our Province of *Guienne*. It is our Pleasure also, that all the new Fortifications of the Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts and Fortresses, held by our said Subjects of the Reformed Religion, more especially those rais'd in the Islands of *Ré* and *Oleron*, shall be demolish'd and level'd with the Ground, the an-

cient.



cient Walls, Towers, Gates, Motes and Countercarps still standing in the same Condition, with Prohibitions to the said Cities to Fortifie 'em anew, and for the more faithful Execution of the said Decolmishments, hostages of the Principal Inhabitants shall be put into the hands of those whom we shall please to Nominate, to the end the Officers of our Crown, or other deputed Commissioners, may execute the Contents abovemention'd according to the Instructions that shall be given 'em. And our meaning is, that all the Cities of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, which in 15. days after Publication of these Presents, shall submit to our Obedience, and willingly open their Gates to us, shall enjoy the Contents of this Declaration. And we expressly forbid all our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, to hold any General or Provincial Assemblies, Circles, abridg'd Synods, or any others of what quality or Title they be, under pain of High Treason, unless they have permission from us: Onely Assemblies of Consistories, Colloquies and Synods, meerely about Ecclesiastical Affairs, are permitted 'em. Also our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, shall stand discharg'd from all Acts of Hostility, and from all Assemblies General and Provincial Circles, abridg'd and others, and from all other things whatever, generally contain'd in the 76<sup>th</sup>. and 77<sup>th</sup>. Articles of our Edict of *Nantes*, from the first of *January*, 1621.

'till this present Time; comprehending under this Title, the execrable Cafes, such as are specify'd and declar'd by the fourscore and sixteenth Article of the said Edict, into which search may be made before the Judges who have Cognizance of it. And as for what happen'd at *Privas*, we will have a particular Amnesty of it expedited for the Inhabitants of that Place, as also for the *Sieur de Brisson*. And for the Accomptables and other Officers, as to what concerns the Trusts of their Management, the 78<sup>th</sup>. and 79<sup>th</sup>. of the said Edict of *Nantes* shall be faithfully kept and observ'd. In like manner, for the Judgements, Decrees and Sentences given against those of the Religion who have born Arms, our Pleasure is that they shall be discharg'd of 'em, according to the 58<sup>th</sup>. 59<sup>th</sup>. and 60<sup>th</sup>. Articles of the said Edict. Also we have Corroborated and confirm'd, and by these Presents do Corroborate and confirm the Judgments given by the Establish'd Judges and Counsellours, by the Chief Commanders in the Provinces, whether in Civil or Criminal matters and Executions happen'd between those of their Party; and the said Judges and Counsellours are discharg'd from all pursuiss in that regard, imposing perpetual Silence upon our Advocate Generals, their Substitutes and all others pretending claim or Interest therein. In like manner our Pleasure is, that all Prisoners on both sides that have not pay'd their Ransoms,

shall be releas'd and set at Liberty without paying any thing, and all Promises made in reference to Ransoms not fulfill'd upon the Day or Date of these Presents, are declar'd Null and of no Effect. In like manner all Persons of what Quality and Condition soever they be, shall be restor'd to their Estates, Debts, Titles, Accompts and Actions, Employments, Honours and Dignities, which they were depriv'd of during the present Troubles, notwithstanding any Donations or Consecrations; excepting Military Employments, the care of which we will reserve to our selves. We also order that this Declaration be observ'd and kept by all our Subjects, according to the Form

prescrib'd by the 82d. Article of our Edict of *Nantes*; and that Catholick and Pretended Reformed Commissioners, shall be sent into all the Provinces to look after the Execution of it according to our said Edict. So we Command our faithful and well beloved, &c. In Testimony, &c. Given in the Camp before *Mompellier*, October 19. 1622. of our Reign the 13th.

Sign'd LEWIS.

By the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Read, publish'd and register'd  
&c. At *Paris* in Parliament November 21. 1622.

Sign'd *Du Tillet*

*A Paper presented to the King by the General Deputies with the Answers.*

### TO THE KING.

SIR, your most Humble and Obedient Servants of the Religion, being fully inform'd of your Majesties Royal inclinations, for restoring the Ruins of his poor People, have laden the Deputies which your Majesty has been pleas'd to appoint 'em, with infinite Acclamations, Vows and good Wishes, for the Establishment and sacred Benedictions of this Peace that is so much desir'd, to the end, that forasmuch as they find themselves pierc'd with this Cœlestial Benefit, they may seek the Continuance of it, by the constancy

of their submission, and render those Eminent Testimonies by their only Recourse to your Clemency and Justice, that they aspire to no Security or Refuge which they value more highly, against the Violence of those that trouble 'em, and withstand the Power of your Laws, then that of challenging by their humble Petitions and Supplications the steadfastness of your inviolable word, and the Observance of your so authentick Briers. For seeing that the wrongs which are done 'em, directly dash against the Reverence of your Protection

tection, and divide that which the Peace and their Obedience ought to rejoin under the Felicity of your Commands, they most humbly beseech your Majesty to weigh their most humble Remonstrances in that Ballance of Equity, which renders your Scepter Just and Formidable, and that it would please you to cut off the Violent Breaches

of your favourable Concessions with the Sword that God has put into your Hands; to the end that in true Confidence and Assurance of Preservation, reposing upon the Wisdom and Goodness of your Sacred Administration, they may be always retain'd in their Fidelity and real Obligations to your pure and entire Service.

**T**He King has deputed and sent away Commissioners, as well Catholicick as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to go from Province to Province, where it shall be judg'd convenient for the Execution of his Majesties Declaration of the twentieth of October last.

*After Satisfaction shall be given, to what is ordain'd by the Declaration of the twentieth of October, His Majesty will take Care as to the Contents of this present Article.*

*The Election of the Marine Consulship, having been made by a Decree peremptorily set forth in the Chamber of the Edict at Castres, there can be nothing chang'd or alter'd. As to the Election of the other Consuls of the said City, His Majesty means that it shall be made according to the usual*

**I.** For this Reason it is, that for the enjoyment of an absolute Effect of your Justice, they humbly beseech your Majesty to send with the soonest into your Provinces, Persons both of the one and the other Religion, endu'd with that Affection for Peace which is requisite, to the end they may be the better enabl'd to put in Execution your Edicts, Brieis and Declarations.

**II.** And in imparting your Compassion and Clemency to that of your Cities, which has paid you such Obedience, that you have therefore vouchsaf'd it Peace: Your Majesty is most humbly supplicated to Order, that the Garrison, which for so many Months, has been so numerous at *Mompelien*, may be withdrawn according to your Royal Promises, considering the Misery and Mortality which is in the City.

**III.** That in Conformity to the Private Brief, which it pleas'd your Majesty to grant that City, that there may be no Innovation introduc'd into your said City of *Mompelien*, more especially in that which concerns the Consulships: Consequently that Reparation may

*usual Forms, and as the Franchises and Liberties of the City require.*

*After his Majesty has heard the Report of the Commissioners sent to the said City of Rochel, he will consider of the Contents of this Present Article.*

*The King will order the Prisoners of War, at present detain'd in his Gallies, to be releas'd: And for those that are accus'd of particular Crimes, let 'em provide for themselves by the Methods of Justice.*

*To the sixth and seventh Articles, the King's Affairs not permitting him to provide for the Prisoners, for what is past, His Majesty for the Future will deli-*

*may be made for the Innovation in the Marine Consulship, considering the Obedience that has been pay'd your Majesty in demolishing the Fortifications, for the Effect of which the Inhabitants are continually at Work with great Cost, Care and Diligence.*

IV. Also, Sir, for the removing all cause of Distrust and Fear, your Subjects of the Religion, having fulfill'd your Majesties Pleasure touching the Levelling of the Forts of Oleron and Ré, may it please your Majesty to Order, that the Fort built before your City of Rochel may be demolish'd, as your Majesty was pleas'd to Promise.

V. And as Mercy is all from God, whose Image, Sir, you are, may it please your Majesty, as you are plentifully endu'd with that Vertue, to grant your Compassion to a great number of Persons of all Ages, detain'd either by the late Wars, or for the sake of Religion, in your Gallies, Naked, and under insupportable Severity and hard Usage, to that purpose ordering 'em their Pardon and their Liberty; as also to those other Prisoners for Accusations and Prosecutions, occasion'd by the late Times and Commotions, whether Condemn'd or not. Which Favour, Pardon and Liberty is granted 'em by the — and seventy third Article of the Edict, which you were pleas'd to confirm to us.

VI. Your Majesty, by your Letters Declaratory, April 24. 1621. were willing that your Subjects, who continu'd in their Obedience should



*deliver to the said Candal good and valuable Assignations for the Relief and Payment of the said Ministers: As also for payment of the Pensions contain'd in a small Roll, which he will cause to be drawn up.*

should enjoy the Favours and Concessions to them granted, as well by your Majesty, as by the Deceased K. Henry the Great of Glorious Memory; nevertheless in the last year, 1622. they were utterly depriv'd of the Money, which you were accusom'd every year to distribute among 'em by the *Sieur du Candal*, Commissionated for that purpose. By which means particularly their Poor Churches are so necessitated, that they are constrain'd to have recourse to your Majesty, and to supplicate, as they do most humbly, that you will be pleas'd to order Funds to the said *Candal* for the said Year; at least for the Payment of the Ministers of the Province who remain'd in their Obedience, and who are forc'd to borrow Money to buy Vistuals, and supply their other Necessities.

VII. In like manner we most humbly implore your Majesty, that as you have been pleas'd to grant to all your said Subjects, it may please you to ordain that the said *Candal* may be suppli'd with good and valuable Assignations for the Payment and Relief of their Ministers, during the present Year, as likewise for the Parties of the Petty Rolls, which he shall be pleas'd to draw up; and for Payment of the Places, which you were pleas'd to leave in their Custody, which Assignations may be pay'd without Deductions, as it has pleas'd his said Majesty and the Deceased King to grant 'em, by the Briefs which formerly were dispatch'd in their behalf.

*The said Candal presenting a Petition*

VIII. And for as much as out of the

*tion to the Council shall be taken care of.*

*The King will provide for the Future, for the Contents of this Article, according as is above said.*

*His Majesty refers the Restoration of their Church to the Care and Diligence of the Petitioners.*

*The*

the Assignations, that have been order'd the said *Candal* for the Years, 1620. and 1621. there are still due very great and considerable Sums, which the Receivers and Farmers, upon which the said Assignations are charg'd, detain in their Hands, your Majesty is most humbly supplicated to ordain, that all necessary Injunctions may be deliver'd him, to the end the Residue may be pay'd.

IX. The Churches of the Bailiwick of *Gex*, having enjoy'd the Salary of the Ministers upon the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the said Bailiwick, as upon the Money of the Princes that possess'd it, till the Year, 1601. and after that for several Years, under the Deceased King *Henry the Great*; till it pleas'd your Majesty by a decree of your Council, dated *December 5. 1612.* upon his depriving 'em of the said Ecclesiastical Fund, to ordain 'em the sum of 3600. Livres in lieu of the said Revenues, and to charge the said sum of 3600. Livres upon the 45000. Livres of Augmentation granted to those of the Religion; which Money was pay'd 'em by the said *Candal* till *October 1621.* May it please your Majesty to let 'em enjoy the Effect of the said Order and Reassignment; and to that purpose to grant necessary Assignations to the said *Candal*, as well for Payment of the Arrears, as of what shall become due for the Future.

X. May it please your Majesty to use your Liberality, and to provide a Fund sufficient for your Subjects professing the Religion in your

your City of *Paris*, toward the Repair and resettling of their Church, and other structures in the place of their Exercise, burnt, demolish'd, and the Materials for the most part carri'd away; and all this by a Popular Tumult that happen'd in the Year, 1621. notwithstanding that your Subjects remain'd in their Obedience, and were consequently under your Majesties Protection and Safe-guard.

*The Deputies Commissionated for the Province of Tourain shall provide the Petitioners a Convenient Place, for the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion. As for the Re-establishment, and Repair of their Church, his Majesty refers it to the Care and Industry of the Petitioners.*

XI. And dealing in the same manner with your Subjects of the said Profession in your City of *Tours*, may it please your Majesty to supply 'em with the summs which your Majesty had granted 'em for the same Reason, and for the Repair of their Church, the Place and Room of which 'tis hop'd your Majesty will continue to 'em, as having been adjudg'd to 'em by the Commissioners, after a Hearing between them, and the Bodies of the Clergy, the Court of Justice and the Town House. As also for that the said Place and Ground, was purchas'd, built, and Peaceably enjoy'd, till the Commotion in 1621. maintain'd in the said Possession, not only by the Edict of 1598. but also by those of 1610. and 1612. and more especially by your last Declaration. Besides which Right, the approach of your Castle of *Plessis*, usually granted to the People of *Tours*, would be a Security to 'em.

*The Commissioners sent into Breſs shall take care of this Article, so far as shall be agreeable to Reason.*

XII. The same Supplication is made to your Majesty, for the Repair of the Church of *Burgh*, upon the Ruins and Place, where those

To the XIII. XIV. XV. Articles,  
the Commissioners are enjoin'd to take  
care of the Petitioners demands, ac-  
cording to the Tenour of the Edicts,  
and the said Declaration.

of the Religion possess'd it, by  
the Sentence and Decrees of the  
Commissioners, in the enjoyment  
of which they are now disturb'd.

XIII. It is remonstrated to your  
Majesty, that the Inhabitants pro-  
fessing the Religion in the City of  
*Villemur*, are molested in the Li-  
berty of their Consciences, de-  
priv'd of all Exercises of Piety,  
refus'd Publick Employments,  
and very much overburthen'd by  
the Garrison. Those of *Fontenai  
Le Comte* expell'd, interdicted  
Preaching and Prayers, their Pa-  
stor not being permitted to re-en-  
ter; nor can they have their  
Church restor'd 'em, tho' almost  
ruin'd, not so much as for the Bu-  
rial of their dead; suffer'g on the  
other side all Excesses of Charges  
and Free Quarters, upon the com-  
plaints sent to your Council.  
Therefore, Sir, may it please Ye  
to deliver 'em from their Oppressi-  
ons, and by permitting 'em to en-  
joy the Fruits of the Peace, to or-  
der the Re-establishment of their  
Religion, their Churches and Mini-  
sters, the Security of their Burials,  
and whatever Relief your Justice  
can afford their Grievances.

XIV. That you would likewise  
be pleas'd to order the Restoration  
of their Exercise at *Lussan*, where  
it is deni'd to those of the said Re-  
ligion, contrary to the Publication  
of your Declaration, tho' they cari'd  
themselves obediently, and  
that the said Exercise has been con-  
tinu'd there for these fifty Years  
together, even during all the time  
of the late Wars, and Govern-  
ment of *des Roches Barissant*.

The

XV.



XV. Those of the Religion are likewise hinder'd their said Exercise at *Talmont*, the Canon having been levell'd against 'em, while assembl'd to hear the Word of God. As also at *Surgeres*, the Lady of the Place forbidding any Preaching there, tho' it had been allow'd 'em during all the late Troubles. Also at *Baignols*, at *St. Giles's* in *Languedoc*, at *Figeac* in *Quercy*, *Phymirois*, and at *Vic* in *Armagnac*; from whence Mr. *Testas* the Minister is fled, not daring to return, nor being able to abide in safety in the Place. Whereby your Declaration being violated, may it please your Majesty to command the Restoration of the said Places, and the said *Testas*. As also for the Church of *Quilleboeuf*, and the Pastour of it, pursuant to the Re-establishment of it a long time since.

*The XVI. Article shall be communicated to the Maior and Sheriffs of Poitiers, to be by them heard and taken care of.*

XVI. And for as much as the Catholicks of your City of *Poitiers* have impos'd upon those of the Religion the Summ of 1200. Livres, for the Guard that had been maintain'd during these Troubles, into which they would not admit any of those of the Reformed Religion; may it please your Majesty, that they may be discharg'd from it, as from an unreasonable Imposition.

*The King will carefully accomplish and observe, what has been granted to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion of Bearn, by the said Brief of October the last.*

XVII. They likewise supplicate your Majesty, that the Edict of Compensation touching the Churches of your Royalty of *Bearn* may be punctually effected, as you were pleas'd to grant by your Brevet given at *Mompelien*. And that the Exercise of the Religion, and the Minister, may be

restor'd in your City of *Navarreins*. That in Consideration of the Resignation of other Churches, they of the Religion may be maintain'd in the Possession of the Churches, Bells and Church-yards, which were granted 'em by the Commissioners, or by the Parliament upon their Report. And that the Colledges and Academies may be restor'd, and payment made of the Salaries that belong to 'em.

*His Majesty intends that the Chamber of the Edict of Langue-doc, which remains only to be restor'd, shall speedily be restor'd to Castres, according to the said Declaration.*

XVIII. And because Justice is that which most imports your Authority, and the Preservation of the Peace, may it please your Majesty to Order a speedy Restoration of the Party Chambers in Places and Cities where they were wont to be. And in the mean time, may the Courts of Parliament be forbid to take Cognizance, and Judge of the Causes of thole of the said Religion: and that the Appeals by them brought before the Judges, Prothonotaries, or the Commissioners executing Decrees and Sentences, may have the same Effect, as if they were remov'd by Letters Royal, according to the XLIII. Article of the Edict, and VI. of the Conference of *Nerac*.

*Granted.*

XIX. By the sixth Article of the Edict, and II. of Particulars, and other Answers made to our Papers, they of the Religion find themselves justly discharg'd from Contributing toward the Repairing and Building of Churches, and their Dependencies, as things contrary to their Conscience. Nevertheless, the Catholick Inhabitants of *Armai le Duc*, solicit in

*The*

*your*

your Council a Permission, to impose in general upon the Corporation, and as well upon themselves as upon those of the Religion the Summ of six thousand Livres to build a Church for the *Capuchins*, which would neither be reasonable nor conformable to the Edicts. Therefore may it please your Majesty to declare Acquit and Exempted all your Subjects of the Religion from Payments and Contributions of the like Nature, and that the abovenamed II. Article of Particulars may be put in Execution.

*The said Deputed Commissioners in the said Places are enjoin'd to take care of the Contents of this Article.*

XX. 'Tis notorious, that during these last Troubles, they of the Religion have suffer'd many Violences through the Insolence of the People their Adversaries: As in the City of *Romorantin*, where they twice burnt the Meeting-House wherein they perform'd their Exercise in the Suburbs of the said City. But what is more strange, that since the Peace which it has pleas'd your Majesty to grant your said Subjects, the Church which was long since built in your City of *Gergeau*, has been quite thrown to the Ground, and the Ruins of it remov'd, by which means they of the Religion have been depriv'd of their Exercise. Wherefore, they most humbly beseech your Majesty, that amends may be made for this Notorious Breach of your Edicts and Declarations, and to order that the said Church may be rebuilt, and the Exercise resettl'd at *Gergeau*; as also that of *Romorantin*.

*His Majesty will write to the Duke of Espernon, Governour and Lieutenant General of Guyenne, to see that the Inhabitantes of the said Cities of Bergerac, and St. Foy be eas'd, and favourably us'd upon all occasions; and that the Souldiers live under such Discipline, that they may do no wrong.*

*The King will take such Order as shall be most proper for his Service.*

*Done and Answer'd by the King in his Council, at Paris, March 4. 1623.*

*Sign'd Lewis.*

*And lower.*

*Phelipeaux.*

XXI. Your Cities of S<sup>te</sup>. Foy, and Bergerac, most humbly Beseech ye, Sir, that you would be pleas'd out of your singular Goodness, to discharge 'em of the Oppressions, which they have suffer'd so long and so excessive, letting your said City of Bergerac fully enjoy your inviolable Promises, by hindring so many Innovations, and the building of the Cittadel intended, notwithstanding that your Subjects of the Religion have kept themselves within the Bounds of a most humble Subjection and Obedience to your Majesty, out of a desire to Merit in some measure the Effect of your said Royal Promises, their Liberty, and the Peaceable Exercise of their Religion.

XXII. And by your Mildness and Gentleness to ease your People of the Religion, to bring 'em back to a firm Confidence, and to Corroborate as much as may be the Peace which you vouchsafe 'em, may it please your Majesty to obliterate all Marks that are contrary to it. And to these ends, to disband the Souldiers that are quarter'd in Lower Languedoc, Cevennes, and other Provinces, by this Means kept in continual Fears and Apprehensions of your Displeasure; and beseech your Majesty to hasten the said Disbanding, to the end that the Effects of their Obedience, which they desire and ought to pay you, as well in demolishing the Fortifications of the Places, as in all other things, which you shall be pleas'd to com-



command 'em, may not be delay'd.  
*Compar'd with the Original, by Me*  
*Notary, Counsellour and Kings Sec-*  
*retary.*

Du Candal.

Sign'd, *Montmartin* Deputy  
 General, *Maniald* Deputy  
 General.

*A Circulatory Letter of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches.*

**G**entlemen, We doubt not but you have expected our Letters with Impatience, and that you did not take it amiss, that we did not send you what pass'd concerning the Duke of Rohan. You ought to believe that nothing has so much hinder'd us from that, as our fear of putting you to no purpose in uncertain Hopes or Apprehensions. Now that it may be thought, that we ought to see a little more clearly, after the Release of the said Duke, we shall tell you that altho' the Report of a War, and particularly of the Siege of *Rochel* be very hot in this Place, and that from hence it spreads over all the Rest of *France*, nevertheless we see no Preparation for open and present War. On the contrary, we have nothing from the Kings Mouth, and his Principal Ministers of State, but Words of Peace, and Promises of putting in Execution what has been agreed. As to the Affairs, which we have manag'd hitherto, you must know, that having presented to the King a Paper, containing the Principal Complaints of our Churches, and

other things of which we have the Cognizance and Memoirs in our Hands, we have obtain'd Answers, such as you will see by the Printed Paper, which we send you enclos'd; which tho' they be dated the fourth of this Month, nevertheless were not deliver'd us till the twenty second. At present we solicit the Performance of the Answers, which are favourable, continuing to demand satisfaction upon those which are otherwise. Nor shall we fail to give you Advice of the Success, as also of all that we shall judge proper to come to your Knowledge. As for News of the Particular Affairs of the Provinces and Churches, of whose Deputies we have a great number here, we have given satisfaction by particular Letters to all Occurrences. It remains that you second our Labours with your Prayers to God, as we earnestly desire you, considering the need we have in such a difficult time as this. And for our parts, we shall also beseech him to accumulate his most Sacred Benedictions upon your selves. We are.

Yours:

Your most humble and  
Affectionate Servants,  
the General Deputies of  
the Reformed Churches

of France, near his Ma-  
jesty.

Paris, March 30.  
1623.

Montmartin.  
Maniald.

*The King's Declaration, by which it is provided, that in the Assemblies which shall be held by the Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, concerning the Regulations of the Discipline of their said Religion, no other Affairs be propounded or treated of, then such as are permitted by the Edicts. Given at Fontain-Bleau, April 17th. 1623. And verif'd in Parliament, May 22.*

**L** Ewis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, &c. Altho' by our Edicts of Pacification, and the Private Articles granted to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the Year, 1598. they were allow'd to hold Assemblies concerning the Regulations of the Discipline of the said Religion pretendedly Reformed, and Places where the Exercise was settl'd with our Permission first obtain'd, and that by several answers made to their Papers, they have been always forbid to admit into the said Assemblies, other then the Ministers and Elders, and to treat of other Affairs, then those which concern the Regulations of their said Religion, upon Pain of Forfeiting this Favour. Nevertheless we have found, that for some time since, and particularly of late Years under the Toleration of the said Assemblies, our said Subjects have taken the Liberty to intro-

duce Persons of all Conditions, as also to treat of Politick Affairs, from whence have ensu'd several Resolutions, contrary to the Sentiments and Intentions of the Generality, and most considerable of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and to the Publick Tranquility; To which there being a necessity of providing a Remedy, and to prevent for the future the consequences of such abuses, prejudicial to our Authority, and the Peace of our Subjects, We declare, that for these Causes and other Considerations Us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Princes of our Blood, &c. We have said and declar'd, and do say and declare by these Presents, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that in all Assemblies that shall be held by our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, concerning the Regulations of the Discipline of the said Religion, there shall be by us, or by our

our Lieutenant Generals of our Provinces, a certain Person commission'd and appointed, one of our Officers of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, to be present in the said Assemblies, to see and consider, whether any other Affairs are propos'd and handl'd then are permitted by our Edicts; and to give a faithful accompt thereof to Us. And to the end that our Intention may be exactly follow'd, We ordain, that for the time to come no Assemblies shall meet or be held, unless the said Officer be before appointed, who shall be admitted into 'em with-

out any or Lett or Scruple. So we command our Beloved and Faithful, &c. we also command our Governours, &c. In Testimony, &c. Given at *Fountain-Bleau*, April. 17. 1623. and 13th. of our Reign.

Sign'd LEWIS.

And below, By the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament May, 22. 1623.

*Du Tillet.*

*A Declaration of the Kings good Will toward his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Verify'd in Parliament November 27. 1623.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, and *Navarr*, To all, &c. Tho' it has always been our Intention, as still it is, to cause an Exact observance of our Edicts of Pacification, and Declarations last made in Favour of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that for this purpose we have Commissionated and deputed Commissioners in the several Provinces of our Kingdom to repair and re-establish the Breaches which the Wars and last Troubles had produc'd, having omitted no care nor Sedulity to make the lives of our Subjects easie in good Peace, Amity and Concord; Nevertheless we have been Inform'd that some of the said Pretended

Reformed Religion, Enemies of the Publik Repose, and such as desire to make their advantage of Trouble, pretending to belong to our Cousins the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, ( which we can hardly believe, by reason of the assurances which our said Cousins have given us of their Fidelity and Affection to our service, and observance of our Peace, ) have some time since made several Journeys, and into several of our Provinces; also to some Assemblies held by virtue of our Edicts by our Subjects of the Religion, with Letters of Credence, under false Pretences to stir up our said Subjects, to infuse into 'em Fears, Jealousies and feigned Distrusts, and to instigate

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to raise Money, Fortifie the Places which they hold in their hands, purchase Arms and make their Preparations contrary to the Publick Peace: And tho' we are unwilling to believe that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, considering the singular Favours which they have so lately receiv'd from our Clemency, are any way inclin'd or dispos'd to hearken to any such pernicious Propositions, much less to deviate from their Fidelity and Obedience to which they are oblig'd, Nevertheless, being desirous to stop the Course of such Proceedings, and the dangerous Consequences that may attend 'em; to hinder our Subjects from being abus'd by these evil Practices, and not to leave any one in doubt and uncertainty of our good and sincere Intentions toward 'em, with the advice of our Council, where were present the Queen Mother, our Thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, &c. We have said and declar'd, and do say and declare, that it is our Will and Intention to maintain the Publick Peace, Repose and Tranquility, and to employ our Authority, and our accusom'd Care and Vigilancy, to cause our Subjects as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to live in good Union and Concord under their Obedience to us. And to this purpose we Will and Ordain, that our Edicts of Pacification, and last Declarations in Favour of our Subjects of the Pretended

Reformed Religion, be inviolably kept, observ'd and maintain'd, and that the Commissioners deputed in our several Provinces, abide and reside there, till they be perfectly and absolutely fulfill'd. As we also make strict Prohibitions to all Persons, of what Condition or quality soever, to speak, write, suggest or perswade, give ear or listen to any thing contrary to this our good and upright Intention, and to the Tranquility of our subjects, nor to travel or send into our Provinces, or to any Cities or Assemblies that shall be held by those of the Pretended Reformed Religion to that Effect, nor to raise Money, bear or buy Arms, Furniture or preparations for Warr, under pain of Disobedience, and being punish'd as Disturbers of the Peace. It is our Pleasure also, that the Offenders be inform'd against, and prosecuted with the utmost Rigour of the Law. So we command our faithful and well beloved Counsellours, &c. For such is our Pleasure. In Testimony, &c. Given at Paris, November 10. 1623. and 14th. of our Reign.

Sign'd Louis.

And below, by the King.

De Lomenie.

Read, publish'd and register'd, &c.  
At Paris in Palament, November 7. 1623.



*A Declaration of the King against the Sieur de Soubize and his Adherents, containing a new Confirmation of the Edicts and Declarations formerly made in Favour of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who remain in their Duty and Obedience. Given at Paris, January 25. 1626. and verif'd the 18. of February.*

**L**EWIS by the Grace of God, King of *France and Navarr*, To all, &c. Every one knows the Favour and Clemency which we have extended to our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that formerly rose in Arms against our Authority, and how when our Arms had all the Advantages over 'em, we spread open our Arms to receive those that came as well in general as Particular, to implore our Mercy, and turn'd the just Resentments of our Indignation into a Benignity natural to a King, the Father of his People, toward Subjects submissive and penitent, being desirous by our Declaratory Letters of *October 20. 1622.* to forget and forgive their past Faults, and voutsafe 'em Peace with the continuance of the Benefit of the Edict of *Nantes* and other Declarations. In pursuance of which we sent Commissioners into several Provinces of our Kingdom, to reunite the Affections of our Subjects, as well Catholicks as of the Pretended Reformed Religion, divided by reason of the preceding Troubles, and to re establish what the Fury of Warr might have interrupted in the observance of our Laws and Edicts, wherein by the

Benignity of Heaven our carefull Toyl so happily succeeded, that our Kingdom for these last two Years, enjoy'd a most profound Peace, our Subjects in general Extolling the Divine Goodness of the Almighty, for that after so many past Calamities and Tempests, they rested in a Tranquility so serenely Calm, and so assured under our Authority and Obedience. But when we thought this Peace most solidly secure, and that good Order re-establish'd in our Kingdom had given us leisure to apply all our Cares to the assistance of our Neighbours, and to readvance the Ancient Reputation of the *French Name* in Foreign Countries, and that we were (as we are still) upon the point of reaping the Fruits and notable Advantages of it, for the Glory of this Crown, the Comfort of our said Confederates, and the Publick Benefit, we have receiv'd several Informations of the Practices and Contrivances, which are weaving in several of our Provinces, to withdraw our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, from that Obedience and Fidelity which they owe us, and to perswade 'em, in the present Conjunction of Affairs to rise a-

gainst our Authority, while we are busy'd out of our Kingdom in the Protection of our Allyes, and Trouble the Tranquility of the State. Now being fully inform'd of the Designs and contrivances that are forming against our Cities and strong Holds, the Preparations that are making to raise Souldiers without our Commission, the fitting out of Ships, as well in the Ports and Havens of our Kingdom, as in other Places, without our leave, or the Orders of our Admiral, in contempt of our Laws, and the secret Practises and Correspondencies held with Forreigners. To all which we have been much troubl'd to give Credit, considering the good and favourable usage our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed receiv'd. And when we understood that the *Sieur de Soubise*, wa the Head of his Faction; he who has tri'd the Force of our Authority, and the softness of our Clemency upon several occasions; this was the reason that we were willing to wink at his first Practises and Proceedings, in hopes that by our Patience we might reduce him to his Duty. But our goodness and forbearance having augmented the Audaciousness of the said *Soubise*, we understand that within these few days he has put to Sea with some Vessels having Souldiers aboard; that he has robb'd our Merchants Ships, made attempts upon some of our Islands and principal Places, and upon the Vessels that were in the Roads and Harbours belonging to 'em, and in

these Actions committed several Enormities, Violences and Acts of Hostility against our Subjects. Now in regard that all these Enterprizes and Attempts of the said *Soubise*, discover ( to our great sorrow ) an evident and manifest Rebellion against our Authority, and a design lay'd betwixt him and some particular Adherents to disturb the general Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, without any lawful reason or cause : on the other side we are extreamly well satisfy'd to understand from our dear and well beloved Cousin the Duke of *Tremouille*, and the *Sieurs de la Force* and *Châtillon*, and other Persons of Quality, as also from the General Deputies of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion residing near our Person, as also by the Deputies of the Pretended Religion at *Charcmon*, and those of our Cities of *Rochele*, *Nimes*, *Uzes* ; as also to see by an Act in writing which the said general Deputies have presented us, with expresse injunctions from our dear and well-beloved Inhabitants of our City of *Montaban*, how much they renounce and disown his Actions, as unworthy of that Fidelity and Affection which true *French-men* owe their Sovereign; considering they can tend to nothing else but the subversion of this State and their own Ruin. Whereupon, being desirous to make known what our good Intentions are, the Protection which we are willing to grant to the Faithful and Obedient, and the Rigor which we intend

tend to use toward Rebels, if they persevere in their Contumacy, We make known, that for these Causes and other weighty Considerations us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Queen, &c. and of our certain knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, we have said and declar'd, and say and declare, by these Presents, Sign'd with our hand, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that all our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall continue in that Fidelity and Obedience which they owe us, without adhering to any Factions and Conspiracies against the Kingdom, shall fully and Peaceably enjoy in freedom and safety, the Exercise of their Religion, together with all the Favours to them granted by the Edicts and Declarations made in their Favour, as well by the Deceased King, &c. as by our selves, which we resolve to have inviolably kept and observ'd, according to their Form and Tenour; putting all our said Subjects, together with their Goods and Families, under our special Protection and Favour. And as for the said *Soubise* and others, who are enter'd into open Rebellion against us, having attempted to disturb the Tranquility of our Kingdom, we have hereby declar'd, and declare all those that shall adhere to and Favour him, directly or indirectly, of what Quality or condition soever they be, and who shall hold Intelligence, Association or Correspondence with 'em, both disobedient and Guilty of High

Treason: As also we declare the Inhabitants of our Cities that shall Countenance or adhere to the Rebellion and Disobedience of the above nam'd, or shall give 'em any Harbour, Retreat, or Quarter among 'em, or shall suffer 'em, or assist 'em in any sort or manner whatever, guilty of the same Crimes, and to have forfeited all their Rights, Franchises, Immunities and Priviledges granted either by the King our Predecessors or by our selves: And for that our Intention is always to prefer Clemency before the Rigour of Justice, and to afford 'em the Means and Leisure to acknowledge their Faults, before they althogether plunge themselves in Faction and revolt, we say and declare, that if within one Month from the day of the publication of these presents in Parliament, the said *Soubise*, or any others who have been guilty of the Actions above express'd, shall return to their Duty, lay down their Arms, disband their Souldiers which they have muster'd together, and submit themselves entirely to the Obedience which they owe us, we have, and shall from this present Time and for the Future, forgiven, pardon'd and obliterated, forgive, pardon and obliterate, by these Presents, all Acts and attempts which they may have made or design'd in this last Insurrection, and taking of Arms, contrary to our Authority and Service, without any enquiries or prosecutions either now or hereafter, in any sort or manner whatever; as having pardon'd and restor'd

restor'd 'em to their former Condition, and to all Honours, Privileges and Immunities which were granted 'em, by Us or our Predecessors, under the Exact Observation of our Edicts. But if after that time expir'd, they persist in their Rebellion and Disobedience, our Pleasure is, that they be proceeded against with all the Rigour of our Laws, by Imprisonment of their Persons, Seizure of their Estates, demolishing their Houses, and other usual Courses in such Cases; and that they lose the Benefit of our Edicts and Ap-

peals to the Chambers. So we command, &c. In Testimony, &c. Given at *Paris*, January 25. 1625. and fifteenth of our Reign.

Sign'd LEWIS.

And Below, by the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, &c. At *Paris* in Parliament, February 18. 1625.

*Du Tillet.*

*A Writing giv'n by the English Embassadors to the Deputies of the Churches to make the King of Great Britain Guaranty of the Peace, in 1626.*

WE Henry Rich, Baron of *Kensington*, Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the King of Great Brittain's Guards, Knight of the Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties Privy Council: And *Dudley Charlton* Knight, one of his Majesties Privy Council, and Vice Chamberlain of the Household, To all, &c. Whereas the Sieurs de *Mommartin*, and de *Maniald*, General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France*, 'and other Particular Deputies from the Dukes of *Soubise* and *Rohan*, as also others from several Cities and Provinces, which joyn'd in Arms with the said Lords, have made a Peace with the most Christian King, by our Advice and Intercessions, agreed and consented to

by the King their Sovereign, and for that the said Deputies have releas'd many things which they thought of great Moment for their security, and altogether Conformable to their Edicts and Briefs, which they were expressly charg'd to get by the Treaty of Peace, and upon which they would have insisted more earnestly, but in deference and respect to the express Requests and desires of the most Serene King of Great Britain, our Master, in whose name we advis'd and exhorted 'em to condescend to the Conditions offer'd by the above-nam'd Peace, for the good of this Kingdom, and the Satisfaction and succour of all Christendom; For these Causes, we declare and certify, That in the words which were



were agreed upon between us, in order to the accomplishment of the said Treaty, and which were utter'd in the presence of his most Christian Majesty, by the Chancellor, upon the Acceptance of the Peace, to this purpose, that by long services and continu'd Obedience they might expect from the Kings Goodness, what they could never obtain by any other Treaty, in things which they esteem'd most necessary, as to which in time convenient their Supplications might be heard, supposing 'em to be presented with respect and humility, there was a clearer Interpretation on his Majesties and his Ministers Part, of which the sense and meaning was, That they were meant of Fort *Lewis* before *Rochel*, and to give assurance of the Demolishing of that Place in time convenient, and in the mean time of ease and relief in other things, which by the said Treaty of Peace continue prejudicial to the said City of *Rochel*: Without which assurance, of the demolishing the Fort and withdrawing the Garrison, the said Deputies pro-

tested to us, that they would never have consented to the letting that Fort stand; being enjoyn'd and resolv'd to have maintain'd their Right to demolish it, as they do by the present Declaration; with assurance that the King of *Great Britain*, will labour by his Intercessions in Conjunction with their humble Supplication, to shorten the time appointed for demolishing the said Fort; for which we have given 'em all the Royal words and Promises they can desire, having assur'd 'em that they ought and might rest satisfi'd and contented. For the Faithful performance of which, and of what is abovemention'd, we have Sign'd and Seal'd these Presents, and caus'd it to be under-sign'd by one of our Secretaries. Given at *Paris* the 11th. day of February, 1626.

Sign'd *Holland.*

*D. Carlton.*

And below.

*Augur.*

*An Edict of the King upon the Peace which his Majesty pleas'd to give his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Given at Paris, March 1626. and Publish'd in Parliament April 16.*

**L**EIVIS by the Grace of God King of *France* and *Navar*, To all, &c. In regard that Sovereign Authority is no less Illustrious in Acts of Grace and Clemency, then in of those Justice and

Arms, and for that to know how to vanquish and pardon, are the highest Marks of Grandeur, for the same reason we ought to esteem that Prince most worthy of Honour and Glory, who having let loose  
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the fury of his Arms against those that drew his Provocations upon 'em, and subdu'd 'em to their duty, is contented to exercise his Clemency toward 'em, and to let 'em reap the publick Fruits of it, by restoring 'em to Peace; whence it comes to pass that God is call'd upon and serv'd in all Places, that the Royal Authority is reverenc'd and acknowledg'd by all, that the Laws are religiously observ'd, the People eas'd from their Oppressions, and that the Body of the State uniting Forces together becomes more puissant for their own Preservation, and for the Succour and Protection of their Confederates; These considerations which we have always had before our Eyes, have been the reason that we have us'd so much Moderation, to lay asleep and extinguish the Commotions that have so many times, like so many Convulsions shak'n this Kingdom, making use of Favour toward those who had over inconsiderately engag'd themselves, as we have exerted our Vigour, resolution and diligence, in suppressing and chastizing, when we have been thereto constrain'd. As to the present Affairs, our Conduct has been such, as having employ'd both Threats and Punishment, in Places that openly stood out in their Disobedience; and Mildness, Patience and Remonstrances, toward others that continu'd in their Duty; so that we have restrain'd the bursting forth of that Trouble with which this Kingdom was menac'd by reason of a Civil War, and preserv'd the best and greatest part of the Religion, in that Fidelity and Obedience which they owe us. Who have no less clearly seen and understood, that our Intentions have always been, as still they are, to maintain 'em in Peace, Concord and Tranquility, and to cause 'em inviolably to enjoy the Favours bestow'd upon 'em by our Edicts and Declarations. All which they who have taken Arms, and the Cities which sided with 'em, having lately well consider'd, and having understood the Nature of their Crime, the Publick Indignation, the Ruin and just Punishment which they drew upon themselves, by continuing to Trouble the repose of the Kingdom, they had recourse to our Goodness, as their only safety and Refuge; and by their Deputies have several times besought us with all the submission that Subjects could pay to their Sovereign, to pardon 'em, to bury things past in Oblivion, and to afford 'em Peace. Upon which, We enclining rather to Mildness and Clemency, than to the Ruin and Desolation of our own Subjects; having also a regard to their most humble Supplications, in the Name of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who have remain'd within the Bounds of their Duty, since we had accepted the submissions of the rest, to pardon them for their sakes, and to reunite 'em all in Peace and Concord under that Obedience which they owe us, protesting and assuring us, that they will never swerve again

again from the same upon any pretence, occasion or cause whatever, We make known that for these Causes, and for other great and weighty Considerations Us thereunto moving, with the Advice of the Queen our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, the Princes, &c. We have said and declar'd, and do say and declare by these Presents, Sign'd with our Hand, and it is our Will and Pleasure:

I. That the Edict of *Nantes*, the Declarations, and secret Articles, Publish'd and Register'd in our Courts of Parliament, shall be inviolably kept and observ'd, to be enjoy'd by our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as they were well and duly observ'd in the Time of the Deceased King our thrice Honour'd Lord and Father, whom God Absolve, and since our coming to the Crown, before these last Commotions.

II. That the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Religion, shall be restor'd and re-establish'd in all Parts and Places of our Kingdom, and Countries under our Obedience, where it has been interrupted during these last Commotions, to be fully, peaceably and freely exercis'd. And we expressly forbid all Persons of whatever Quality or Condition soever, upon Pain of being punish'd as Disturbers of the Publick Peace, not to trouble, molest or disquiet the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration of Divine Service, and other Functions of the Catholick Religion, enjoyment and Collecting the Tenths,

Fruits and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other Rights and Duties that belong to 'em; and that all those who during the said last Commotions, had made themselves Masters of the Goods and Revenues of the Churches belonging to the said Ecclesiasticks, shall deliver up to 'em full Possession, free and peaceable enjoyment of the same, according to the III. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*, and restore 'em such Goods as shall be found in specie.

III. That the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall be re-establish'd in Places where it was settl'd, according to our Edicts and Declarations in the Year 1620. And our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion shall be restor'd to the said Places, as also to their Church-yards in Places which have been allow'd 'em, or others, such as the Commissioners who shall be by us deputed, or Officers of the Cities shall judge most convenient. And where it shall happen, that for any Reason of great Importance, the Church-yards cannot be restor'd in such Places, which they possess'd in the Year, 1620, others as convenient shall be allow'd 'em at the expences of those who shall require the change.

IV. And to give a Publick Testimony of the value which we have for our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who abide in that Fidelity and Obedience, which they owe Us; and for the remarkable Proofs, which some among 'em have giv'n us of

both, in those employments which they have had in our Armies, as well within as without our Kingdom, We have at their most humble Suit, having also a regard to the Submissions of others who have swerv'd from their Duty, and of our special Grace, full Power and Royal Authority, acquitted, forgiven and Pardon'd, and do by these Presents acquit, pardon and forgive all raising of Arms, enterprizes and acts of Hostility, committed by our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Condition or Quality soever they be, as by the Cities that have sided with 'em, and the Inhabitants of the same, both by Sea and Land, since the first of *January*, 1625. and the Commotions preceding, till the day of the Publication of these Presents, comprehending and including whatever might have happen'd in the interval, between the Signing of the Declaration of *October* 20. 1622. and the Publication of this in our Courts of Parliament, from which they shall be fully and perfectly discharg'd; as also from all General and Provincial Assemblies, Circles, Insurrections, Popular Commotions, Excesses, Violences, Breaches of Letters of Protection, and all other things in general whatever, comprehended in the LXXVI. and LXXVII. Articles of the said Edict of *Nantes*, altho' they are not here particularly express'd and declar'd; without any Inquisitions, Prosecutions or Molestations hereafter for the Future to be made or offer'd, except in reserv'd

Cases, such as are specif'd and declar'd in the LXXXVI. and LXXXVII. Articles of the said Edict of *Nantes*, after which Inquisition may be made before the Judges, who have Cognizance of those causes.

V. As for the Money that shall be impos'd, lev'd and taken upon our Subjects, or our Receipts, Managements or Administration of the same, and discharges of the Persons accountable, together with what concerns the Commonalties on both sides, as to Debts by them created and not paid, the LXXIV. LXXV. LXXVIII. and LXXIX. Articles of the Edict of *Nantes*, shall be observ'd and kept.

VI. To this purpose, all the Seats of Justice, Audits of Receipts and Offices of the Finances, that may have been remov'd by Reason of the Present Commotions, since *January* of the last Year, and more especially the Office of the Court of Election at *Rochel*, shall be restor'd in the same Condition as they were; in like manner the Cities which remain in the Hands of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, shall enjoy the same Privileges, Franchises, Immunities, Fairs and Markets which they formerly did. The Election of Consuls, shall be after the accustom'd Form; and in Case of Appeal, the cause shall be remov'd to our Chambers of the Edict.

VII. It is likewise our Pleasure, that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, shall be



be absolutely discharg'd from all Judgments, Sentences, and Decrees given against 'em, upon occasion of the Present Commotions, according to the LVIII. LIX. and LX. Articles of the said Edict, impoling as to the whole, perpetual Silence upon our Advocates General, and all others concern'd to take care of such Prosecutions.

VIII. We ordain that all Prisoners of War, detain'd on both sides, that have not paid their Ransoms, shall be releas'd and set at Liberty without paying any thing; declaring all Promises made or caus'd upon Ransoms, not discharg'd before the Date of these Presents, null and void; yet so as that the Ransoms already paid, shall not be repaid again, tho' demanded. Also all our said Subjects of the Reformed Religion, seiz'd by warrant of Justice, detain'd in our Prisons, or in our Gallies, by Reason of the last or preceding Commotions, even those that were taken at the enterprize of *Port Lewis*, shall be enlarg'd and set at Liberty, immediately after the Publication of these Presents, without any let or delay.

IX. In like manner it is our meaning, that the XXVII. Article of the said Edict of *Nantes*, concerning the Admission and Receiving of our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion into Offices and Employments, shall be observ'd and kept; and that all those of the said Religion of what Quality or Condition soever

they be, who by Reason of the present Commotions may have been depriv'd of their Offices, Employments, Dignities, Houses, and Habitations, since the first day of *January* 1625. shall be restor'd and resettl'd therein: As also to their Goods, Titles, Accompts, and Actions, seiz'd as well during the Preceding as the late Troubles, notwithstanding any Patents for Offices, Grants, Confiscations, Reprisals, Payments and Acquittances. Permitting the Creditors to take out Execution for their Principal Stock, notwithstanding all Sentences and Decrees, unless upon a definitive Decree in our Council, or in our Chambers of the Edict, or that the Particular Persons have been other where reimburs'd.

X. Our Pleasure is, that these our Present Letters Declaratory, be observ'd and kept by all our Subjects, according to the Form prescrib'd by the LXXXII. Article of the Edict of *Nantes*; and Commissioners shall be sent into all parts where occasion shall require, to see that the Contents thereof be executed.

XI. In regard, that our said Subjects professing the said Pretended Reformed Religion, may not for the Future hold any General or particular Assemblies, Circles, Councils, Abridgments, or any other of what Name or Quality soever, without express Permission by Letters, or a Brief particularly Sign'd by Us, and subscrib'd by one of our Secretaries of State, yet the Assemblies of

Consistories, Colloquies and Synods are permitted 'em for Affairs that Purely concern the Regulations of the Discipline of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, conformable to our Letters Declaratory of *April 17. 1623.* set forth upon the Holding of Synods and Colloquies, with express Prohibitions to treat of Politick Affairs. Nor shall they for the Future raise any Fortifications of what sort soever they be, to enclose our Cities, without our express Permission by our Letters Patents. Nor shall they raise any Money upon our Subjects, upon any occasion whatever, without a Commission under our Great Seal. All this, under the Penalty of High Treason, and forfeiture of our Present Favours.

XII. It is our farther meaning also, that the Articles by Us decreed, which concern the City of *Rochel*, the Islands and Country of *Aulniz*, be observ'd and put in Execution without delay; and

that the Cities and Castles which shall have been taken by those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, since the present Troubles, shall be surrender'd up into our Hands within fifteen days after the Publication of these Presents: Declaring all such of our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall scruple to submit themselves to this our Will and Pleasure, depriv'd, by just Forfeiture, of the Benefit of this our present Favour.

So we command, &c. And to the end that this may be for ever firm and stable, we have affix'd, &c. Giv'n at *Paris* in *March*, 1626. and 17th. of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below,

*De Lomenie.*

Register'd, *April 13. 1626.*

*Du Tillet.*

*A Declaration of the King against the Sieur De Soubise, and other Adherents to the Party of the English. Confirming the Edicts of Pacification, in favour of those who should continue in their Duty and Allegiance. Given at Villeroy, August 5. 1627. and Publish'd in Parliament the twelfth of the same Month.*

**L**ewis, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr.* To all, &c. Since it has pleas'd God to call us to the Government of this State, our Conduct has

made it manifest, with how much Care we have labour'd to preserve the Publick Peace and Tranquility, either in observing and preserving a sound Amity, good under-

understanding and correspondence between this Kingdom and Foreign Princes, either by employing, as we have done several times in divers parts, and upon various occasions, our Royal Mediation to lay asleep and extinguish the Contentions and Differences arisen between the said Princes; or by giving Assistance and Protection to our Ancient Confederates, when we thought it necessary to re-establish or maintain 'em in those Rights and Properties that appertain'd to 'em, in order by that means to stop the ill Consequences of those Troubles which the Innovations happ'ning in their Dominions might produce. Wherein if our Intentions were lookt upon as good and sincere, we also judge, those which we have had, being grounded upon the same Considerations of the Publick Tranquillity, and of the Establishment of the Repose of our Kingdom, in contracting several Great Alliances by the Marriage of our dearest Sisters, are worthy of a higher applause. But we cannot but observe, without a most just Resentment, that the last which we have made with *England*, has not hitherto had that good success, which we expected from it: But that instead of knitting faster, as we promis'd to our selves, the knot of that ancient Amity, which has long continu'd between the two Crowns, it should so fall out, that the notorious Breaches on the Part of *England*, of the Articles of Marriage of our Dearest Sister with the King of

Great Britain, the *English* should come to invade us, and Land in the Isle of *Re* with a numerous Fleet and Army without any cause, any Ground, any Pretence or Declaration. And in regard we see, that in order to second their unjust Designs, they have already treated with some of our Subjects, have sent the *Sieur De Soubise* into our City of *Rochel*, to persuade the Inhabitants to join with their Party, and that they continue the same Artifices and Practices with others of our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to draw and engage 'em under several Pretences and vain Hopes to unite their Arms with theirs (tho' we are willing to believe, that our said Subjects will have so much Constancy and Judgment, as not to suffer themselves to be deceiv'd by such sort of Artifices; and for that considering that they peacefully enjoy the full Liberty of the Exercise of their Religion, the Benefit of our Edicts, and whatever else has been promis'd by Us, they will conclude that this enterprise of the *English*, has no aim or end, that really tends to the good of their Religion, but that it is a voluntary Invasion of our Dominions, in Enmity to our Crown, and the Honour of the Nation; in the Defence of which, all true *French* Men, as well Catholicks as those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, are equally oblig'd to venture their Lives and Fortunes;) Nevertheless, that our said Subjects may be rightly inform'd of our Intentions upon the present

present Occurrences, and that they may not be circumvented by the Artifices that are made use of to with-draw 'em from their natural Duty, We declare that for these Causes, and other weighty Considerations Us thereunto moving, We have with the Advice of the Queen, our thrice Honour'd Lady and Mother, our most Dear and most Beloved only Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, the Princes, &c. said and declar'd, and do say and declare, by these Presents, the *Sieur de Soubise*, and those of our Subjects, of what Quality or Condition soever they be, who shall adhere to or join with the *English*, or shall favour or assist 'em directly or indirectly, or that shall keep Intelligence, Association, and Correspondence with 'em in any sort or manner whatever, or shall otherwise depart from that Obedience which they owe us, Rebels, Traitors, and Perfidious to their King, Desertors of their Countrey, Guilty of High Treason in the highest Degree: And as such we declare their Goods, as well Moveable as Immoveable, their Offices and Employments, Forfeited and Confiscated to our self; and all the Inhabitants of our Cities, who shall adhere to the Enterprizes, Rebellion and Disobedience of the above named, or who shall afford 'em Entrance, Passage, Retreat or Quartering, or shall aid 'em with Arms, Victuals, Ammunition, or any other necessities, guilty of the same Crimes, and under the Forfeiture of all Decrees, Honours, Privi-

leges, Franchises, Immunities and Rights, which may have been granted to 'em, either by the Kings our Predecessors, or by our Selves, past all Hopes of being ever regain'd. It being our Will and Pleasure, that they be proceeded against, with the utmost Severity of the Law, by Imprisonment of their Person, Seizure of their Estates, Demolishing their Houses, Cutting down their Woods, and that they shall lose the Benefit of our Edicts, and of all Appeals to our Chambers, created by the same; Unless within eight days after the Publication of this Declaration upon the Coasts of *Poitou*, *Sainonge* and *Annis*, they do quit their Rebellion, and make their Appearance before our Officers of the Cities of *Saintes*, *Niort*, *Fontenay*, *Brouage*, and others more remote, with the usual Submissions, and that the Cities make their Declarations such as are requir'd in the like Cases at the same time. And whereas we have found, during the late Troubles, that some of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, siding with the Rebels, were wont to send their Children, or else permit 'em to go and bear Arms together with 'em, they themselves staying at home to avoid the Rigour of our Prosecutions; 'Tis our Pleasure, that for the Remedy of such abuses, that the Fathers or Masters of Houses and Families, shall be held and reputed to adhere to the Enemies Party, and that they shall suffer Corporal Punishment, together  
with



with all the Penalties mention'd in these presents, if their Children or other Relations, usually abiding in their Houses, and having no other habitation then that of their Fathers, or Kindred, shall be found siding with the Enemy, in actual Arms. Unless the said Parents or Masters of Houses or Families, actually serve us in our Armies or other where, and make it so much their endeavour to regain their Children or Kindred out of the Enemies service, as to convince us that 'twas no Fault of theirs. And as for all our other Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that shall continue in their Obedience and Fidelity to us, without adhering to the Enemies Designs, and other Practices, Factions and Conspiracies against us, our Authority, Service and Repose of this Kingdom, our Pleasure is, that they shall freely enjoy the Liberty of their Exercise, and all

Favours and Concessions to them granted by the Deceased King and our selves; which it is our full meaning and Intent to preserve inviolably; putting all our said Subjects of our said Pretended Reformed Religion, their Families and Estates, so long as they remain within the Bounds of their Duty, under our special safeguard and Protection. So we command, &c. In Testimony whereof, &c. Given at Villeroy, August 5. 1627. and 18th. of our Reign.

Sign'd Lewis,

And below, By the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, &c. At Paris, in Parliament, August 12. 1627.

*Du Tillot.*

*A Declaration of the King after the taking of Rochelle, to his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Given at Paris, December 15. 1628. and verifi'd in Parliament January 15. 1629.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarr, To all &c. We have by several Preceding Declarations exhorted our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, to forsake and desert from the Factions and Rebellions wherein they were engag'd against our service, promi-

sing 'em all that could be expected from our Favour, in case that within the time prescrib'd they return'd to their Duty, and subscrib'd such Declarations as were requisite before our Judges. Which several having done, have experienc'd our Good Will, liv'd peaceably and at Liberty, in the enjoy-

enjoyment of their Estates, and Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Several Cities also and Particular Men, led away by the Artifices of Factious and seditious Spirits, have still continu'd in the same Rebellion, into which their Engagement with the Inhabitants of the City of *Rochel* had participated 'em. For which reason, now that it has pleas'd God to reduce that City under our Obedience, and to take from 'em that Pretence, we are willing to hope that they will the more readily return to their Duty, by new Exhortations, and freeing 'em from the Fear of being Liable to the Penalties mention'd in our Preceding Declarations. And being desirous to let 'em see our Paternal Affection toward 'em, and to excite 'em out of a Consideration of their own good and Preservation, more or less to their Benefit, as they shall continue more or less Obstinate in returning to their Obedience; And which is that which we are willing so much the rather to hope, that now that by the Reduction of our said City of *Rochel* under our Obedience, they have manifestly understood our singular Goodness toward the Inhabitants of that Place, whom we receiv'd upon their Surrendring to us with the assurance of their Lives, Estates, and Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and of the integrity of which agreement they enjoy so religious a performance, that all their Fears are turn'd in-

to Consolation, and have prov'd a sufficient Convincement that the Apprehensions which the Factious *Bomeseaux* of Rebellion infus'd into 'em, were but Artifices without any Foundation, to hinder 'em from seeking in our Obedience that true Tranquillity and Liberty which they now enjoy; For these causes we make known, that upon mature debate of this Business in Council, of our full knowledge, full Power, special Grace, and Royal Authority, We have enjoyn'd, and by these Presents do enjoyn all our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what quality or Condition soever they be, who shall now be found engag'd in the Rebellion and bearing Arms, or holding out Towns and Cities against our service, and contrary to that Obedience which they owe us, or adhering to those that hold 'em out and enjoy 'em, that they forthwith lay down their Arms, return to their Duty, and Subscribe such Declarations as are usually requisite, before our Courts of Parliament or Presidial Seats, within 15 days after Publication of these Presents. And as for the Cities, that they send their Deputies to us, to receive our Gracious Will and Pleasure, in pursuance of their Submissions. Which doing, we will receive 'em into our Favour, and maintain 'em in the Enjoyment of all their Goods and Estates, and free Exercise of the said Reformed Religion, and look upon 'em as good Subjects, worthy to partake of our benefits and Favours,

vours, no less then the rest who have continu'd in the Fidelity which they owe us. All which we promise upon the Faith and Word of a King to keep, observe and fulfil inviolably. But in case that continuing in the obstinacy of their Rebellion they scorn the Favour which we offer to 'em, and do not satisfie the Contents of these Presents within that time, We have, and do declare 'em from this time forward to have incurr'd the Penalties mention'd in our Preceding Declarations, and guilty of High Treason in the Highest degree, and unworthy of all Grace and Mercy. In which case, after the time prefix'd is once past, our Pleasure is

that they be proceeded against in their Persons, Goods, Houses, Inheritances, and whatever else belongs to 'em, with the utmost Rigour of the Law. So we command, &c. In Testimony, &c. Given at *Paris*, December 15. 1628. and 19th. of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

Below, by the King.

*De Lomenie.*

Read, Publish'd and Register'd,  
At *Paris* in Parliament &c. January 15. 1629.

*Du Tillet.*

*An Edict of the King upon the Grace and Pardon granted as well to the Duke of Rohan and the Sieur de Soubize, as to his Rebellious Subjects of the Cities, Flat Countries, Castles and Strong Holds, of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Languedoc, Cevennes, Gevaudan, Guyenne, Foix, &c. with the Articles. Given at Nimes, in July 1629. and verify'd in the Parliament of Tholouse, August 27. 1629.*

**L**EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarr*, To all, &c. The Love which we bear our Subjects, and our Compassion of he Miseries which they have sustain'd, by reason of the Wars, and Divisions wherewith this Kingdom has been so long afflicted, has touch'd us so deeply, that laying aside all Considerations of our Health, and the Inconveniences of the weather, we have made use of all means to re-

duce under our Obedience, those who having thrown it off, had been the Occasion of all their Calamities. We were in hopes that the Cities which surrender'd to our Obedience, in the Years 1620. 21. and 22. would have mov'd 'em to the same acknowledgment of our Authority. But finding that either Obstinacy would not permit 'em, or that the Violence and Artifice of the Faction retain'd 'em, we invited 'em by our

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Declarations to return to their Duty, by all the most favourable persuasions that the cause would bear. We also rais'd Great and Powerful Armies to reduce by force, those whom their Obstinacy in Rebellion render'd deaf and blind to all the Reasons and Occasions of their Duty : where-in it has pleas'd God so far to bless our Endeavours, that the City of *Rochelle* has had the first Tryal of our Puissance, as is mention'd in the Edict which we set forth upon the Reducing of that Place. The City of *Privas au Vivarets*, which trusting to her Situation, rugged and inaccessible as she thought, in her Fortifications, and her Stores of Provision and Ammunition, putt up with long Prosperity, adventur'd to withstand the Batteries of our Cannon and the Efforts of our Arms, and contemning the gentle Exhortations of our Goodness, the hatred of her Inhabitants was such, that they rather chose to abandon their Habitations and their Goods, then to seek for Preservation in our Clemency which was assur'd 'em : They depriv'd themselves of the Hopes of receiving it, and could not prevent the Conflagration and the fury of the Sword which God sent among 'em : And therefore in reference to them we have otherwise provided by our Declaratory Letters set forth apart ; nor are they comprehended in these presents. But this Punishment making others wiser, has been the reason that nor only all the Up-

per and Lower *Vivarets*, but also several other Cities and Fortresses are return'd to their Duty, have Sworn to us the Oath of Allegiance, while we on the other side have pardon'd their Rebellion, and ordain'd 'em our Letters of Oblivion, only causing their Walls and Fortifications to be demolish'd. Which serving as assurances to others, brought upon them all the Miseries they have suffer'd. Several Gentlemen also smitten with the Happiness which they met with in our Clemency, sought and receiv'd it, and quitted their Rebellion. The City of *Alets*, extremely strong by Situation, by Fortifications, and whatever human Invention has study'd, to make Bulwarks and Ramparts of Earth serviceable to Nature, made as if she would have stop't the Career of our Progresses. But finding her self begirt with our Army, and our mounted Canon ready to make a Breach, durst not expect the first shot, but submitted to the Laws of War that are usually practis'd in the like Cases, threw her self at our feet, and implor'd our mercy, which she obtain'd. And as we were ready to carry our Victories yet farther, the Duke of *Roban*, the Inhabitants of *Anduze*, *Sauve*, *Levigan*, *Florac*, *Mervez*, and all the rest of the Strong Holds in *Cevennes*, *Nimes*, *Aymargues*, *Uzez*, *Milhan*, *Cornus*, *St. Frique*, *St. Felix*, *St. Rome de Taon*, *Pont Camarez*, *Viane*, *Castres*, *Roguc*, *Courbe*, *Revel*, *Montauban*, *Caussade*, *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, *Carlat*,



lat, *Le Mas d'Azil*, and generally all the strong Holds and Places in the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*, *Gervines*, *Gervaudan*, *Guyenne*, and *Foix*, the Gentlemen and others, who held out against our Service, sent their Deputies to testify their Repentance for having fallen into that Rebellion, promising to pay us for the future, that Obedience and Fidelity, which all good and Loyal Subjects owe their Prince; beseeching Us to pardon 'em, and to grant 'em an Amnesty of their Rebellion, and of all things that happen'd by Reason of it; offering to dismantle all the Fortifications of the said Cities, to the end they might neither give any distrust of their Fidelity, nor serve as a Temptation for any Body else to swerve from it; and for farther Assurances to give us such Hostages out of the said Cities, and in such number, as we should demand. To which we were so much the more readily inclin'd, because we were desirous by so rare an Example of Clemency, after so many Relapses, the most advantageously that might be to gain the Hearts of our Subjects, to spare the shedding of Blood, the Desolation of the Province, and all other Disorders and Calamities of Warr; mov'd to it by our sole Compassion of their Miseries, and Love of their Welfare. Which puts us in Hopes, that so manifest an Experience of the meer goodness, that opens our Breasts to our Subjects, will cause their return to be more sincere, and serve for a perpetual Cement, to keep 'em for ever inseparably

united to our Obedience; till the Grace and Mercy of God touching their Hearts, and enlightning their Minds, shall restore 'em all to the Bosom of the Church, and dry up the Fountain of our fatal Divisions. For these causes, after we had receiv'd Hostages from the said Cities, and dispos'd of 'em in Places ordain'd for that purpose, till the Fortifications of the said Cities were effectually and compleatly demolish'd; as being desirous to provide for disorders past, and to prevent any for the Future, We make known, that upon mature debate of these things in Council, with the Advice of the same, and of our certain Knowledge, special Grace and Royal Authority, by this our perpetual and irrevocable Edict, sign'd with our hand, We have said, Decreed and Ordain'd, say Decree and Ordain, and our Will and Pleasure is,

I. That the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Religion, shall be restor'd and resettl'd in all the Cities and Places of those Countries, from whence it had been expell'd; and all the Ecclesiastick Churches, Goods, and Houses, within the said Provinces, shall be restor'd to those to whom they belong'd, without any Prosecution for the Revenues receiv'd or taken. In which Churches, and in all the said Places, the Exercise of the said Religion, shall be freely and peaceably Perform'd, without Let or Molestation. Nevertheless we ordain, that in all the Monasteries within the said Cities return'd to our Obedience, there shall not be

put in or settl'd any other Monks, then such as live exactly in the observance of their Order, according to the Letters which they shall receive from us.

II. And desiring nothing more then a perpetual Union between our Subjects, as we are desirous, and as it is our Intention, to maintain those who profess the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the free and Peaceable Exercise of it, we cannot but desire also their Conversion, for which we continually offer up our Prayers to God. For which Reason, we exhort all our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to lay aside all Passion, that they may be capable of receiving the Light of Heaven, and be fitted to return to the Bosom of the Church, in which for these eleven hundred Years together, the Kings our Predecessors have liv'd without Change or Interruption: Not being able in any thing whatever to give them a greater Testimony of our Paternal Affection, then to admonish them to observe the same way to Salvation, which we observe and follow our selves.

III. We ordain, that all the Parishes of the said Countrey be provided with good, sufficient and capable Curates, by those to whom the Patronage of the same belongs; and that things be so order'd, that they have all a sufficient revenue to maintain 'em with Reputation in the Discharge of their Functions, as is set down in our Ordinances of *January* last; or other means more commodious,

as shall be adjudg'd proper by the Commissioners, by Us deputed to that end.

IV. We have forgiven, pardon'd and bur'd in Oblivion, and do forgive, pardon and bury in Oblivion to the said Duke of *Rohan*, and to all the Inhabitants of the said Cities and Places, as also to those of the Flat Countries, who adher'd to 'em, all things past from *July 21. 1627.* to the Day of the Publication, in every Seneſchallship, of the Articles of Grace, which we granted 'em the *27th. of June* last. We have discharged 'em, and do discharge 'em of all Acts of Hostility, raising of Arms, hiring of Souldiers, enterprizes as well by Sea as Land, General and Particular Assemblies, more especially the Assembly of *Nîmes*, seizure of Ecclesiastical Rents, Royal or Private Money, Coining of Money of what Alloy or Stamp soever, Printed Libels, Popular Tumults and Commotions, Riots, Violences, Enterprizes upon the two Cities of *St. Amant*, and *Chasteaux du Seigneur*; the taking of *Chasteau*, *St. Stephen*, *Val Francheſque*, and *Florac*: Also the Murders and other Accidents, happening at the taking of *St. Germer*, and *Cosmes*, in *January* last: Also the Inhabitants of *Vézès*, for the Murder of the *Sieur du Flor*: And the Consuls of the said Place, for the Decrees put forth against 'em by the Parliament of *Toulouse*, and Chamber of the Edict at *Beziers*: Also the *Sieurs Danbais*, *Jacques Genoyer*, *Paul Saucier*, and *Andrew Pelissier*. For the

the Nomination and Designation made of their Persons, to be Consuls of *Nimes*, in 1627. and their executing the Office during that Year: Together with all the Consuls and Political Counsellours, and the Prothonotary of the Consular House, for the Prosecution against 'em by reason of the said Consulship of *Nimes*, as well in our Council, as in the said Court of Parliament, Chamber of the Edict, and Court of Aids at *Mompellier*: Also the Inhabitants of *Anduze*, for the Murder of the *Sieur de Mantaille*, and the Condemnations of the said Consuls, and particular Inhabitants of the said City during these Troubles. The Inhabitants of *Millaud*, for what was done against the *Sieur de Roquefave*, and discharge 'em of the Restitution of 4000. Livres taken from the *Jacobins*. The *Sieur de Casque*, for encouraging the Inhabitants of *Alets* in their Breach of safe Conducts, Impositions and raising of Money, establishment of Courts of Justice, Officers and Counsellours through the Provinces, and executing of Sentences past in those Courts, in Matters Civil and Criminal, and Regulations of Municipal Constitutions, and their executing their Offices in the said Cities when they were in Rebellion; together with the Advocates, that practis'd in their Employments, before the said Judges, Officers, and Counsellours set up in the said Cities: Also those who had no permission from Us, to reside and practise in the said Cities during the said

Time. All Voyages to, and Intelligences, Negotiations, Treaties, Contracts, held and made with the *English* by the said Cities and Inhabitants; and by the said Duke of *Rohan*, and *Sieur de Souvise*, as well with the said *English*, as with the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Savoy*, and Letters written to the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*: Also the *Sieurs Clausel* and *Die Croix*, who were employ'd thither: Sales of moveable Goods, whether Ecclesiastical or others, cutting down of high Trees, Demesne Woods or others. Taking of Booties, Ransoms, or any other sort of Money by them taken by reason of the said Troubles, melting of Artillery, seizing of Ammunition, Dismantling and Demolishing of Cities, Castles and Towns: Also the taking of *Mervez Aymargues*, and other Burnings of Churches and Houses by Order and Authority of the said Duke of *Rohan*; and from all Criminal Prosecutions by Reason of the same; not being prejudicial to the Civil Interests of the said Religions Ecclesiasticks, in respect of which they shall apply themselves for Justice to the Chamber of the Edict. We discharge 'em also from all Leases and Farms, of all Ecclesiastical Benefices and Estates, of which the said Ecclesiasticks were depriv'd by the Chieftains, who had the General Command. Our Pleasure in like manner is, that they enjoy the full Contents of the Preceding Amnesties, and of all that has been acted and negotiated since the abovemention'd

Time;

Time, notwithstanding all Proceedings at Law, Decrees and Sentences issu'd out against 'em in the mean time; even the Decrees themselves of the Parliament of *Thoulouze* and *Bordeaux*, and Chamber of *Beziers* and others, against the said Duke of *Rohan*, to whom we will, that all his Honours and Dignities which he enjoy'd before shall be preserv'd, prohibiting all Prosecutions in the Cases aforesaid. In respect of which, we impose perpetual silence upon all our Advocates General and their Substitutes; excepting always those execrable Cases reserv'd and excepted by the Edict of *Nantes*, and others subsequent, of the Civil Interest, by Reason of the Fact committed at *Vozenobre* and *Tournac*, and of the moveables which shall be found in specie tak'n from those whowere under Obedience to the King.

V. And in pursuance of our Intentions, to maintain all our Subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion in the free Exercise of the said Religion, and in the Enjoyment of the Edicts to them granted, Our farther Pleasure is, that they enjoy the Benefits of the said Edict of *Nantes* and other Edicts, Articles and Declarations register'd in our Parlements, and that in pursuance of the same they have the free Exercise of the said Religion in all Places where it has been allow'd 'em.

VI. That all Churches and Church-yards, that have been taken from 'em or demolish'd, shall be restor'd 'em, with Liberty to repair 'em, if there be any necessity,

and that they deem it convenient.

VII. We ordain, that all the Fortifications of the said Cities, shall be raz'd and demolish'd, only the enclosure of the Walls, within the space of three Months, by the sedulity of the Inhabitants: In whom we more especially confiding, forbear to secure the said Cities either with Garrisons or Cittadels. The said Cities also shall be demolish'd by the Management and Orders of the Commissioners by Us deputed, and according to the Orders and Instructions which we shall give 'em: And in the mean while, for the greater Security, the Hostages sent by the said City, shall remain in such Places as we shall appoint, till the said Fortifications shall be fully demolish'd.

VIII. Our farther Will and Pleasure is, that all the aforesaid Professours, &c. shall be restor'd and resettl'd in all their Estates and Goods, Moveable and Immoveable, Accompts and Actions, notwithstanding all Condemnations, Grants, Confiscations and Reprisals made or decreed, excepting the Fruits and Revenues of their Goods, the moveables which shall not be found in specie, Woods cut down, and Debts which have been receiv'd till this present time, actually and without fraud, after judicial Prosecutions and Constraints. Nevertheless our Pleasure is, that the Preceding Declarations given upon the Fact of the said Reprisals, till the present Commotions, Peremptory Decrees, and Proceedings and Agreements made upon them, shall



shall take place, and be executed, notwithstanding all Decrees to the contrary. Our Will also is, that the Heirs of the Deceas'd *Sieur de Mormosrac* shall be restor'd to their Goods.

IX. We permit the Professours, &c. to re-enter their Houses, and to rebuild 'em if there be occasion; and as being our good and faithful Subjects, we permit 'em to reside and inhabit in such Cities and Places of our Kingdom, as they shall see convenient, except in the Islands of *Ré*, and *Oleron*, *Rochel* and *Privas*. We also permit the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, who were not in the said City at the Time when it was taken, to return and enjoy all their Goods, after they have submitted themselves, and taken the Oath of Fidelity before such Persons whom we shall appoint.

X. Our Officers residing in the said City, who have not pay'd the Annual Duty, shall be admitted to pay it within two Months, as well for what is past as for the present Years. And as for such as are Deceas'd, having pay'd the said Annual Right, the Offices which they held shall be preserv'd to their Widows and Heirs. And as for those Offices whose Offices we have supply'd by Reason of the Troubles, they shall be continu'd in their said Offices, notwithstanding the Patents given to others, and their being settl'd therein. Our Pleasure also is, that the Officers of particular Lords, who were admitted upon dear Purchases, and put out by Reason of the said Troubles, shall be restor'd to their Employments.

XI. All the abovemention'd shall be discharg'd, and we hereby discharge 'em of all Contributions, Quartering of Souldiers, as well in the preceding, as present troubles. Also the said Communities and particular Members thereof are discharg'd from all Obligations to indemnise and save harmless all Reparations of Damages, which may be pretended against 'em, by Reason of Imprisonments, Executions and Expulsions out of the said Cities, by order of the said Duke of *Rohan*, or the Councils of the said Cities, or any others by him set up as well during the present as preceding Troubles. And as for Taxes and other Money laid upon the Countrey, in Case the Summs fall short, for want of Payment by the abovemention'd, the Receivers of the said Countreys shall not prosecute the abovemention'd: Reserving nevertheless a Power to prosecute the Syndic of the Countrey, to the end the Abatement may be laid upon the Generality of the Province.

XII. In like manner, we discharge the Consuls and Private Persons, who oblig'd themselves during the troubles of the Years, 1621. 1622. and 1626. and in the present Com-motions, for the Affairs of the City, to pay the said Obligations, notwithstanding all Clauses inserted in the Agreements: Saving to the Creditors, the Power of prosecuting the Consuls of the Pretended Reformed Religion, who shall be in Office, who shall be liable to Condemnation, and to pay their shares of the Summs.

XIII. They shall be also dis-

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charg'd from prosecuting the Catholick Inhabitants and others, for the remainders from them due for the rates of the preceding Years, notwithstanding the discharges they had obtain'd by our Letters Patents, as by the Decrees of the Court of Aids at *Mompellier*: As also from all that remains to be pay'd of Taxes and Impositions, assess'd upon any of 'em, the Catholicks being exempted by the Orders of the Governours of the Provinces, or others our Commanders in Chief, during the preceding and present Troubles.

XIV. The Inhabitants of *Castres* also shall be discharg'd from Restitution of whatever they took by force of Arms in Opposition to our Service.

XV. The charges which shall be laid upon the said Cities, shall be equally born by all the Inhabitants of the same, according to the Custom at all times usual. Only that the Debts contracted by the Catholick Inhabitants, shall be born by themselves alone; and those contracted by those of the Pretended Reformed Religion by themselves.

XVI. Sentences pass'd by those who have been Commission'd for the Administration of Justice in the said Cities, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters, shall take place, excepting Appeals to the said Chambers, in Cases which have not been adjudg'd by the Prevosts, or at a Council of War.

XVII. The Order observ'd in the said Cities, as well touching the Consulship as the Municipal Government, and the Meeting of the

said Consuls and City Councils, shall be kept and observ'd, as before the Troubles.

XVIII. The Assemblies of State in the Countrey of *Foix*, shall be held after the accusom'd Manner, and all the Cities shall be summon'd that were usually present.

XIX. The Consuls, Receivers, Collectors and Commillaries, that manag'd the Publick Money during the Preceding and Present Troubles, shall be acquitted and discharg'd, they bringing into the Chambers the Accounts which they have given of it; nor shall the Chambers pretend to any Fees, nor to require a review of the said Accompts. And as for the Inhabitants of *Nîmes*, who pretend themselves not oblig'd to carry in their Accompts into the said Chambers, our Will is, that the ancient Custom shall be observ'd.

XX. The Seats of Judicature, Audits of Receipts, and other Offices, remov'd by Reason of the present Troubles, shall be restor'd and settl'd in the Places where they were before: Also the Election newly created to be settl'd at *Montauban*, but remov'd to the City of *Moissac* by reason of the Troubles, shall be return'd to *Montauban*, after the Fortifications are demolish'd.

XXI. Also the Chamber of the Edict, now sitting at *Beziers*, shall be restor'd to the City of *Castres*, after the Fortifications are demolish'd; and shall remain in the said City, according to the Edict of *Nantes*, notwithstanding our Ordinance of *January* last, and the

Decree of the Parliament of *Tholouse*, upon the 111th. Article thereof: Which Chamber his Majesty will have maintain'd in all things allow'd it by the Edicts and Regulations.

XXII. All these Graces and Concessions, it is our Will and Pleasure, that the abovemention'd enjoy, that were in Arms upon the twenty seventh of *June* last. And as for the Cities and Persons that submitted to our Obedience before that day, they shall particularly enjoy the things contain'd in the Letters Patents, which have order'd 'em for that purpose.

So we command our Faithful

and Beloved Counsellours, in the Parliament of *Tholouse*, &c. And for the more firm and stable endurance of these Presents, &c. Given at *Nimes*, in *July* 1629. and twentieth of our Reign.

Sign'd, *Lewis.*

And below, by the King.

*Phelipeaux.*

Read, Publish'd and Register'd, &c. At *Tholouse* in Parliament, *August*, 27. 1629.

Sign'd, *De Malenfant.*

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*The End of the second Volume.*

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